

# THE MODERN REVIEW.

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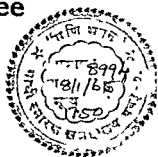
Edited by  
**Ramananda Chatterjee**

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EXTRAORDINARY RESPONSE IN THE LIVING AND THE NON-LIVING  
 BY M. GAGANENDRARAJA



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## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY REFORM

By PROF JADUNATH SARKAR

### § 1 *The indispensable basis of a university*

**I**n all discussions about university reform we should do well to keep constantly in mind the basic fact that the essential requisites of a modern university are

(1) an adequate supply of students competent, by reason of their previous training to follow teaching of the university type and do the work expected of university students as distinct from school boys,

(2) an adequate supply of capable teachers,

(3) a sufficient number of men, both paid servants of the university and independent (professional) men who have the willingness to attend the meetings of the various academic bodies regularly and contribute to the efficient working of the administrative, directive and consultative sides of the university by their study of university methods and precedents else where

(4) fearless independence and love of truth,—as distinct from the mere intellectual brilliancy noted in No 2—in the professoriate and

(5) purity of public spirit in the leaders of the university

If these have been secured money will be found to be of secondary importance. Lack of funds has never prevented any good work from being done provided that the teachers and leaders of the university have the right *spirit*. If any one doubts it I refer him to the beginning of the famous University of Berlin as described in the *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol IX.

It was founded after the national disaster of Jena and Austerlitz the State subsidy was small no pious founder had as yet risen to make endowments but what is more important than money, the right *men* and the right *spirit* were there, and the poor Berlin University rapidly became a success and acquired a world wide celebrity. It had no 'Director of Research' on Rs 2500 to 2,800 a month, the highest salary was less than a *tenth* of that amount but the genuine scholarship and singleminded devotion to research of its first professors drew eager learners from all parts of Germany and Berlin became a nursery of schools in an unbroken succession of generations. Money, however lavishly spent, cannot create the right *men* or the true spirit of research but when the latter exist money will in time be found pouring in.

### § 2 *Sound secondary education indispensable*

As the *Times* (Educational Supplement 12th May) writes

Universities need money but the *first essentials* are *secondary schools* capable of sending forward pupils fit for a *france* instruction and *highly* trained teachers teachers of the *first rank*

The Right Honble Mr Fisher in his latest reported speech (at Plymouth) says the same thing

A University cannot exist without a supply of pupils desirous of the higher learning and *qualified* to benefit from it. This implies an adequate provision of efficient secondary schools of bringing their pupils

the point at which they can profit from University education

Your readers will thus perceive that the supreme importance of making the secondary schools efficient before any good work can be expected from a University, which I had urged in this Review (p. 30 of the January, 1921 number) receives support from the highest educational authority in the British Empire—though I was so unfortunate as to fail to secure the assent of Prof Panchanan Mitra M.A. F.R.S., of the new Calcutta school of research. The members of the Bengal Legislative Council will do well to bear in their minds this dictum of the present Education minister of the British Cabinet,—himself the Vice Chancellor of an English University and a research scholar of Continental celebrity—when they come to vote on the apportionment of the tax payers' money between the ill paid, ill equipped inefficient secondary schools and University post graduate classes suffering from the natural consequences of megalomania and disregard of the elementary principles of business. It is open to our university to levy an annual *Chaauth* from the half-starved high schools and *ghas dāna* (for meeting the "agglutinative salaries" of Mr D. R. Bhandarkar and other pluralists) from the poor students who are forced to buy monopoly text books issued by the University; it is open to this [self] declared bankrupt to open the 39th group in the Economics Course and the 19th subdivision in the Anthropology Department. But our M.L.C.'s should remember that while the high schools remain what they now are, the post graduate department of our University is like a heavy marble dome placed on the top of a hovel with mud walls and the poor inmate of the house is being called upon to pry the bill for the marble dome before attending to his walls.

### § 3 *The qualifications of university teachers*

Mr Reginald Lennard writes in the *Nineteenth Century* (Feb 1921)

'The teacher cannot maintain the specific quality of University education unless he is

himself to some extent an investigator and filled with that ardour for the advancement of learning which comes with active participation in the campaign against the unknown. And when the researcher ceases to be a teacher, his research too often degenerates into Byzantinism. He loses touch with human affairs, his thoughts wander into the desert and the problems which he endeavours to solve come to have little connexion with the question in which mankind is interested.

The finest training for the mind is to be obtained not in the accumulation of stores of ascertained facts but rather in the study of those regions of human thought where knowledge is active in the endeavour to throw back the frontiers of the unknown.

And, again,

The sheer bulk of knowledge is now so vast and the pace at which new knowledge is built up is so greatly accelerated that the ordinary university teacher has the greatest difficulty in finding time to read enough to keep abreast with the growth of knowledge. The university teacher needs more time for reading and thought more leisure than his predecessors required.

This principle ought to shut out from the ranks of university teachers" a phenomenon peculiar to the Calcutta University, namely, the High Court half timer and the Police Court pleader. A lawyer who attends the Law Courts at noon, receives instructions from his clients in the morning, and lectures at the Law College and also in the post graduate classes in, say Economics or History, cannot possibly have the time for reading and thought; he cannot 'maintain the specific quality of University education'. In proportion as the Calcutta University patronises these birds of passage, it does merely the function of a lecture institute, of an examining and degree giving machine in spite of the fact that these lecturers are paid directly by it and not by some college affiliated to it.

Every university teacher if he is to be worthy of the name, must according to Mr Lennard be an original investigator, he must be personally engaged in research, which this writer has most happily defined as the campaign against the unknown.

The mere accumulation of stores of ascertained facts is not research. When a writer openly professes that he has given

the opinions of the most learned authorities on the subject without offering any views of his own to the reader he has not done research at all convey the wise it call He has not endeavoured to throw back the frontiers of the *unknown* but only accumulated—conveyed to his pages—stores of ascertained facts He is the fortunate possessor of a pair of scissors and a gum bottle who has levied chauch on all orientalists from Sir William Jones to Hopkins and Rapson It would be easy to name Calcutta University professors who have not made any campaign against the unknown but who armed with a pair of scissors have made forays into the realm of the *known* and gathered contributions from old and little read authors There is so much loose talk about research at Calcutta at present that it is necessary that our countrymen should realise clearly what research means and what conditions it presupposes One of the first conditions is that the investigator should have reached the frontiers of the *known* he should have received a sound education in the art of investigation and the criticism of evidence and mastered the previously garnered knowledge on his subject otherwise he would not know where the known ends and the unknown begins Research as popularly understood and practised in our country has come to be regarded as an excuse for poor success in the ordinary compulsory examinations and lack of scholarly accuracy and breadth of general knowledge

The researcher must therefore know what others have already done before he can add to the world's stock of knowledge He must also have breadth of culture because as Mr Lennard points out the specialisation which has won these great additions to knowledge carries with it as the defect of its quality a certain narrowness of outlook Large syntheses of knowledge are an essential element in a university system of education The exclusive and specialised study of ancient Indian culture and history will be barren unless it is accompanied by a

sound knowledge of the history and culture of the ancient Near East and Greece and—I shall go so far as to add—of medieval European history and even Political Philosophy as well The lack of this breadth of vision and of the materials for a comparative study rendered all the marvellous intellectual keenness and industry of our old pundits futile as the labour of Sisyphus The university teacher therefore must not only be an original investigator he should also be a sound scholar in the old sense of the term

#### § 4 *The organs of a university*

A university is heading straight for ruin and retrogression to barbarism if it is a one man show In every healthy form of life the organs must play their respective parts if on the other hand the brain usurps the functions of the organs the latter are sure to be atrophied and death will be the inevitable result The boss who does everything in the University of Calcutta and presides over nearly all the Boards of studies Councils and Faculties may seem to possess omniscience But it is the omniscience of Father Holt which fascinates boys like Esmond but when critically examined by grown up men is found to be a ludicrous pretence The Calcutta University would have been saved at least one humiliating exposure if the head of the department of philosophy had been made really responsible for the examination of all theses on the subject and selection from them for publication by the University—instead of these functions being usurped by the boss

If the various Boards cannot do their work without the same boss being placed over all of them then it must be admitted that one of the first requisites of a living University is wanting at Calcutta It would prove that men of sufficient talent and public spirit are wanting in a province of 46 millions of souls to conduct the affairs of these Boards efficiently and smoothly the professoriate in each subject in spite of their yearly increasing number and periodical outcries of famine feeding them—are  
intellectually and morally stronger

to form self complete, independent competent boards the boss must come take the chair and galvanise them into activity and when he departs—for he cannot be present everywhere and at all times—the frogs cease to dance and relapse into death.

This 'slave mentality' has become so ingrained that one of the university teachers Mr Kama Prasad Chanda has been openly preaching that the Calcutta University can do no good unless Sir Ashutosh Mukherji is made its 'dictator' and that in order to do this good work every board and other academic body must have a majority of members whose votes are in the clutches of his hand. I cannot presume to say whether this picture of the intelligence and character of the teachers of the Calcutta University is true or merely the fantasy of a *bhakt*'s imagination.

The first means of making these boards (and other academic bodies) real living useful organs of the University is to choose the right men for their members and then to make them publicly and truly responsible for their respective functions. The English have developed a highly efficient and honest lower executive and judiciary composed entirely of Indians out of very unpromising materials—the rotten remnant of the Mughal administration—by entrusting them with responsibility and patronage and watching them from a distance. This is the part of statesmanship it may possibly take time. Our superman wishes to make a teaching University shoot up in a moment at his dictation like the mango tree of the Indian magicians but it will bear the same kind of fruit and have the same length of life as that tree. The *bhakt*'s of the present day may rejoice at it but what of the next generation?

### § 5 The moral character of the University teachers

In every free and progressive country of Europe there is always a strong body of

\* Mr Fisher (Fly noun) speech) points out that University like all other great things is a plant of

independent men ready to oppose injustice, jobbery and corruption. If, on the other hand we vote for these evils or—what happens oftener with us—silently acquiesce in them or in a spirit of selfish righteousness absent ourselves from the meetings where these are passed then the alleged democratic (really oligarchical or autocratic) constitution of the university is easily perverted into what Aristotle calls a 'tyranny,' and the academic evil is perpetuated tainting the character and dwarfing the intellect of unborn generations of our students.

A true university teacher must be a researcher and also an academic administrator. In both capacities he requires independence and moral courage. The researcher must be inspired by a fearless love of truth, regardless of consequences. He must be prepared, if truth bids him, to assail the most conservative instincts of his race the most honoured traditions of his society and the favourite beliefs of the powers that be. No sneak no sycophant no 'jobber' can be a true researcher. No plagiarist, no compiler no 'scissors and gum bottle man' can add to the world's stock of knowledge though he can and often does add to the income of the advertisement department of newspapers. The true university teacher must be prepared to think for himself and—vote for himself without casting any furtive glance at any 'dictator'.

Prof Patrick Geddes used to tell us an anecdote of how a Scottish teacher on his return from a visit to the German universities delivered a speech in which he highly praised their scholarship methodical habits and efficiency of equipment but complained that he constantly felt that the Kaiser's boots and sabre were concealed somewhere in each of these universities. A German professor serving in the same Scottish university replied by saying 'Oh! we worship the Kaiser's boots and sabre!'

### § 6 Terms of service of the University professoriate

Judging from Mr Chanda's writings and the revelations in the paper

it seems that there are plenty of *houser* worshippers at the Calcutta University. And no wonder for all the lecturers (except the headmen of a few departments) hold their office by the most precarious of tenures. First there is no regular scale of pay and increment regardless of personality no fixed principle for the payment of overtime or extras to the happy holders of pluralities. Secondly many appointments are for one year only and liable to termination at the end of each year without showing cause. No length of service no efficiency of work can convert these annual tenants at will into occupancy ryots.

At the respectable universities of Europe a professor holds his chair for a fixed term (5 years) and on a fixed and known salary which is usually the interest of the endowment made by the founder whose name is given to the chair or the State grant in the case of the Regius Professorships. The duration and emolument of the chair are irrespective of persons and time. Each professor is elected because he is an expert in his special subject he gets the fixed and known emolument of his chair and cannot complain if the occupant of another chair gets more because the two chairs have different endowments and require different kinds of specialised skill. Favouritism is impossible under these conditions. But at Calcutta though in theory all beginners start on Rs 200 rising by annual increments of Rs 25 to Rs 300 or 400 yet in practice the widest variations are found in the salaries paid to new recruits who are all innocent of research and specialised skill and have merely offered different subjects at the same (Mastership) examination [I do not here speak of the former servants of Government or corporations who have been induced to join the University professoriate and who if they are really indispensable must in common justice be given the same pay as they would have drawn under their old masters]. The evil is aggravated by the system or rather the utter absence of system and principle in the remunera-

tion of pluralities which has become in effect a capricious distribution of tips.

Let me illustrate the point. A young graduate is appointed lecturer on let us call it Babylonian astrology on the normal pay Rs 200 25 400. Teachers of this class are usually expected to work from 8 to 10 hours a week to earn their normal pay. But he is soon afterwards called upon to lecture on what is called a second subject, say Chinese astrology and is paid a separate remuneration for it. Two points are here evident to a man of business or common sense. (a) the extra pay must be earned by putting in *additional* hours of work and (b) the amount of the extra pay must be strictly proportioned to the number of additional hours of work required in doing justice to this second subject. But in practice (a) many of the pluralists at Calcutta get these tips for alleged overtime while doing their normal 8 or 10 hours only and (b) the remuneration for teaching a second subject varies from Rs 50 to Rs 200 without any regard for the amount of extra labour rendered it is a purely personal matter. To my knowledge a young lecturer who had been teaching a so-called second subject for years without any remuneration was offered an extra Rs 150 under this head just when he was about to take wing to another university. The way this tip fund—for in its actual working it is no other—has been managed can have only one effect on the young professoriate to discourage honest work and put a premium on the arts of the courtier and the journalistic puff.

#### § 7 How the machine works

All the teachers of a subject say English in the post graduate classes directly conducted by the Calcutta University form the Board of Higher Studies in English. One member (a professor of the Presidency College) proposes the engagement of a certain young lawyer (who had passed the M.A. only a month earlier) on the ground 'I do not see who else can teach the —th paper'. The proposal is carried amidst the

applause of some members and the polite silence of the others. It then goes up to the Council of Higher Studies—which contains representatives of the boards of the different subjects and of the Senate also. Thence it ascends to the Syndicate and is finally put before the Senate for sanction. So many grave and learned bodies have to be satisfied before a single appointment to the university teaching staff can be made! Surely it is impossible for the human brain to devise a system more likely to weed out the unfit and check needless expenditure of university money! How it actually works will be clear by a reference to Mr Charu Chandra Biswas who has been in all these four bodies.

Under this system no university teacher (other than the departmental heads and some others engaged for long terms) can be independent. He knows not where he stands nor what his future will be. He is liable to dismissal at the end of a year or of a somewhat longer term of service without any charge or the opportunity of defence. Witness the case of an old law lecturer recently sacked. A businesslike institution which does not doze on the sublime heights of research like the learned of Laputa—would naturally create a fixed cadre of normal posts to do the work of teaching with the normal number of students. This would be the permanent professoriate. Then in years of abnormal increase in the M. A. classes it would appoint a number of temporary hands to grapple with the increased work. On the permanent staff would be placed all officers who have done satisfactory work and these would have *security of tenure* and a fixed and known rate of increment. Out of the temporary hands the best men would be promoted to fill vacancies in the permanent cadre and the rest would be dismissed when the abnormal rush of students ceased and ordinary conditions returned. But the Calcutta University does nothing of the sort. It perennially cries about lack of funds but goes on making appointments without reference

to its financial condition and the number of students to be taught. One of the last public remarks of Sir Rash Behari Ghosh on the university was complaint to this effect. *He was no fleeing spectre of humanity.*

Security of tenure for the professoriate and fixed impersonal rules of pay and promotion are the two things necessary in the best interests of the university and its servants alike. The teacher in order to be efficient must command self-respect if he is to command the respect of his pupils. His money reward must come in the open way by following known universal rules and not by a process or arrangement of an inner conclave which no fellow can understand. He must be free from even the suspicion of sycophancy and 'log-rolling'. As the *Times* writes: 'Venerable teachers exercise little influence. Even the Vice-Chancellor of a type of teacher who accepts deliberately a bias that is made advantageous to him puts no path into his teaching and is a feeble influence in the direction desired by the bias providers.'

#### 8 *The character of the leaders of a university*

The two temptations that most easily seduce and inevitably ruin a university are (a) yielding to personal considerations in individual cases instead of maintaining the reign of impersonal immutable law and (b) lowering the standard in order to gain popularity or wealth for the university. Especially if a rival degree shop be at hand.

As Burke points out what ruined the ancient republics was their frequent resort to *psophismata* or special laws for individual cases. These broke in upon the hoard of laws, discredited them and ultimately swept away the constitution to give place to the caprice of one autocrat. The manipulation of university results—or moderation form as it is euphemistically called—or the shuffling of examiners for the benefit of particular candidates cannot be kept a secret. It leaks out and causes the university to be suspect and all its graduates to be regarded as dumped goods.

more or less. If there has been an unfair harshness or eccentricity on the part of the examiner or an unjustifiable and sudden raising of the standard in a particular year, then all the candidates ought to benefit by the 'moderation' I have known cases at Calcutta where, in spite of the dissent of Mr S C Roy, myself and one or two other examiners people were put in the first class (in certain years only) by giving them grace marks though the result in those years was quite favourable to the examinees in general. The only reason urged was that the marks of the favoured few were a little below the first class,—as if there are not always sure to be some people below the border line. What aggravates the evil is that this sort of leniency is not shown every year, and that naturally makes people talk. But they have said they will say, let them say—while the Calcutta University goes on (in its course) for ever.

In the award of the higher academic rewards and titles, the judges should be men whose names command universal respect in their special subjects and the names of the judges should be invariably published along with the award. In several universities of the West it is obligatory to print the doctoral thesis, so that the learned world outside may sound the depth of the new doctor's learning. At Madras an Honoursman who proceeds to the M A degree prints the thesis by which the degree has been won. A similar practice is necessary at Calcutta in the true interests of the candidates themselves.

### § 9 Commercialising the university

These things affect individuals only. But there is an evil of a much worse description, because it is universal in its effect and corrupts the whole country. It is the lowering of standards in order to outbid a rival university or to secure more clients who would enrich the university funds.\*

\* At Calcutta one-third of the examination fees paid by all candidates is earmarked for the support of the postgraduate classes. Thus, if a thorough sitting is made at the Matriculation examination there will be fewer candidates at the higher examinations of

This danger is not unknown even in the West.

"The existence of a few Universities closely interrelated is at any rate some guarantee of a reasonably high standard for degrees. With a few Universities it is possible to preserve a high standard. If however Universities are multiplied without due regard to the supply of professors and readers of the first rank and to the supply of students of University status there is a definite danger that the standard of the degree will fall not only in the new University but in all the Universities of the nation. The degrees of Harvard Yale and some half-dozen other Universities in the United States are now of recognized value but the difficulty of maintaining that value is greatly increased by the fact that degrees are granted too easily elsewhere. (Times Ed Sup 12 May 1921.)

I need not labour this point. The profuse generosity of the Calcutta University in the matter of passes in recent years has attracted comment throughout India. Only actual teachers and examiners of high academic qualification and long standing can from their experience compare the quality of the new and old graduates of Calcutta and pronounce an opinion as to whether the phenomenally long pass lists of recent years have led to a lowering of the standard and attracted students from the other provinces of India. One thing however is quite certain: our more liberal Matriculation results cannot be set down to any improvement in the pay and quality of the High School teachers in Bengal for the change there has been admittedly downward in recent times. Our older college teachers complain that the new undergraduates are less competent to follow university lectures than those of a generation ago when the Matriculation was not so easy. The vicious circle is completed when the Calcutta Intermediate B A and M A standards have to be automatically lowered because ill-taught inefficient freshmen have been let into the university by a reckless gaoi delivery at the Matriculation.

One of the most seductive but most fatal temptations of university chiefs who

the succeeding years and fewer students in the postgraduate classes. Thus these classes would suffer a two-fold diminution of income—from examination fees and tuition fees.

are ready to sacrifice the end to the means is to ostracise examiners who do not fall in with their plan of passing indiscriminately. I know of a case in which an independent external M.A. examiner had pointed out in his report that the answers showed that the university lecturers had not introduced the best authorities on the subject to their students and that they were still teaching heresies which were exploded half a century ago in Europe. Result: these very university lecturers who formed the board for selecting examiners remarked (Boss J. concurring) :

Why should we give anything to Mr X? He has criticised us. This gentleman has been excluded from the list of examiners and the Calcutta University ostrich has been hiding its head in its sand heap with unperturbed self complacency ever since.

#### § 10 *The true principles of reform*

It goes without saying that a university will be what the men who work it make it: its effect on the country will be determined by the ideals cherished, the methods followed and the spirit displayed by its leading officers and the intelligence and character of its ordinary members. Laws and regulations cannot supply the right spirit if it is wanting in the members. Legislation can however make it easier for the good to assert themselves against the evil for in every country in the world it is possible to set up a corrupt jobbing clique like the Tammany Hall of New York under the formality of the law by deceiving the public and manipulating the electorate if the public are indolent or timid. The remedy as Burke points out is that the good must combine to resist the wicked if political liberty (here academic purity and efficiency) is to be safeguarded. The laws should therefore be so framed as to enable the opinion of the general public to effectively bear upon the conduct of university affairs and defeat the schemes of the oligarchy of jobbers. The first thing necessary is that *the electorate should be as wide and independent as possible*—so as to make corruption and intimidation physically impossible and also to enlist

full public support and sympathy for the university by making it the true reflex of educated public opinion i.e. making it *national* in the real sense of the term.

Secondly the widest publicity should be given to all proceedings of the university and detailed payments to individuals, so that people may know the position of each member or servant of the university and understand the hidden springs of his action. Before election to offices and chairs the qualifications, family connections and private engagements of the candidates should be circulated in advance to the electorate so that the electors may use their vote for the best purpose.

It is not always safe to leave things to the natural good taste of the chiefs. No doubt an ordinary gentleman—not to speak of a saint like Gurudas Banerji—will have nothing to do with the selection of officers and examiners in which his relatives or even friends are interested. But it is conceivable that another chief's forehead of triple brass may not blench in the least as he presides over the election of his sons and sons-in-law to university offices and rewards or the appointment of his sons private tutors as examiners for those very sons. It should be made a statutory obligation to give full publicity to such relationships and engagements so that the boards may not afterwards pretend ignorance and the greater public outside may know whether to re-elect the same board or not.

In the management of finance there should be a *real* budget sanctioned in advance of the financial year and rigidly adhered to except in small details. The worst effect of this absence of principle, this manipulation of things behind the screen, this spirit of getting things done by a dictator's intervention instead of by set rules and legally constituted and publicly responsible organs—in short this continuation of war emergency legislation and summary procedure in normal peace time—has been the impending bankruptcy of the Calcutta University.\*

\* An example of this frenzied finance may be given here. Mr Heramba C. Mahtia, Mr Howells



A university does not add to its reputation if it constantly sits by the road side, exposing its sores and whining for public charity or snarling at Mr. Sharp when he passes by without consenting to add to this year's national deficit of 19 crores. Even a poor man can command public esteem if he lives within his means and follows commonsense business methods.

### § 10. Suggestions for a new University Act.

(a) The electorate.—The Senate should be formed on the most widely extended basis. The franchise should be given to all graduates of say seven years' standing. The registration fee should not be a dishonest device for swelling the university's income, but should be pitched very low, say a Rupee a year, just to cover the actual office expenses for keeping the register up to date. The present high fee of ten Rupees a year is a prohibitive tax—one of the notorious *abwabs* of the university, and has the further effect of reducing the electorate to a narrow oligarchy\* which can be easily "managed". One-fourth of the Senate should be elected by the registered teachers (including lecturers and demonstrators) of all

affiliated colleges, who have served for at least one year.

One-fourth should be elected by all registered graduates of seven years' standing living in the province.

One-tenth of the Senate should be elected by the staff of all the High Schools under the university.

One-tenth should be elected by learned societies and important public bodies. (See the constitution recommended for the Court of the London University in the Haldane Report.)

The University professors and principals of first grade colleges should elect one-fifth of the Senate from among themselves.

No person should be a member of more than two faculties or three Boards at the same time [ Patna University Rule. ]

(b) The professoriate.—The teachers directly maintained by the university should, after a period of probation (say two years), acquire an assured position of independence and stability. The university should have a fixed cadre of its permanent teachers and issue a civil list, like the Mysore University. Dismissal and recruitment alike should be made by a select committee appointed by the Senate, subject to veto by the Senate. No private tuition, paid or unpaid, should be allowed without the previous sanction of the Syndicate.

(c) Finance.—There should be an independent audit of the accounts by a chartered accountant or some high officer of the Accounts Department of Government. The publication of the detailed statement of income and expenditure of the past year with the Audit Note, should be a statutory obligation, as at the Benares and Patna universities.

The Budget should be a reality and should be considered and passed by the Senate *before* the commencement of the financial year. Every deviation from it during the course of the year must receive the special sanction of the Senate at its next meeting.

"The discussion of the Budget of the Calcutta University has in fact degenerated into a post-mortem investigation. Though the fi

and Dr. Harendracoomar Mookerjee were appointed to prepare a volume of Bible selections for replenishing the university exchequer. The fee fixed was Rs 1,000 per head. When the volume was produced Sir Ashutosh doubled the amount of the reward. The heaviness of the task must have prostrated the three learned editors. The introduction, the only literary contribution, has been mostly pirated from known commentaries, the body of the book consists of clippings made with a pair of scissors, and three men were required for the work. Dr. Mookerjee's task was to see the volume through the press. As the Bible is the best printed book in the world, his office must have been a sinecure, if the University Press was worth its salt. The University has spent Rs 6,000 in editors' honoraria, apart from the cost of printing. For how many years must this book be forced down the throats of our students to recover this outlay?

\* Mr. Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, M.A., F.R.S., Principal of the Ripon College, was rejected by this narrow electorate in favour of a young lawyer, Mr. C. C. Biswas, while Mr. Khagendra N. Mitra, for 18 years a professor of the Presidency College, has been defeated by another raw graduate, Mr. Ramaprasad Mukhopadhyaya. In this connection, Lord Curzon's reply when the Indian Universities Bill was in the legislature, is worth pondering over.

year begins in June, it is a notorious fact that the Budget has never within the past few years been presented before the Senate till several months after" (Mr Charu Chandra Biswas, member of the Senate and the Syndicate, Calcutta University.)

(d) Examinations.—No candidate should write his name or that of his college on his answer-paper, nor should these be printed on the mark-sheets supplied to the paper-examiners. Every candidate should be designated by his Roll number and some distinctive letter or second series of numbers. This rule is observed by all the other four universities of northern India. [I do not know what Aligarh and Lucknow are going to do]

Every examiner, paper setter, moderator and tabulator must sign a declaration that no student taught by him in private is among those whose papers he will have to set, examine or moderate, or whose result he will have to tabulate.

The names and opinions of the examiners of all theses, whether accepted or rejected, should be published, as is done in the case of the Griffith Memorial Prize.

Independent external examiners should, by statute, be associated in the conduct of the higher examinations. The reports of the examiners should be printed in a summary form and submitted to the senate and boards.

(e) Trust funds.—The permanent endowments of the University should be kept in charge of the official Trustee or a committee independent of the spending department of the University, so that it may be impossible for the latter to pledge these funds even temporarily for

raising loans to meet the normal expenses of the university.

(f) Organisation and discipline.—The *imperium in imperio* created by the establishment of the post-graduate departments in independence of the vice-chancellor and the ordinary university office, should be rectified by bringing both under one control and one set of office heads. With a very highly paid Controller of examinations, the Registrar is now a costly superfluity. So, also, are the two highly-paid secretaries of the post-graduate Councils. On the other hand, the post-graduate classes would be distinctly improved by being organised under a whole-time principal or—better still, under a departmental head for each subject,—so that the work of all the subordinate teachers in the subject may be co-ordinated and, where necessary, brought up to the mark and into accordance with the time-table. At present, there is likely to be anarchy in a department costing several lakhs of Rupees, and the anarchy can be tempered only by the wrathful visitation of a busy High Court Judge on the rare occasions when the spies run to him with the news that some people have been treating the time-table as a scrap of paper, as regards the number and duration of their lectures. The control of the departmental head—called professor or reader, in the Haldane Report—should be recognised and clearly defined by statute, so that he alone may be held responsible by the public for what happens in his subject. It will economise energy and tend to greater efficiency.

## THE RIVER

(By an American boy of 10 or 11 years of age)

By the flowing stream  
Sings a little bird.  
Is it sounds in a dream?

From the stream runs a river,  
While you hear the smashing,  
Does it make you shiver?

In the river near  
We see a little splashing,  
Falls something like a tear.

## A DAY, AT THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY AT ADYAR, MADRAS

**I**T was a cold winter morning and the rain during the night had washed the roads clean of all the dirt. The trees were fresh with their natural brightness after the rain and the morning sun was rising in the east throwing a golden splendour over the scattered clouds and the green fields. I was on my cycle near the Guindy Road working hard to reach Adyar Gardens before 8-15 to see the college at work. It was indeed pleasant to go against the cool wind, and even the usually parched up lake and the quiet running Buckingham Canal full of water presented a glorious view to the passerby. I passed by the Gardens and the lengthy fences, alive with the jumping squirrel and the hopping sparrow till I came to a narrow road. I was not quite sure if I was on the proper way when suddenly I saw at a distance a white-robed gentleman coming in my direction. I slackened the speed and before I could excuse myself for the interruption, he was near me with a kind 'Yes' and directed me to the place to which I was bound. I was only a few yards from the gate of the Damodar Gardens, the seat of the National University.

I got in and saw that it was only eight. I therefore passed slowly, taking the opportunity to note everything as I went. There was at first the agricultural farm rich in the growth of paddy taller than in the suburbs of Madras; due, most likely, to some special manure that was used. I then passed by a small yellow building—a portion of the students' hostel, and there I saw many youths busy at the wells or in their rooms. I could

see them getting ready for their work, after a cold bath in the morning. By this time, the main buildings were visible and I could see some young men, dressed in their loose white kurthas and dhotis, going in and coming out. I passed each tree and read, as I went, the label in bold type that hung on it. It reminded me of the horticultural gardens, where I used to go to study different



Agricultural Students at Work—National University at Adyar

Botanical specimens. But here there was a similar thing, though on a small scale, and I could see at once how much more useful and instructive it is to be in its midst instead of going to a garden perhaps twice in a term for the study. Now I was at the very door of the college. I went in and asked the waiter that happened to be there if a certain person who was an honorary professor had arrived. I was led upstairs and there I saw my friend, the professor, who also was clothed in the college uniform. He introduced me to the professor of Botany, who led me through the laboratory. I saw about three

four students at the microscope with specimens razors and needles. The scrupulously clean work benches the shining microscopes ranged in order to get the northern light the cheerful faces of the students and the smiling way in which the professor helped them out of their difficulties impressed me at once with the spirit of the institution. My friend the professor then took me through the different lecture theatres and the laboratory and before I could see everything

This is a special feature of the National University and I will have to refer to it later.

We then waited for the arrival of a lecturer who was to give a series of special lectures on the History of Political thought in the Nineteenth Century. I was told that this was one of the many gentlemen who had undertaken to give special lectures. It is how these philanthropically minded people contribute their share in the educational work. As soon as the lecture was over the students separated to their different class rooms. Where there were no demonstration or experiments their lecture halls were the tree shades. They had thatched roofing and were open on all sides. The floor was a cubit above the level of the ground and was paved with Cuddapah slabs. This kind of arrangement not only gets rid of the disadvantages of a stuffy lecture room, barred with walls but also brought the pupils in direct touch with nature.

As my friend had a lecture for the next hour I was left to myself. I got into the

Library and the Reading Room. I was told that it was a special Library and I found it to be so when I looked into the collection of books in the cupboards. It was a representative one and had the best collection in Physics Chemistry Botany Teaching Methods Psychology and Agriculture. The tables were filled with up-to-date scientific journals and it had in its midst a manuscript magazine which intended to promote original study. There was another table with dailies and political papers. I was spending my time looking through some of these when the bell rang and my professor friend joined me.

It was nearly 11 a.m. and the time for dinner was announced. The pupils sat in a row and the warden was one of them. It was quite a cosmopolitan dinner



Agri cultural Students at Work—National University at Adyar

in detail we heard the bell summoning the pupils to prayers. We at once hurried down across the lawn to a small thatched hall under the shade of a mango tree and we found there already standing in reverent mood the University students and professors. At the head of them was their Principal joining with them in their prayer. We quietly slipped into a bench at the back and stood along with them. They then recited a famous stanza of Sri Shankara which speaks about the greatness of Sadhwin and finished up the Sanskrit part of the prayer with a shanti patha from the Upanishads. This was followed by a Parsi prayer, a Musalman prayer and a Buddhist prayer and every thing was brought to a close by the melodious singing of the Vandemataram song of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee.

As soon as the things were served there was a prayer. It consisted of a stanza from the Bhagavadgita which speaks of the self acting as a *laissez faire* to digest the food and another Vedic hymn which also proclaims the nature of the soul enshrined in the human body. These were uttered by all in a reverent attitude. This seems to be the best time for the pupils to talk about different matters and the secretaries for the sports club or the library, speak aloud their notices so that everyone may hear them. On the whole it was very pleasant and everyone enjoyed it.

As soon as the dinner was over my friend took me to the residential quarters of the students. They consisted of small rectangular cottages with paved floors. They were constructed to enclose an open space in the centre which was used for games. The rooms were lighted with electric bulbs and were tastefully decorated by the inmates. A portrait of some noteworthy political or spiritual leader always graced the room. There were no tables or chairs but they had only a low desk in front of which they sat for their study. In one of the rooms I saw a small collection of different articles like pencils, tooth powder, soaps, brushes, crayons etc. all arranged neatly. I was told that it was the Students Co-operative Society, and I learnt that one of the students was in charge of the department for one year.

Another student was responsible for post office work. He always kept a stock of post cards, envelopes or postage stamps and sold them for the inmates of the hostel. Looked to the despatch of the outgoing letters and the delivery of the incoming ones.

At two the college bell was heard and the students rushed out from their cells towards the laboratories. The evenings

are set apart for practical work. Half a dozen pupils were in the organic section of the chemical laboratory working on organic substances. Another batch of six or seven youngmen were upstairs in the inorganic section doing analysis. Some others were busy with elementary work. In fact the whole college was astir at about half past two. It was indeed a busy time of the day. I went round the other rooms with my professor friend and saw the Physics laboratory which was in the course of equipment and which promised to become a good one. I was told in the course of conversation



Agricultural Students at Work—National University at Adyar

that the students hold some sort of a debate at nights wherein the members take an active part in the discussion of various topics of interest. I came to know also that they received instruction in the fundamental ideas of religion during some hours in the week.

By four I finished looking into all departments and I was about to start. I took leave of the professors and left for home. This time my mind was too busy about what I saw. Fresh thoughts came to me at every step and I began to consider how this college improved on the others and how it was in its working a national institution. The more I thought about what I saw the more did I feel

difficulty of giving a purely national education and I concluded that the work in this direction is to be judged by the amount of good that it is able to give. The chief aim of the college appears to be to draw all people on a common platform of nationality without in any way wiping out the individuality of any of the religious creeds. Hence there is a double purpose the understanding of the common cause for united work and the cultivation of a spirit of tolerance where private views or religious opinions begin to clash. By these the institution aims at fostering a spirit of love for things Indian. The daily singing of India's national song the polychrome morning prayer the adoption of the simple Indian dress and the homely life that is led in the hostel bring to the

minds of the scholars an appreciation of plain living and high thinking. Added to this a study of Indian history and a free discussion of the economical social and religious problems of the day give them a grip of the conditions of modern Indian life. Above all the example of their preceptors who are specialists in their subjects in the true sense of the term, who combine in them the best that the east as well as the west could give, who have devoted their lives to the service of education and who are fit to be ideals in life, manners and habits inspires them with a noble feeling of love for the motherland and encourages the spirit of self sacrifice and the willingness to serve.

### THINKING ABOUT SUMMER

(By an American boy of 10 or 11 years of age.)

The summer is coming  
And we will see the birds again  
And hear their songs that make us over brim with joy  
Cheer up! Cheer up! sings the robin  
Cheep! Cheep! sings the sparrow  
Whet year! Whet year! sings the bluebird  
Now we will join hands and sing  
The birds go and come again  
And we forever stay

### INTO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

#### I THE PRINCIPLE OF GROWTH

##### § 1

**H**UMAN development appears lamentably slow at times for a moment we lose our faith in the great principle of growth and we wonder if all the love and energy which great spiritual leaders have spent in revealing new truths to the world will ever result in a fuller and more enlightened life for the last and the least of humanity. For in an age where action too frequently precedes thought we are accustomed to lay undue stress upon the external vicissitudes and fluctuations which a feverish world

indulges in and it requires courage and a deeper knowledge to see a slow but steady progress in the heart of man and to discern beneath the plethora of disturbances which overwhelm us the constant rhythms of growth pursuing their fated missions. While numberless thinking people virtually commit intellectual suicide and succumb to the coma of cynicism idealists and reformers attain a state of exasperation from which they can find no release except in a thankless patience. Patience that is the supreme need of our day but the demand it makes is hard to

satisfy For in the political world there is no peace, no harmony, little order, and less co-operation. Conflicting personalities, demoralised group minds, self seeking careerists, satisfying the lusts of their ambitions, and newly created national states indulging in mad orgies of self aggrandizement (e.g., Poland Greece), confuse the world with their querulous shouts. The voices of the prophets and the wisdom of the critics fail to be heard above the din of the confusion. States men gather together to quibble among themselves, to terrorise the downcast into brutal humiliation and return to their respective parliaments to boast of the successful progress, which they pretend to have effected. It is long since John Maynard Keynes caused an almost universal sensation with his announcement of the doom of Europe. Did he not write of the peace making at Versailles that "the decisions seem charged with consequences to the future of human society yet the air whispered that the word was not flesh, that it was futile insignificant of no effect, dissociated from events and how events themselves 'seemed marching to their fated conclusions uninfluenced and unaffected by the celebrations of statesmen in Council'?" And still the 'skin game' goes on, the oppressed countries, struggling vainly against the attacks of hunger, pestilence and disorder while the other governments blinded with an intellectual amaurosis, pursue their policies of intransigent self interest, leaving it for Labour to unveil the truth.

## § 2

The spider makes his slow progress across the ceiling, and the clock ticks feverishly upon the chimney piece, and thinkers sitting uneasily in their studies, work with one eye on the wasting of time. Some people have a fatal habit of using time as a footrule with which to measure the statue of man's growth. It is really a very silly, as well as a profoundly dissatisfying method. What is time? a terrible truth? or merely a nightmare, a mechanical superstition which imposing itself upon your consciousness breeds fear and

hurry in our minds? True or untrue, it is a bugbear which destroys the equilibrium and poise of mind required for any really deep work. Nature gathers her passing sweetness with no hourglass in her hand, constant she is in her seasons but never hurried.

"And lo she wins and of her harmonies  
She is full sure ' Upon her dying rose  
She drops a look of fondness and goes by,  
Scarce any retrospection in her eye  
For she the laws of growth most deeply knows."

I do not suggest that we should carry out the letter of this law, but merely try to emphasize how important it is to discard the obsession of time, before we can begin our enquiries into the finer laws of the development of human society. And it is pre eminently necessary to regard human society, neither as a mechanism nor an organism. To do so would be to fall into the trap which, with a few exceptions nearly all the political theorists from Plato to T. H. Green have fallen. Human society is not a machine which we can invent and put together at will in the measure of our collective capacity and still less is it a thing which grows without being made by our wills. We must remember that it is composed of a large number of personalities in varying stages of wisdom, each seeking his salvation in his own way but all complying with the chronic human need, for association with their fellow creatures. Yet at the same time as we emphasize the need to regard human society not as an organic machine, but as a number of individuals continually associating together for specific purposes we must remember that whenever association of any kind takes place, there is at any rate a subconscious interflow of thought and feeling which quickly constitutes itself into what is known to psychologists as 'the group mind'. But do not be misled and think that association implies the bondage of a personality to special group consciousness, such an idea is far from the truth because in any association which man makes with his fellow creatures he does not immerse his whole personality in that community,

but only one small specific part. For a man associates with his fellow men for specific purposes, for trade, for sport, for education, for self protection, and one man can have numerous associations, and still remain a free being. Thus the group mind is not composed of the minds of the people who compose the group, but only of that part of their minds with which they associate for any specific purpose. This is an important subject, of which I shall say more when I come to speak of self-government in my next article

## § 3

And to return to the principle of growth which was enunciated at the beginning of this article, we see how every department of life, the psychic, physical, mental and spiritual qualities of the universe are 'perpetual in perpetual change,' fulfilling their divine purpose of attaining harmony. In a series of articles I wish to try and analyse some of the changes which are occurring in our own time and attempt to show how far they fulfil the principle of growth. But I shall confine myself to developments which are taking place in the world of politics, and by politics I mean everything which relates to our association

with our fellow creatures, to the ordering of our daily lives, and the organisation of the classes which serve the community. I shall first try and analyse the changes which are occurring in the legislative organisation of Great Britain, and attempt to account for the growing discredit of parliamentary government, explaining some of the new ideas which sociologists and political thinkers of our day are propounding. In such an enquiry, economics must play no small part, and even in economics, we can see the principle of growth illuminated; for in the sphere of any social organisation it is profoundly true that

"Each age is a dream that is dying  
And one that is coming to birth."

But in all human life, thinkers are more and more coming to believe that growth is the steady and increasing purpose, that it cannot be forced, and that revolutions and other like eruptions are merely detrimental to the vital energy of the people concerned and result in inevitable reactions. Let every sociologist engrave the old Latin proverb upon the threshold of his contemplation—'Natura nihil per saltum fecit,' 'Nature accomplishes nothing by leaps'

ROSE GARDINER.

## A POEM ABOUT THE WEATHER

(By an American boy of 10 or 11 years of age.)

The fields are green on every side of me,  
And the rivers and the lakes are all in waves;  
And oh! how I would like to be a farmer,  
And plant the corn and oats, and see  
The jolly April showers bring the May flowers,  
And hear the birds sing when I am in my apple orchard.

And now I am a farmer,  
And I plant the crops,  
And raise them into tall cornfields and oatfields.  
And my life is short

And O how I would like to be a little boy again,  
And live in the little brown house on the hillside.  
And now I am but a poor old farmer,  
And my life is short.



## PERSONNEL OF ORGANIZATION METHODS

THE enunciation of principles and the formulation of plans are the preliminary steps in organization. Upon their execution depends the utility and justification of the organization's existence. The personnel, then, is a most significant factor to be considered.

What the personnel of an organization shall be depends upon the nature of its work. The principles of personnel management are however the same for all groups. The organizers and members of the organization must make systematic use of experience, traditional knowledge and scientific study and the thought behind all effort should be economic control of all activities to produce maximum results.

In the West in all large organizations the most successful men are those who have come into it with extensive practice and training in the theoretical and practical side of its work. On the staff of social organizations we find men who have studied social sciences who have actually engaged in social work and who have come to the organization armed with the theory and practice prepared to study the problems upon which the specific organization is concentrating its attention. In educational institutions the same conditions obtain. An expert student is chosen to partake in the educational activities. In politics too only a man who has a good record of political activities to his name is nominated. The unknown or obscure candidate is looked upon with doubt and mistrust by people who judge their leaders by what they have done in their special field. In labour organizations the same care is taken in the selection of party spokesmen. The officers must be men of wide outlook and vast experience. The longer they are in the work the more they develop a faculty and expertness in conduct. This constitutes their training and makes for their greater efficiency.

Thus for every body of men organized for a definite purpose the first requisite is fitness. For this reason the efficiency engineers in industry teach their workmen all the details of the task before its performance is begun. The labour organizations give their organizers and workers a course in labour management and an understanding of the problems before they are given control over any body of workers.

In addition to a well trained staff an organization requires capable directors and leaders. A body of men without leaders are spineless. The leaders may be teachers as in educational institutions or executives as in commercial bodies or organizers as in labour organizations. Whatever his title may be the function of the leader is to direct the work of his organization in the most productive channels. To achieve this end he must plan the work of the organization be on the alert for all time and labour saving plans and emphasize results and not motions. The duties of managers of industrial plants for instance are to get work performed rapidly and accurately to get the maximum results for machinery, to get the maximum product from the raw material and to see that improvements in methods are introduced.

All large business houses have what they call an organization chart which shows the exact division of tasks and the responsibilities of each of the members of the organization. The Managing Agents are responsible to the Board of Directors who in turn must answer to the stockholders for all their actions. The business of the concern is divided among (1) the financial manager (2) the merchandise manager (3) the sales manager, and (4) the House manager. The financial manager looks after auditing credits and collections. The merchandise manager is in charge of stock rooms buying mer-

chandise records pricing and special purchases. The sales manager has under him the advertising department and the travelling and local salesmen. He is also in charge of the sample, show, exhibition or sales rooms. The house manager has under him the house superintendent and the office manager. The duties of the superintendent are receiving pricing shipping stock keeping city delivery and trucking. He is also in charge of the lift men peons and watch men. The office manager has to look after the following departments: order and registry, mail order, traffic, contract, billing, claim, profit and loss, cashier, book keepers, stenographers and telephone operators. The management is concerned with policies, not details. Their functions are those of planning, providing and supervising so that there may be co-operation, unification and efficiency in the organization.

In industrial work, the workers in the plant are divided into a number of well defined groups, each of which is put in charge of a leader who is given general directions of work and is held responsible for results. All the tasks are clearly defined leaving no room for confusion or inaccuracy. This departmental system is usual in factories where there is a planning department, an office, a department of construction and assembling. Analogies to this functional division of work are found in other organizations as well. In an educational organization there is a department for study and investigation which corresponds to the planning department in industry. The department of experiment and actual practice is akin to the construction department of the industrial plant. The departments of information and publicity correspond to the shipping room, as the matters studied and investigated are printed and sent out for distribution. In an American civic organization the functions are divided among committees which investigate, formulate, execute and give publicity to the facts under scrutiny.

The committee of this organization for

civic work divides its activities into investigation of tenements, study of municipal government, concentration of attention on health department and conditions of water supply and transit, etc. A labour organization has committees on arbitration, on the enforcement of the boycott, on the adoption of the union label, on the reduction of the hours of labour and on sanitation in industrial plants. Similarly, the army has in its planning or intelligence department, the collection of information about the enemy and the theater of war from every possible source and the arrangement of this material for transmission to head quarters, where it is collated and then placed before the commander. Its operations include the working out of details of dispositions and movements of troops, as to their units and number, with special attention to place and time, and to the security of the troops in movement and at rest, the embodiment of the commander's plans in clear and concise orders, and the transmission of these orders with certainty and dispatch.

Instructions should be given as far as possible in writing as although they are often understood, they are more often forgotten. Besides, writing out generally clarifies the ideas of the men who issue the instructions and it leaves a permanent record of all instructions which have been issued often avoiding as a consequence many confusions and conflicts of authority.

The most important thing in the handling of men, of making them do the required work, is the maintenance of their morale. It is easy to teach a man how to perform his duties well, but it is difficult to create in him a spirit to work whole heartedly, and continue it always in his work. The greatest single factor for success in war has been said to be group morale. Morale has been defined to be 'giving the soldier not alone the desire to fight but the desire to win. In American business slang it is called "pep" or "ginger." Enthusiasm is another word for it.

According to G Stanley Hall 'morale, while not entirely definable is best characterized by the cult of condition. Psy-

chophysic condition is the most important factor in any and every kind of success. Men slump morally financially in their creeds and even into ill health because they loose condition. He continues

When we wake after a sound and refreshing sleep with every organ in tune and at concert pitch and think whatever gods we believe in that we are alive well young strong buoyant and exuberant with animal spirits at top-notch when we feel that our enemies are either beaten or placated, in a word when we face reality gladly and with a stout heart even if it is grim and painful and never doubt that it is good at the core and all evil is subordinate to good that even if we are defeated and overwhelmed in a good cause all is not lost when we feel that we live for something that we would die for if need be—that is morale. Hall defines it in another place in this manner it is simply this to keep ourselves body and soul and our environment physical social industrial etc. always at the tip-top of condition. This superhygiene is best designated as morale. It implies the maximum of vitality life abounding getting and keeping in the very center of the current of creative evolution and minimizing destroying or avoiding all checks arrests and inhibitions to it.

Morale includes such qualities as health

initiative perseverance, aggressiveness open mindedness co-operation competitiveness sense of humour and control of emotions. In fact the big difference between human beings does not lie in ability and intelligence. People come near being equal in brains than we imagine. The really big variations lie in force and ambition. One man achieves a thousand times as much as another not because he is a thousand times as smart but because he is a thousand times more determined.

The efficient execution of the plans of an organization rests with the workers—the personnel. That this body may, with the least amount of effort produce the maximum results it is trained in the theory and practice of the organization's problems. In all its work attention is paid to past experiences and efforts so that there will be no duplication of errors. The directing force of the body is the executive who must plan and superintend the activities of the organization and maintain the group morale. Below him are the subordinates engaged in various duties and perfecting themselves so far as they are able in their individual tasks. This perfection is made possible by the division of labor which accords to each man a specific task and that alone.

RAJ KUMAR KUMAR

## LANCASHIRE'S ATTACK UPON INDIA'S FISCAL AUTONOMY—II

By ST. Nihal Singh

THE Secretary of State for India having fixed March 23rd as the day on which he would receive the second deputation on the cotton duties Lancashire had 13 days in which to review what had passed at the India Office when the former deputation waited upon Mr. Montagu and to make its preparations for launching the second attack. The cotton industry utilised these days to carry on an intensive press campaign in

and also to obtain powder and shot from Mr. Montagu himself to be used against him when the right moment arrived.

Sir William Barton then Coalition Liberal Member for Oldham asked on March 17th for instance what was the amount of the total capital employed and the amount of profits made by Indian cotton mills for the year 1914 and each succeeding year to 1920 and what taxes were paid by them in each of such

other than Excise duties, and differentiating between Income Tax, Super Tax, or any other form of taxation

Mr Montagu replied that the latest returns of paid up capital employed in cotton mills in British India (including debentures), so far as was known, were as follows, in lakhs of rupees

"1914 16	2 133
1915 16	2 119
1916 17	2 148
1917 18	2 248
1918 19	2,623

There are no official returns of the profits of cotton mills. Complete returns of the Income Tax paid during the above years by owners of cotton spinning and weaving mills are not available but figures for 1916 17 show that 168 companies paid Rs. 10,93,579 and 381 other assesses Rs. 97,540.

Mr Montagu had no returns showing the amounts of Super Tax or Excess Profits Duty that had been paid by cotton mills.

On the same day Sir Donald Maclean, Chairman of the Liberal M. P.'s, asked Secretary of State for India if he would circulate the Indian Budget taxation proposals at the time before the Legislative Assembly.

In reply Mr Montagu gave him a summary which had already been supplied to the press and was printed the following day in the official Parliamentary Report.

Exactly a week later the deputation waited upon the Secretary of State for India. It consisted of 76 men who, between them, represented not only Capital and Labour employed in the cotton industry in Lancashire, but also in the allied industries in the adjoining counties of Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire—a veritable massed attack upon the Secretary of State for India.

The deputation found Mr Montagu ready for the fray. He was supported not only by some of the members of his staff, but also by many of his Councillors.

The Council Chamber where the deputation was received, presented a crowded appearance that day, although it is quite a large room. The long, narrow table at the centre of which sits the Secretary of State in his chair of State, had been

pushed back, and the tables at which, at ordinary sessions of the Council, sit the Councillors had been removed, and chairs had been placed in straight, long rows, filling the room until it was very difficult to move about.

Mr Montagu sat at the centre of the table. At his left sat Mr Howard, of the Finance Department, and next to him Sir William Duke, Permanent Under Secretary for India, Sir Arthur Hirtzell, Assistant Under Secretary of State, Sir Charles Stuart Bayley, Vice President of the Council, Sir Charles Arnold White, Sir Murray Hammick, General Sir Edmund Barrow, Sir James Brunyate, and Sir G. O. Koos Keppel. At Mr Montagu's right sat Mr Dawson, who probably knows more about the Government of India Act than any other member of the Secretary of State's permanent staff. Then came Mr E. J. Turner, of the Revenue Department, which has had to deal with the cotton duties, Mr S. K. Brown (Mr Montagu's Private Secretary), Mr Cecil Kisch, who went to India with the Montagu Mission, and the Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, the only Indian member of the India Council at present in London.

On the opposite side of the table, almost facing Mr Aftab, sat Sir William Barton, M. P., who headed the deputation. Three or four chairs intervened between him and me, while next to me sat the official reporter of the India Office and two or three shorthand writers who were to report the proceedings for the deputation. Close to them sat Mr Tom Garnett, of the Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers' Association, Manchester, who later declared that he had been sent to the India Office five times on the same mission. He was from Clitheroe, and was a grey haired, clean shaven man. He had appeared before the Fowler Association in 1895, and had, on every subsequent occasion, formed one of the deputations sent to the India Office to press for action in favour of the Lancashire interests. Not far from Mr Garnett sat the five other representatives who, in behalf of their respective

organisations made representations. They were Mr John Smethurst, Federation of Master Cotton Spinners Association, Manchester; Mr T N Grant, Allied Association of Bleachers, Dyers, Printers and Finishers, Manchester; Mr W C Robinson, Mr Wm Thomasson, Mr Joseph Cross, jointly representing the United Textile Factory Workers Association.

At a little distance from the Labour representatives sat the Labour M P—Mr Thomas Shaw M P (Colne) who in seconding the motion of thanks to Mr Montagu for receiving the deputation took the opportunity to plead in behalf of the Lancashire workers and Mr James Bell M P (Oldham).

Since the full list of names of all the members of the deputation cover three typewritten foolscap pages it will not be possible for me to reproduce them here. Twenty one of them including Mr Garnett represented the Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers Association, 1, Exchange St, Manchester. Sixteen of them including Mr Smethurst had been sent by the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners Associations, 340 Royal Exchange, Manchester. Ten of them including Mr T N Grant represented the Allied Association of Bleachers, Dyers, Printers and Finishers, 1, Booth St, Manchester. Two represented the Manchester Cotton Association, 22, St Mary's Gate, Manchester. Twenty six of them including the Labour spokesmen and the two M P's to whom I have already referred represented the United Textile Factory Workers Association, Ewbank Chambers, Accrington. It seemed curious to me that the largest single group should be composed of Labour.

In introducing the deputation Sir William Barton told the Secretary of State for India that it represented the cotton industry in all its productive sections and that under normal conditions the export of cotton goods was a third of the total exports and therefore no Government could afford to ignore that industry which depended upon India buying one third of its total product.

The extent of unemployment in our midst to-day he added warns us that unless we can restore our export trade we cannot sustain our population. For that reason Lancashire had received with dismay the announcement of the increased import duties on cotton goods entering India.

Since Mr Montagu had very adroitly called the attention of the preceding deputation to the change that had recently taken place in India's fiscal powers as a corollary to the Government of India Act of 1919 the Lancashire M P immediately began to tell the Secretary of State that Lancashire's position had been prejudiced by an artificial balancing of Lancashire industrial interests against India's political rights. I commend to the reader's attention the phrase artificial balancing. When English politicians talk to English politicians they do not mind employing such phrases. Sir William went on to say that if there were material interests upon one side there were also material interests upon the other. While protesting against any suggestion that he and his colleagues were unmindful of the rights or the interests of our fellow subjects in India whose welfare and prosperity we consider as bound up with our own he directed his argument to the protection of English material interests.

In this Lancashire man's view the true interests of the people of India and the Cotton Trade of England are not opposed because that trade seeks only that the people of India shall have access to Lancashire products on the same terms as any other products and are of opinion that the economic condition of India is such that the clothing of its people should be as free from taxation as possible. He did not like to see the demand in India for cotton goods which is great at all times reduced through high prices which diminished consumption and ventured to put it before the Secretary of State that there was reason to think that India to-day is suffering from under consumption.

After assuring Mr Montagu that every man in the room was fully conscious

the delicate situation that he was called upon to handle and also declaring that "they have the powerful support of the Indian mill owners, who are already clamouring for even higher duties," Sir William Barton asserted that the position was that these duties were not initiated by the new legislative body in India, and that even duties so initiated and imposed would be subject to revision by the Secretary of State under conditions which might be regarded as sufficiently grave and serious. Such intervention, he blandly remarked, would be a matter for the Secretary of State's discretion, but he disclaimed any authority to claim it. All that the deputation, resting on the strength of their case, desired was

helpful representations from the India office having regard to the special circumstances surrounding the whole case. The plea is that the additional duty is not intended as protection but is necessary for revenue but whatever the intention the increased duty is in fact protective. As an instrument of revenue it is inequitable and oppressive on the consumer inasmuch as the goods which he buys will be increased in price whether they are produced in India or imported from England whilst the revenue will only be benefited by the imported supply.

According to Sir William Barton, the strength of the Lancashire case lay in the fact that in 1917 a definite pledge had been given that until the post war consideration of the whole fiscal relationship between the various units of the Empire no change would be made in the relationship between import and excise duties on Indian cotton goods and that 4 per cent would continue to be the difference between the two. In proof of that contention he not only quoted a passage from the statement made by Mr. Austen Chamberlain on March 14, 1917, but also a reply given by him on March 21st of that year to a question put down by himself (then plain Mr. Barton). Mr. Montagu was no doubt to draw the conclusion from these quotations that faith had been broken with Lancashire and that he should find means to ease a situation of the greatest seriousness.

Mr. Tom Garnett, who followed Sir William Barton, quoted Mr. Stevens who, in the nineties, was a member of the Viceroy's Council, to develop the contention already made that "the interests of India and Lancashire are parallel rather than opposite." He certainly was "the last to deny that prosperity and social and political content in India benefit Lancashire and its trade, more than any other part of the United Kingdom."

To prove the identity of Lancashire and Indian interests, Mr. Garnett proceeded to outline the history of the cotton duties since 1875. He quoted Lord Salisbury to justify the dogma that so long as Britain was a Free Trade country she would not allow protection within her direct jurisdiction. He drew attention to the resolution passed in Parliament in 1878 and 1879 asking the Government to abolish the Indian import duty on cotton goods, on the plea that it was 'unjust alike to the Indian consumer and the English producer,' and related how 'the prosperity of India' enabled Major Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer) to 'make India a free port.'

In 1894, however, the Government of India was reduced by financial stringency to re-impose the cotton duties, and Lancashire, with the speaker's (Mr. Garnett's) aid began to bombard the India Office with demands for the imposition of the excise duty to deprive the Indian cotton duty of "any protective character." That arrangement lasted from 1895 to 1917, when a very serious breach was made in it. Though the English cotton trade failed to get the Secretary of State for India to impose a corresponding increase in the excise, yet, according to the speaker, it succeeded in securing a pledge 'that no further alteration or increase should be instituted in the relative differences of import duties and excise except after full discussion when the whole of the fiscal arrangements of the various parts of the Empire came to be reviewed at the end of the war.' That was precisely what Sir William Barton had already contended, but Mr. Montagu

listened to this and other repetitions possessing his soul in patience.

To show that the new import duty without a corresponding increase in excise was in the nature of a protective duty, whether so intended or not, Mr Garnett declared that it would be "absurd for any body to contend here, in England, that if the import duties on foreign spirits were raised to 20 while the excise duty on home manufactured spirits remained at 15 the difference would go into the hands of the private producers and not into the coffers of the State." What an apposite comparison between an industry which in the interests of health and morality should be extinguished and one which needs to be stimulated as much as possible!

After propounding that English principle of taxation, Mr Garnett reverted to the pledges given in 1917 and asserted that

(and I do not think it has ever been disputed that we were told that) that but for the war we had an irrefutable case

Reverting to the economic argument, Mr Garnett acknowledged that he and his colleagues were not foolish enough to think that the increased duty will be paid by Lancashire, and not by the consumer in India. He added, however, that "when one has regard to the comparative poverty or the actual poverty of the hundreds of millions of consumers of cotton goods in India it is plain that any increase in price must be a very serious handicap to our industry." So, after all, this Lancashire spokesman was not thinking of the poor Indian, but of himself and his people.

According to Mr Garnett, India was Lancashire's best customer because Lancashire supplied her "better than anybody else." Lancashire would not dream of asking India "for the slightest shade of preference." "India," he added,

"IS TOO POOR TO GIVE ANYTHING IN REVENUE THAT SHE CAN RAISE."

Diving into economics, Mr Garnett proudly asked if it was not the fact that the English goods exported to India

constituted "the means whereby Indian produce is paid for." Are not "cotton goods the means by which Indian tea, Indian cotton, jute, and the thousand and one things that India grows which we cannot and which she has to supply us with, are brought to this country?" he asked. Upon these questions he evidently based his belief that India's interests are parallel with those of Lancashire. His economic philosophy would keep India as the producer of raw materials and the buyer of Lancashire goods.

The cotton industry, Mr Garnett reminded Mr Montagu, as Sir William Barton had already done, though in some what different phraseology, was "a great national and Imperial asset." He wished him to remember that "anything that weakens the productive power of this industry anything that lessens its power of exportation anything that lessens its power of competing or helping to compete for the thousand and one things that we have to bring from America and all over the world is a matter of very serious economic and political moment." Yet the Secretary of State had allowed India to deal a great "blow" or at least to place a great obstacle to prevent the revival of Lancashire trade from the worst crisis that he (Mr Garnett) had known in his almost 50 years of experience.

The cotton industry, Mr Garnett reminded Mr Montagu, was not merely a spinning and weaving industry, but its ramifications extended into any and every industry. Bleaching, dyeing, printing and finishing had to be thought of, and also coal railway shipping and even farming.

"Lancashire people were so altruistic," Mr Garnett declared, that

in the very worst times of the cotton trade, perhaps at the world's greatest crisis, the time of the American Civil War, when Lancashire suffered untold misery nothing could draw them from the side of freedom from slavery though their apparent interests at the moment would have been served by the victory of the South. I think that ought to be to their eternal credit—that in one of the greatest crises of history, when it depended perhaps whether that great community should be a slave holding community or whether it should be a community of free men she did take the right ground.

At that point Mr Garnett seemed suddenly to recollect that his discourse—one of the most rambling ones that I ever heard in my life—had occupied a long time, and he ended upon the note that he and his colleagues thought

‘ that so long as Parliament is in any degree responsible for the government of India so long as it has not been declared that protective duties are not harmful in their incidents (incidence?) we have a right to bring our case before you and to ask you to make representations on behalf of a great industry which is of national importance. We do think—we have a right to bring that statement before you

Mr John Smethurst, who followed Mr Garnett, cheerily went on reiterating the point already made by the two previous speakers that the pledges given to Lancashire in 1917 had been broken. He went so far as to quote a sentence uttered in that year by the Prime Minister to the effect that had it not been “for the overwhelming and imperative considerations based upon the war” (the Prime Minister) should have said that your (Lancashire’s) case was absolutely irrefutable.” The people in Lancashire and Yorkshire, he declared, were “very homely people” and had “an old fashioned prejudice in favour of promises being kept.”

If there was anything in the contention that more revenue was needed, Mr Smethurst asked Mr Montagu to raise it “by making a smaller addition to the import duties and a smaller addition to the excise.” But he took the view that the duties were raised with protectionist intent.

Mr Smethurst contended that the Indian cotton industry does not need any protection, and to support that contention gave the following figures

In 1899 India had 1½ million cotton spindles. In 1917 she had 6½ million spindles and at the present time she had practically 7 million spindles.

In 1899 India had 39 000 looms and in 1917 she had 114 000 looms which were being constantly added to by the export of looms and machinery from Britain.

In 1899 India produced 512 million lbs of yarn and imported 19 million lbs. In 1906 she produced 680 million lbs and imported 73

million lbs. In 1917 she produced 680 million lbs and imported 18 million lbs.

In 1899 India produced 356 million yds of cloth while she imported 2 181 million yards. In 1917 she produced 1 576 million yards while she imported 1 907 million yards.

To show that it was not true that Lancashire had nothing to fear from Indian competition, Mr Smethurst called Mr Montagu’s attention to the following facts

Twenty five to thirty years ago the competition between Lancashire and India was almost entirely on the counts 1 to 20s. India has that trade to dry, and is gradually getting into the finer counts of yarn and the finer qualities of work. In 1918 India produced 538 million lbs in counts 1 to 25 and imported 8½ million lbs. In the same year she produced 72 million lbs in counts 26 to 40 and imported 19 million lbs and she produced 4½ million lbs and imported 7 million lbs in counts above 40. In 1919 20 India produced 564 million lbs and imported 4 million lbs in counts 1 to 25. In counts 26 to 40 she produced 68 million lbs and imported 7½ million lbs. Above 40 she produced 3½ million lbs and imported 5 million lbs.

As to piece goods in 1919 20 India produced 1,164 million yards of grey and bleached goods and imported 855 million yards. Of coloured goods she produced 475 million yards and imported 208 million yards. The yarn exports from Great Britain to India showed a decrease of 78 per cent from 1913 to 1918 and the cloth exports shrunk 79 per cent in the same period.

Almost the whole of the increase in production in India, Mr Smethurst pointed out, took place in counts from 21s upwards. There was an increase in production of 5,381 000 lbs or 29 per cent in regard to counts from 31 to 40, and a decrease in the imports of these counts of 7,195 000 lbs, or 31 per cent. In counts about (above?) 40 there was an increase in production of 1,922,000 lbs or 72 per cent and reduction in imports of 2,716,000 lbs, or 36 per cent.

As to India’s ability to supply her own requirements, Mr Smethurst called attention to the fact that the total production in Indian mills in the twelve months ending March 1917, less exports of piece goods of Indian manufacture amounted to 1,331,726,000 yards, while the total import of grey, bleached and coloured piece goods from foreign countries, less re-ex-



ports during the same period, amounted to 1,800,632,000 yards. That indicated that, roughly speaking, the output of Indian mills represents about 42 per cent of the total requirements of piecegoods.

Mr Smethurst went on to give figures to show the prosperity of the Indian mill industry. Between 1900 and 1910, he said, the number of cotton mills increased from 177 to 210 and the persons employed from 145,000 to 215,000. The production of yarn rose from 313,000,000 to 593,000,000 lbs, and of woven goods from 95,000,000 to 215,000,000 lbs.

In 1914, according to this Lancashire man, the profits of the Indian cotton mills were 5.35 per cent. In 1915 they had risen to 6.60 per cent. In 1916 they were 10.23 per cent. In 1917 they had swollen to 20.6 per cent. In 1918 they were 23.32 per cent, in 1919 they were 40.79 per cent, and in 1920 it was estimated, they were 44.14 per cent.

Though the Indian industry needed no protection yet, Mr Smethurst contended there was a strong protectionist movement afoot in India quoting extracts from various statements in support of the contention that whenever India had the means she would protect herself against Lancashire, and went on to say:

'I think we have the right to look to His Majesty's Ministers in England to see that at any rate the true interests of Lancashire are safeguarded. We are not here this afternoon Sir, asking for any special favour. As I said before we do not complain about India being prosperous we do not complain about her building up a very fine cotton industry. Good luck to her. If she can do it on fair lines we have not the slightest objection but we do object that the trade should be fostered and increased at the expense of our trade in this country. We are under the impression that our interests would be efficiently safeguarded by the representatives of His Majesty's Government and by the Government itself in this country. We had a right to expect that His Majesty's Ministers would hold the balance level between ourselves and India. In that expectation Sir we have been very gravely disappointed and unless the inequality of these duties is removed Lancashire irrespective of political views will as opportunities arise take such action as will place its interests in the hands of those who can at least appreciate the simple justice of ascertaining the views of the organised industry

of Lancashire before imposing burdens upon it which are bound to be gravely prejudicial to its future well being.

The Secretary of State should have quailed before this hardly veiled threat, but, as I shall show, he remained unmoved.

The plea that Mr T. A. Grant, representing the Allied Association of Bleachers, Dyers, Printers and Finishers, Manchester made following Mr Smethurst did not take long nor does it need to be considered here at any length. He contended that 'the bleaching, calico printing, dyeing and finishing trades are entirely dependent upon loom production in this country for their supply, out of the total product 80 per cent is for the export trade. India being the "eventual" customer all these industries would be handicapped by the increased duties.

The speaker questioned that public opinion in India was in favour of the increased duties. The Government of India Act he said:

is essentially experimental. Extensions will be made after the first five years and after a period of ten years the whole situation will come under survey by a Parliamentary Commission in order that the machinery may be readjusted. At a later period this enquiry will be resumed and it may take about forty years before India is on a satisfactory representative basis. The system of Government has only just been inaugurated and we contend that its decision to raise the import duties to 11 per cent could not have been done under the Constitution making measure of 1919 and therefore that this increased tariff is not a demand by the people of India.

Mr Grant considered that the character of the franchise was unsatisfactory, because 'the vote is now given to 5,179,000 males over the age of 20 out of a total eligible population of 60,182,000.' He asked:

Can it be claimed that it is in the Imperial interests that 5,000,000 people out of a total population of 222,000,000 should have at their mercy such an important section of the export trade of this country and should have the power in the interests of Indian mill-owners to increase tariffs on goods required by the large population?

He submitted:

that constitutionally the British Government has still full charge of finance. The

British Government can refuse to sanction fiscal arrangements made by the Government of India pending the establishment of the central and local legislations on a basis of popular enfranchisement

This was plain talking—much plainer than the remarks upon the same point previously made by Sir William Barton

The next three speakers—Mr W C Robinson of the United Textile Factory Workers' Association, Mr William Thomasson of the same Association, and Mr Joseph Cross the Secretary of that body of workers were all Labour men. They made it abundantly clear to the Secretary of State that in this matter Labour and Capital were one. I want you to understand said Mr Robinson for instance, that it is not often that the employers and operatives are together upon one deputation but on this occasion we, as representing the operatives are in entire agreement with the action which has been taken in creating such a deputation as you have here today.

Mr Thomasson declared that the employers and operatives are united again in opposing this particular import duty on cotton goods.

Mr Robinson who stated that he had been officially connected with the cotton movement since 1878 did not recollect any period when times were so bad and when there was so much unemployment. The textile workers had already withdrawn £600,000 from the fund established during the war and that money was being distributed among 200,000 operatives a great many of whom had answered the call of duty in 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917 and 1918, who, since demobilisation have never been able to do an hour's work since they came back. The cotton duties imposed in India will handicap the Lancashire industry.

Mr Thomasson added that 70 per cent of the workers in the industry were either unemployed or only partially employed 'such a duty,' he contended

could not have been imposed upon the trade at a worse time than the present when unemployment is so rife. If you had been trying to impose it now you could not have it as a more

severe blow under any circumstances. We are determined to see this thing through and see that justice is done to the trade of Lancashire.

After adding some more figures of unemployment Mr Cross counselled Mr Montagu not

to ignore the uncertainties of the temperament of the Lancashire work people at the present time. (Hear Hear) We are sitting on the safety valve and I am not quite sure whether that would be a very good posture to continue. It may perhaps be a wrong conclusion but we can only come to conclusions from what we can understand so far as our knowledge of politics goes. We think that our industrial welfare and our livelihood have been sacrificed to political purposes in India combined with the financial interests in India representing the Bombay mill owners.

Mr Cross told the Secretary of State that to the workers in Lancashire 'the Indian import duties question is a bread and butter question.' He contended that if

the question had been left not to 200,000 people of India but if it had been a question put before the working people of India they would most certainly not have pushed it forward to the same extent as the Bombay mill owners and the financial persons in India have done in this instance. I mean by that Mr Montagu I do not think they would ever have done anything to throw us out of work or help to destroy our chance of gaining a livelihood and that is what is happening to us at the present time and what is likely to happen to us in the future.

The following passage from the concluding portion of this Labour Leader's speech deserves to be quoted in full.

I am only speaking as a Lancashire operative feels and what has been said about what they will do when the opportunity comes round they will do. We will try and help to put those people in power that will do something to help us to earn our livelihoods. It can not possibly be any good to us to have rulers who sacrifice us here in Lancashire for the purpose of something that may happen somewhere else. We are all subjects of one Empire and we are entitled to be considered from the fair point of view of level justice by those who have to administer the law and keep the Empire in law and order. I do not know from what has been said and from enquiries that have been made what can be said to us today more than the fact that the duty has been imposed. I have asked the question but I cannot get any reply other than this that it has come to stay,

because the Secretary of State for India has no longer the authority to deal with any legislation that is passed by the new Government of India. If that is so it only makes the case against those who gave the promise in 1917 so much the worse. They ought to have told us about it before springing it on us and before dealing with it as they have done. I do not want to detain the meeting any further but I can assure you of this Mr. Montagu that the matter is one of the deepest, keenest and widest interest so far as the work people of Lancashire are concerned and the other work people to

whom the industry is of the greatest moment—that is all the railwaymen and other men whose number something like 4 000 000 or 5 000 000 of the population—no small number.

Just what does this language mean? It can signify nothing but that had the British workman realised that the constitutional reforms would give Indians the power to protect their own industries, they would not have helped India to get them.

## HOUSING PROBLEMS IN CALCUTTA

THERE is no doubt about the fact that the prevailing acute scarcity of house-accommodation has of late become one of the perplexing socio-economic problems with the citizens of Calcutta. The need for decent and adequate housing space exists in this town in much the same way as it does in Bombay, Madras and Rangoon. Curiously enough this want has been felt as keenly by the inhabitants of England, Spain, Belgium, Germany and distant Americas as it has been here the cause being everywhere the same. And as in those places so in Calcutta people irrespective of their differences in creed, caste or colour are much exercised over the situation and have been busy in devising ways and means for the solution of the difficulty. The soreness of the situation becomes evident when we have to bear in mind that the problem is connected not only with the extraordinary cramping of housing space but also with the morally unsatisfactory condition of the city, the infectious diseases and high mortality that are ever on the increase, not to speak of the exorbitant house rent and great discomfort that have been brought in its train.

In order to study the question it is necessary to see how the present city has grown. Modern Calcutta first grew out of three small contiguous villages with the first establishment of factories by English trading-companies nearly one hundred and fifty years ago. As years rolled on and according as those companies grew in wealth and power the small settlement rose in importance and developed in extent and population. When the East India Company assumed virtual charge of the government of the province of Bengal the growth of the place continued by leaps and bounds. The expansion of the city has gone on unabated all these years along with the extension of British commerce

and administration over the Continent so much so that it was eventually made the capital of British India and was maintained as such till only recent years. But it is evident that all this work of growth and expansion have proceeded quite aimlessly without plan or thought to suit the ever-changing conditions rapidly succeeding one another. This fact explains the want of absolute order and system in the structures that have reared their heads year after year in the City proper.

Now it is necessary that the many causes direct and indirect which have all combined to create the burning situation in question should be analysed.

It is quite obvious that the fact of the City being the Capital of the premier province and headquarters of the Provincial Administration and the centre of all social and political activities, the rapid advance of trade, the uncommon expansion of commerce, the unusual growth of industries, the presence of innumerable factories and workshops, docks and yards, emporiums and warehouses, the terminus of three principal railway systems, the easy accessibility of the port by inland routes and waterways and the no less easy approachability of the place from Northern India by the Grand Trunk Road are some of the predominant factors that have contributed materially to the phenomenal increase in urban population within recent years. The mild temperate climate, the arrangements for health and hygiene, the presence of the High Court, the Exchange and other banks, Currency Mint, Public Debt Office, numerous educational and acedemical institutions, both general and professional hospitals, dispensaries, libraries, clubs, institutes, hotels and restaurants, play houses, bioscopes and rinks, the Museum

Zoological Gardens and the like add no less to the ever increasing overcrowding of the city. But while all these numerous powerful factors have slowly and surely worked together to swell the continually increasing number till little or no thought was given as to how the increasing numbers were to be accommodated. There is no doubt that a goodly number of houses come into existence annually but unfortunately the supply has all along been below the demand. So there has been a continual scarcity of house accommodation and the rents of existing houses have ever gone up and up such was the situation just before the recent war. The great war brought into being many new forces and rudely upset all normal conditions and caused many gaps in the social system. But it is always against the law of nature to suffer any vacuum in space. Thus a good deal of shuffling and shifting took place within the structure of society to fill up the gaps and a tremendous economic upheaval was the net inevitable result. The crises that I have made the City the centre of many and varied activities then multiplied many times. In the abnormal economic stress and strain multitudes of people were forced out of country places to migrate into town areas in order to seek their livelihood because a rich and populous place afforded wider and greater opportunities to wage earners than distant and isolated rural tracts. When this state of things supervened it brought along with it a pressing demand for dwelling accommodation all round and added considerable difficulty to the already existing problem of limited house-supply.

But the real trouble arose when some of the city administrators not daunted with the abnormal situation that had already existed won over to the other side by glowing representations some of the influential and idealistic citizens and set afloat a scheme for considerable additions and alterations in the existing plan of the city with a view to removing congestion and bringing about a better state of health and sanitation. In pursuance of that project they recommended the demolition in the well populated and thickly studded areas of a considerable number of houses planning to lay out those cleared spots with broad and beautiful roads with shady avenues of trees and broad foot paths on both sides and also undertaking that in future the available sites abutting on them should have houses constructed on the most modern methods of town planning. The scheme proved quite acceptable at the outset because it proposed to ensure to the townspeople order and arrangement neatness and sanitation in the laying out of houses and roads. The practical shape that the scheme took was the formation of the Calcutta Improvement Trust a body corporate which in course of time being duly armed with effective legislation went about its task of acquisition and began the process of

clearing dirty and dingy areas by wholesale pulling down of habitable houses. Many dense and populated residential quarters were thus converted into spacious thoroughfares with vacant surplus lands bordering on them. As a matter of fact the project deserved all success and was entitled to a great measure of credit, as many unhealthy and insanitary areas were actually removed by the operations of the Trust, and also because the blessings of health and comfort were largely kept in view throughout the areas operated upon. But the Improvement Trust was guilty of a kind of conduct which in common parlance is described as putting the cart before the horse.

The lack of foresight and the unwisdom for which the Improvement Trust is condemned amount to the fact that before launching its operations it evidently gave no thought to the problem of the rehousing of those whom it was going to displace. And as a matter of fact it took absolutely no steps to reclaim the outlying waste and unoccupied lands or to develop and open out the suburban areas for the accommodation of the unhouseed and houseless nor did it adopt any means to provide easy and inexpensive means of communication and conveyance by rail steamer, or otherwise for their outlet into the neighbouring areas and districts. The gravity of the situation will be apparent when we remember that no less than 700 brick built houses besides a large number of mudbuilt and half pucca and bustee buildings for which no actual figures are forthcoming were pulled down in the course of the improvement operations. Putting at the lowest computation a dozen residents thrown out from each masonry structure the number for 700 houses comes up to  $700 \times 12 = 8400$ . Taking the number of those who were turned out of the minor classes of buildings at  $\frac{1}{2}$  of that figure (because the kutchra and bustee houses generally hold more people than the pucca) the number is 2800. The total of the two amounts to  $8400 + 2800 = 11200$  at the lowest computation\*. Thus the result was that over 10000 souls were at the lowest calculation deprived of their habitations at a time when neither the Trust nor the Municipal Corporation nor even the Government have thought of any steps to tide over the problem of house-accommodation already staring them in the face not to speak of the impending problem that was sure to rise from that untoward situation. Further aggravation of the circumstance was caused when the Trust in a purely commercial spirit thought fit to dispose of the surplus lands at its disposal to the highest bidder to recoup its outlay with as much profit

\* This was roughly the figure at the commencement of the Improvement Trust operations. Subsequent acts of it have doubled and not trebled the number.

as possible without affording any opportunity of pre-emption to the original proprietors. The result of this bargaining procedure was disastrous in the extreme inasmuch as speculators arrived in the field deprived the original hereditary owners of any chance of bidding successfully for the open and unoccupied lands and kept up their prices at an unusually high pitch. The disposal of the excess lands by the Trust unhappily took place at a time when many people had made vast and abnormal fortunes out of speculation and business transactions in war time and preferred to invest them in the purchase of immovable properties partially out of sheer economic nervousness and partially out of fear of the super-tax or the like. In consequence the prices offered for lands rose exceptionally high. Portions of the same wealth also went for the purchase of ready-made houses. As a result of all this land grabbing and bargaining for houses went on merrily. In some instances plots were actually sold at 50 to 100 times the acquired value (i.e. in Zakaria Road Central Avenue and Russa Road extensions). In others buildings fetched to the owners 5 to 10 times the value offered and expected before the war. This state of affairs affected greatly small investors and tenants and in fact all manner of people who have not had any share in the war profits but on the contrary have been hard hit by the abnormal rise of prices all round. The manner in which the Improvement Trust acquired lands at one price and sold them off at 10 to 100 times or even more of the compensation price indicated the utter commercialism and abnormality of its proceedings and was universally condemned. Numberless people who had become dispossessed of their abodes by its operations realised that for the purpose of residing within the city they must keep up a desperate struggle by bargaining for the limited number of available houses in order to provide themselves with a roof over their heads and the supply not being equal to the demand residential houses became a precious commodity and verily among themselves the tenant community maintained a sort of competition with a view to secure the available houses by the offer of higher rents and inviting terms to the houseowners. Meanwhile war-conditions rendered the situation quite acute by adding considerably to the difficulty by enforcing limitations of both the output and import of building materials and by the rise of cost of labour due to a general rise in the cost of living and thus indirectly hindered the construction of residential houses on a large scale. It needs only to be remembered in this connection that it was precisely about this time that the deficiency had arisen in the city of about 1,000 pucca and kutcha residential houses due to the activities of the Improvement Trust.

During this stage the housing prob-

lem came to be identified with another great evil the evil of unusually enhanced and exorbitant house rents demanded by heartless and rapacious landlords who having once tasted the sweets of increased rents, hankered for more and more. The rise of rent indirectly increased the price of the daily necessities of life for all vendors naturally tried to realise their extra expenditure incurred in the payment of high rents from the prices of their goods and stock and eventually made the question a burning one for the citizens. The evil getting gradually from bad to worse great difficulty was experienced and public opinion became greatly agitated over it. Relief was earnestly sought for. The Government realised the soreness of the situation before long and appointed a Rents Inquiry Committee to hold an investigation into the subject. The findings of that body did not come up to the expectations of the general public who felt therefore a keen sense of disappointment. So the public took up the question again and by lectures and speeches at largely attended public meetings sought to impress its gravity upon the authorities. It was felt for some time that both time and circumstances were arrayed against them. But persistent public outcry was able to obtain some degree of relief at the end so far as this direct evil of house-deficiency was concerned by getting from the Legislature an Act passed on the lines of the war time English Rent Restrictions measure called the Calcutta Rent Act solving as a temporary measure the enhanced rent problem although it was ultimately realised that the enactment did not go far enough and remove the whole tension. Besides the proposed rules and regulations have made the administration of its provisions quite expensive and overweighed with needless formalities. During all this while it was justly believed that the unjust and artificial bargaining processes of the Trust which were mainly responsible for bringing about such an abnormal situation should first be put an end to just to bring in a reaction in the widespread speculation in lands which evil, in particular has hitherto stood in the way of citizens of poor and limited means to secure lands for building purposes. Other causes that have made the situation so acute are scarcity of skilled and unskilled labour consequent upon depletion for overseas supplies for the various Labour Corps and dearth of materials due to limitations and restrictions in supplies caused by the late worldwide war.

The principal causes that have combined to create housing problems have been stated. Now we should formulate the practical measures that may help to improve the situation.

The first and foremost is that the Calcutta Improvement Trust should once for all decide to stop gambling in the surplus lands at its disposal and make them available for bona fide

residential building sites on less stringent terms than heretofore, accepting a covenant from the buyers that they would build upon them on modern methods, with a view more to accommodation than congestion, within six months from the purchase after which, according to a stipulation made beforehand, the sale would stand cancelled except for reasonable causes, and neighbouring proprietors would be given the preference to buy them. All attempts to speculate upon the vacant and unused lands should be strictly discouraged, and, if possible, penalised. At the same time the owners of plots that have already been disposed of, but are lying idle and open, should be encouraged by grant of loan or otherwise to construct upon them without delay. For this purpose the Trust or Corporation may be empowered to raise public loans. For the same purpose the Corporation should in their turn relax the stringency and needless formalities of building regulations, to give an impetus to those who are desirous of putting up structures strictly for residential purposes. To owners of bustees and waste-lands, of timber yards and godowns, and of old, dilapidated and irregular structures, should also be offered some sort of inducement by way of loan subsidy or bounty, to construct upon their sites modest and economically useful buildings. The last recommendation promises to remove the dearth of houses within the city proper as well as to benefit the new land lords economically.

The next proposal is that the state should acquire extensive plots of lands in the suburbs close to the town, say within Cossipore, Barnagore or Dum Dum villages or in or about Kidderpore, Dhakuria Chetla, Ballygunge or Tollygunge, or towards nearer Dhrappa, divide them up into small holdings and lease them out for 99 years only to Government servants. To enable the latter people to put up houses upon them the Government should advance them the cost of erection, providing for a deduction of 10 to 25 per cent from their salary every month for repayment of the amount advanced, the scale of deduction to bear such a proportion as to make the total amount recoverable within the space of 20 years at the outside, so that the public funds might not eventually suffer. The State should retain a lien on the lands and constructions till all its dues are satisfied. The right of transfer by the owners by way of sale, mortgage or gift, should remain subject to the first charge of the State till all the money advanced has been fully recovered. With these reservations the property owners are to be vested with full proprietary rights. This project is primarily intended for the subordinate Government staff not possessing houses either by purchase or by inheritance, within the city, suburbs, or province, or by inheritance within the city suburbs or province itself. This is just to afford the really homeless people a

chance of a life-time to have houses of their own. We shall call this project the SUBORDINATE STAFF SETTLEMENT. The houses within this area are to be built on plans approved and sanctioned by a competent board and should conform to the most up to date ideas of health, comfort, and sanitation. The colony is to be made self-sufficient in every detail, that is to say, it should be fitted up with all the requisites of a modern garden-city in being provided with a market-place having small shops for vending daily necessities on the co-operative credit basis, a small hospital with a whole time doctor and a compounder and a modest dispensary attached, schools for boys and girls, a combined post and telegraph office, a small Police outpost, a decent library with an institute and a play ground, the whole locality being intersected with broad thoroughfares dividing off and running through each row of 10 to 20 houses all round. The locality should also be provided with a continuous filtered water supply with proper arrangements for conservancy and letting out of refuse and rain water. The benefits of electric light and telephonic communication should also be brought to their doors. Arrangements are to be made to transport the residence to and fro by motor-buses, steam launches (if the place is more conveniently accessible by a river or a canal), electric trams or railways which are to ply at stated and regular intervals and should also be cheap and reasonable in their charges. Suitable sites are to be allotted for the building of temples, mosques and chapels for local residents of the different religious denominations and special facilities should also be afforded for carrying the dead to their respective burning and burial places. The whole place is further to be placed under the system of self government on the basis of the Local Board system making the members thereof purely elective.

The third project, which is mainly intended for the benefit of the superior grade of Government servants, Europeans and Indians alike, not owning houses in or about the city and not proposing to live permanently therein, consists in that the State should, at its own cost, construct for their use a number of buildings, big or small more or less uniform in style and structure, keeping in view the requirements of the intended occupiers, and recover the costs incurred by regular monthly deductions by way of rent from the pay of those officials. The details to be followed in the promotion and management of the settlement in question are more or less the same as have been indicated in the preceding proposal subject to only such changes as may be needed by local require-

The idea is not altogether impracticable. Such Settlements have in fact been founded in some of the towns in the Panjab and United Provinces e.g., Lyallpur Montgomery Cawnpore Allahabad Lucknow and Benares.

ments The State should always retain its proprietorship over the houses and should on no account part with them This plan is very much like that of the "Regent Properties" at Barrackpore

The fourth measure is to take the following shape The State should first acquire some waste and unused lands outside the city within the suburbs and invite some Land Development Company (preferably an Indian concern) on the same principle as laid down in section 10 of the English Housing Act of 1919 (acquisition of land for the purpose of garden cities or town planning schemes) to undertake their reclamation and development with a view to parcel them out into small tenements and later on to dispose them of by lease or regular sale to persons, in Government service or otherwise, who are in real need of residences The Government should next seek the assistance and co-operation of some Building Construction Company (first preference being given to an indigenous body) to construct houses in the developed area recovering their expenditure either by charging reasonable monthly rents from the occupiers or by selling them out and out at reasonable market values But it is necessary as a sort of encouragement to the Development and Building Companies that the State should place at their disposal some sort of grant or loan as provided for in sections 1 (provision of payment of money to persons constructing houses) and 7 (powers of borrowing for purpose of Housing Act) of the English Housing Act of 1919, safeguarding at the same time the best interests of the people for whose ultimate benefit the scheme is projected This project is evidently intended to supplement State endeavours by private enterprise

The appointment of a Development Commissioner by the Government for the purposes of examining schemes put forward by private companies, of obtaining full information about them and of advising the Government whether land should be acquired and if so upon what conditions is a step in this direction Other duties of this officer will be to ascertain whether Government or any local authority or railway has proposals in view or work in hand which may affect or be affected by the building schemes proposed The official scheme promises much good result if the strict nature of some of the proposals contained therein is relaxed to some extent

The fifth suggestion is to the effect that Housing Societies with the objects (1) of building or owning houses in or about the city, which will be made available for use and occupation, or purchase where so desired on an easy instalment system by people of limited means as they are actually doing in Dundee, Scotland, (2) of organising Finance Co-operative Housing Societies among the poor and generally

(3) of furthering the cause of good housing by propaganda and other means, should be formed Such a society, with schemes, has as a matter of fact, been formed in Madras by way of private initiative and is called the Madras Central Housing Society for the purpose of improving the housing conditions there

The sixth proposal is that corporate bodies or public authorities such as mercantile firms, Port Trust and Municipal Corporation, are to follow the example of the railway and jute mill companies and procure lands both in urban and suburban areas with a view to founding settlements and building quarters with their own funds for the use of their employees who do not possess any within or outside the town Or, if that is not possible, let Public Utility Societies be formed to undertake the task, but let the State simply supplement their resources to cause them to carry out their projects widely and successfully as laid down in the English Town Planning and Housing Act of 1919 In order to recoup their outlay and to keep the buildings in proper repairs the societies will be entitled to charge monthly rents proportionate to the pay of the occupiers If they would also so like they may as well sell off some of the houses to approved parties in exchange for their bonus or gratuity that may fall due to them It is needless to say that if this suggestion is acted upon by the bodies for whom it is advocated, it will help considerably to ameliorate the distressing lot of a large number of men of humble means in private service and thus materially remove the great scarcity of housing accommodation which has admittedly affected this class more acutely than any others

The seventh suggestion is that at least a quarter of a dozen bridges on the American model (e.g., Brooklyn) should be constructed forthwith on the river connecting the city proper at all hours of day and night with the growing and populous villages of Bally, Uttarpara, Belur, Lilooah, and Salkia and the busy industrial centres of Howrah, Sibpur and Shalimar Pending the construction of the proposed bridges frequenter and cheaper service of the Port Trust Ferry Steamers may be arranged for to disintegrate and relieve the river-side trade and traffic This proposal, if given effect to, will be able to remove the congestion and overcrowding of the city areas to a large extent, because it will then afford not only great inducement to the public to stay outside the town, but will also make the promoters and owners of many a workshop, godown, mill yard and factory to transfer their whole-hearted activities to localities and neighbourhoods beyond the town of Calcutta as well as cause them to improve their health and sanitation according to modern requirements It will not be too much to affirm that, in that condition of things happening, ample outlet will be provided to a large p of

the surplus population hitherto cramped inside the town areas

The main suggestions for dealing with house scarcity have been treated in detail. The crux of the problem being the abnormal shortage of house supply, every attempt that conduces to remove the deficiency needs to be made. It remains therefore, now to set forth a few constructive proposals which are to accompany the principal suggestions made and are required to be put into practice for the immediate amelioration of the present pressing situation.

The first is that no license should for the next five years be granted by the Municipal Corporation for construction of mills workshops and factories within the town area. It has been found from statistics that nearly one-sixteenth of the available space within the city has been absorbed by that class of buildings. This means too much for a place like the expanding city of Calcutta where the number of residential premises has never been able to overtake that of the occupiers. Although it was an impossibility that the existing structures of this class could be removed by one desperate attempt yet it is believed that the steps that are suggested to be taken for the prevention of their future construction inside the city promised to remove the complaint of displacement of so many bonafide dwelling houses which could then be built on the sites that otherwise would have been occupied by them.

The next is that the Calcutta Corporation should first invoke the assistance of legislation for the purpose and then call upon and compel the owners and lease-holders of bustee lands to construct buildings on them. In default those lands are to be acquired at reasonable marketable prices and then made over to some Land Development and Building Company who will undertake to carve small plots out of them and build upon them without loss of time. The Corporation is also recommended to equip itself with ample powers from the Legislature by which it can prevent and penalise the intending builders of houses who make needless and avoidable delay in their construction. Further, on the lines proposed for fresh English legislation on the Housing Act, the Corporation should be armed with powers to stay construction of luxurious buildings till the present congestion is removed, even at the risk of dull uniformity of streets, and to take into possession and occupation empty and unused premises for letting them out eventually on fair and easy terms.

The third is that the Port Trust and the Eastern Bengal Railway should transfer by permanent lease to the Municipal Corporation a large portion of the extensive lands which are lying scattered quite unused at their disposal outside the town towards the Hoque Chitpore and Strand sides. The Corporation should in their turn divide them

into small holdings and tenements and arrange for letting them out on leasehold rights to those who intend to build mills, factories and workshops, and thus arrive at a satisfactory solution for the location of that class of buildings in the vicinity of the town without detriment to the health and accommodation of the urban population.

The fourth recommendation is that His Majesty's Mint, which has been admittedly occupying quite an unusual space in the most crowded part of the city, should be removed to some outlying portion in the suburbs, either towards Dum Dum Cantonment or far away at Tollygunge, and the space which would be thus released could be utilised by the Corporation for the construction of a large number of model houses and buildings for the accommodation of a large number of Government or Corporation officials who are practically wandering through the length and breadth of the city from year's end to year's end in search of habitations or it could be let out in small plots to private parties or public companies for bonafide residential building purposes.

The fifth is that building materials, such as brick, lime, mortar, tiles, concrete, ballast, etc., should be locally manufactured on a larger scale than before. The Government should put no sort of restriction on their output and transport, nor should it make any monopoly of their supply. To further that object the State should afford sufficient encouragement to the manufacturing companies by grant of bounty, patronage, or otherwise. Imports of foreign building materials, such as iron and steel beams, joists, girders, etc., should be placed on a free and unrestricted basis. The State should also forego any competition with private individuals or public bodies in the matter of produce, manufacture and indent of building materials. The Government should also make such arrangements with railway systems and steamship companies as to facilitate the easy and inexpensive carriage of building materials from outside places to Calcutta.

The sixth is that the railway companies should be required not only to run their trains at shorter intervals than now, but also to reduce their fares for monthly journeys considerably so that they may be found convenient to all classes of people living at a distance of about twenty to fifty miles from the town and who may be thus induced and encouraged to live away from the town in order to prevent its further overcrowding.

The seventh recommendation is that some firms of engineers should be asked to experiment locally upon the Edisonian patent of reinforced concrete houses and if that is found safe and durable, to introduce this kind of admittedly inexpensive buildings into the city. This step promises to bring in a new age in the mode and style of Indian architecture ensuring less time



and expense than required at present. This scheme, it may be stated, has proved very successful at Patna in recent years.

The eighth is that for the sake of economy at least, the substitute for brick called 'Cylvia seldist' which has recently been invented by a Swedish Engineer of Gothenberg and which has been found on experiment to be much cheaper than and in some respects superior to ordinary brick, should be used to relieve the present difficulty of the situation. According to the Stockholm paper, from which the information is gathered this new substitute for brick is very easy to saw or chisel, has great bearing capacity and has twice the heat insulation efficiency of wood, while it is so cheap that the cost of a structure built of this new material will be a quarter of that of a present-day brick built structure. It is reasonable to suppose therefore that the introduction and wide use of this substitute for brick will go a long way to solve the house-deficiency problem.

The ninth is that whatever course is taken and whatever steps are adopted for the amelioration of the present situation the Calcutta Corporation and the Calcutta

Improvement Trust should for the sake of winning over the public to their side work together and in perfect harmony with them and then it will be found that they will receive assistance and willing co-operation from the people who will not only put their private funds at their disposal but also their brains to enable them to work out their projects satisfactorily.

The tenth proposal is to the effect that the builders, architects and technicians should be engaged on monthly pay due provision being made for them and their families for accidents, dearth and distress. A sort of bonus fund should also be instituted out of which those people are to be rewarded who by their tact, labour and supervision bring to completion construction of buildings in good time and in perfect smoothness.

In every undertaking economy and utility should go hand in hand and all devices should ensure speedy and immediate relief. Sound practical sense must be attended with vigorous work.

PRATHULLA CHANDRA GHOSH

## SANITARY REFORM

BY N C BHATTACHARYA, M.A. PROFESSOR OF PHYSIOLOGY, PRINCEIPAL COLLEGE, CALCUTTA, AND LECTURER, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

It seems that the Ministers of the Reformed Council are unable to take in hand any constructive sanitary work for want of funds. Taxation is bound to be extremely unpopular at the present moment. It is therefore necessary for us to find out what sanitary legislations can be introduced and passed, without having recourse to direct taxation.

### SOME MINOR REFORMS

(1) If anybody carries on a trade which is likely to endanger public health, the activity of such person or persons should be checked in such a way as to render him innocuous.

I have occasions to travel in the southern section of the E. B. R. Between Sealdah and Ballygunj stations there are two tanneries, which often emit such an obnoxious smell that the passengers feel extremely uncomfortable while passing these spots. Why

is it possible for people to annoy other men by their actions without themselves getting into trouble? I am told that under the existing laws there is no remedy for a thing like this. Tanneries ought not to be built in a public place, or if they are built in such a place they should be obliged to keep things so clean as not to be unpleasant to other men.

(2) In the Inter class compartments of most of the Railways and in the Second class compartments of a few of them, the mattresses are positively unclean and insanitary. A mattress covered with cotton drilling or worn out oilcloth is apt to be full of disease germs and spread all sorts of infectious diseases. Use of such articles in public conveyances and places should be forbidden by law.

(3) I wonder who built the gates of the Wellington Square park? And why the public has suffered the inconveniences for so long a time. The passages are so narrow

that you cannot enter the park without coming into the embrace of somebody else or somebody else falling on you. And thus somebody may be a leper, a small pox or chicken pox walla whose sores are not yet quite dry. Just think that anyone (including children whom we should specially protect from infection) cannot enter the park unless he places his hands on the gate to push his way into the garden. It is difficult to imagine why such a monstrous plan did come into anybody's head when he had the models of the gates of the Eden gardens, the Curzon gardens and the College Square tank before him. These Wellington Square gates should be demolished in no time.

#### SOME RAILWAY REFORMS

The railways ought to be obliged to carry on a certain amount of sanitary work in the country as they are responsible to a considerable extent for its insanitary condition. In places where the permanent waterways have been stopped by the railroads and the country has been rendered damp and insanitary railway companies should be obliged by law to prepare new waterways.

But in another way the railroads are responsible for a good deal of mischief: this is the creation on both sides of the railroads of a very large number of shallow pools, tanks or *dobas*. These have been recognised by all sanitary authorities as the most fruitful sources of mischief for the spread of malaria. These shallow pools do not hold water throughout the year and therefore such fishes and aquatic animals as normally eat up the mosquito larvae in deep water tanks cannot survive in them. When the water in these pools dries up after the rainy months vegetation grows luxuriantly in them, after a rainfall it becomes putrid and the pools form an excellent culture ground for the mosquito larvae, some of which (the anophelis) cause the spread of malaria. In fighting malaria in the Panama canal one of the most important part of the efforts was the destruction of pools or shallow water courses which could contain a small quantity of water and thus help the growth of mosquitoes. One of the first efforts of our sanitary reformers should also be in their attempts to get rid of malaria from this country, the destruction of pools and *dobas*. As the railroads are responsible for the creation of the largest number of shallow water

tanks in this country they should be handled first. Those who keep such pools should be obliged by law to pay such fines or taxes as will make them think it more profitable either to close them up or to deepen them sufficiently so as to contain water throughout the year.

I have several plans for railway reforms.

(1) All channels and pools at the sides of the railroads should be connected by narrow canals or drains with the nearest river. All the surplus water will thus be drained into it and the land will be dry and healthy. This system has another advantage during the rainy season when transport by bullock cart in a village is rather a difficult operation these canals could be used by country boats. I found a system of transport like this in some stations near Uluberri (B N R).

(2) The railways should be made to excavate big tanks at intervals with the earth from these the pools on both sides of the railroads should be filled up. By arrangement with the local villages these tanks might be so placed as to be the most important source of water supply in these places. These will also be an important source of fish supply to the country. A part of the cost of their excavation might thus be realised from this source.

It should be the business of our ministers and administrators to co-ordinate the activities of the different public bodies so as to obtain the maximum amount of national good from them. As an instance of this inco-ordination I mention the case of a huge tank which is situated south of Dhakur Railway station (E B R South). This tank of rather a series of tanks have been excavated by the E I R to get earth for part of their line going to Budge Budge. With a little more expenditure these could be converted into a single magnificent tank rivaling or perhaps excelling the best tanks in Bengal (including those of Burdwan and Tipperah). A big village could have been supplied with plenty of fresh water from it. But as there was no co-ordination between the railway authorities and the District Board authorities here this magnificent tank is practically useless so far as water supply is concerned. It is a source of fish now but as this is of minor consideration with the railway authorities, maximum use of these tanks for pisciculture does not seem to have been achieved.

(3) Let me now come to my third plan of railway reform. This is perhaps the most economic from the view point of immediate capital expenditure. In this plan the railways should be permitted instead of filling up all the *dobas* and pools running along the sides of the lines to deepen at intervals some of the bigger of the tanks so that they may contain water throughout the whole year. Then these big tanks should be connected with each other and also with narrower pools and *dobas* by means of narrow drains. The advantage of this system would be that as the water in the deeper tanks sinks down the water from the pools and *dobas* will run down to these. During the rainy season when the shallower pools get filled up with water aquatic animals from the deeper tanks would migrate into these and deal with the submerged plants etc., thus reducing the food for the mosquito and endangering their quiet breeding grounds.

#### TREATMENT OF SHALLOW PONDS AND POOLS IN DISTRICT BOARD ROADS AND VILLAGES

What I have said above is applicable in the case of District Board and other public roads, and the same reforms should be carried on in these cases also.

It is obvious that the above suggestions are not applicable in the case of village ponds and pools. In all these cases the *doba* must either be sufficiently deepened to contain water throughout the whole year or they should be filled up. It should be the business of our legislators to see how this can be done. The keeping of insanitary places may be made a penal offence or the keeper of such places might be obliged to pay a special sanitary tax which will go to help initiation of sanitary measures in the country.

People who steep jute in a village tank should either be fined for keeping insanitary places or be obliged to pay the special sanitary tax.

#### INSANITARY GARDENS

I have examined a large number of gardens in many villages in the districts of Nadia Burdwan Hoogly 24 Perganas and Howrah, and have found that many of these are positively harmful. A law should be en-

acted prohibiting more than a limited number of trees of certain definite size within a village area and a certain greater number of trees outside the village area. The very large number of trees that is found in many places in Bengal is both insanitary and bad for arboriculture. Many of the gardens contain too many plants to be of any use to the owner from an economic point of view. In many of these gardens 10 to 50 per cent of the trees could be cut down to the great benefit of the remaining ones.\*

And in these days of high price for fuel the owners would be greatly benefited by cutting down such trees. If any one could take a walk along parts of Manoharpukur Road and its surroundings, one would feel how positively mischievous a superabundance of plants could be. An excess of vegetation covering the soil prevents light and air reaching it which is thus always kept dark and damp—conditions which help the growth of germs of diseases and the insects which carry and spread the diseases. The birds which are natural enemies of the insects can not catch them in these places, as they themselves possess notoriously defective vision in dim light.

#### SOME HOUSE BUILDING LAWS

Some house building laws similar to the Calcutta laws should be passed for the villages also. As the land is very cheap there these will not cause so much hardship as at Calcutta. It is a notorious fact that

\* Vide Firminger's *Manual of Gardening for India* Sixth Ed 1915.

Firminger lays down that close planting is one of the main faults of Indian fruit gardening. p. 166. According to this authority the following are the correct distances for the chief fruit trees in India. See pages 166 168 179 and 219—

Name of tree—ft apart	
Mango	30
Papayas	10
Bananas	12
Guavas	20
Pomegranates	15
Cocoanut	25
Jack fruit	30
Lichee	30

From the above it would seem that the smallest tree like the pomegranate when fully grown up should have a clear space of 15 ft around it. But one need not go far from Calcutta to see the practice in this country. In Ballygunj and Manoharpukur Road there are plenty of full grown big trees placed at a distance of from 5 to 10 feet from each other.

many a villager would do lots of nuisance simply to annoy his neighbour, and will do things that are of no earthly use to him and on careful consideration are positively harmful to him. I have seen these things: a man builds a nice house—better than his neighbour's house which excites his envy. This man then opens a ditch in front of his windows and begins to throw rubbish there from his house or he plants plantain trees, which cover his windows darkening the rooms and sending plenty of mosquitoes into them. Laws should be enacted to prevent recurrence of such things. If it is found that a person produces some insanitary place in his occupied land and if it is proved that such things are done out of malice the person should be prosecuted for these.

#### TANKS

People who want to excavate a tank for supplying water to the public should be helped by the Government in acquiring land for the tank. The principle of the land acquisition laws should be applied in these cases also. I know of several villages in which the big tanks are almost filled up; these tanks are owned by a large number of different families, some of which are rich while others are poor. The rich families are willing to re-excavate the tanks but they cannot do so on account of the opposition of the poor. In one case a Zeminder noticing the wretched condition of a tank in a village wanted to re-excavate it at his own expense without any detriment to the right of the owners. But he could not do so because one of the proprietors of the tank in order to prove that he could exercise his right of possession objected to the excavation. I propose that all tanks which have remained bad for ten years should be liable to be acquired by the Government either to be excavated at the expense of the District Board or to be sold to any man who offered reasonable securities to show that he would excavate the tank within a specified time. It is necessary to have a convenient definition for a bad tank. I suggest the following:—a bad tank is one which is overgrown with vegetation and one third area of which contains less than 6 ft. water during summer.

#### VILLAGE BOY SCOUTS

The boy scout movement should be extended to villages at once. All school and

college boys and youngmen should be made boy scouts. The chief work of these scouts would be to work with the spade. If there is one thing on which the salvation of Bengal depends—it is the spade. And every man in Bengal, high or low, should be trained to use the spade. It is the simplest and most potent weapon to fight against malaria—the scourge of Bengal which has devastated the country and cholera and other diseases. The water supply of the whole country can alone be assured by the use of the spade. To get rid of the damp and water-logged area of the country and to cover the landscape with beautiful flower and fruit gardens the spade is the chief aid.

It is the spade which can solve our agricultural difficulties. The soil of this country is being depleted of its fertile elements by constant growing of crops. When we exchange our corn and food stuff for manufactured cotton goods of other countries, we are losing large quantities of highly useful manures contained in the foodstuff which in the natural condition would have been returned to the soil and would have preserved its fertility. It is by the good use of the spade we can, partly at least, restore the fertility of our lands. A very large amount of manure is deposited on the beds of our shallow tanks, *dobas* and ditches. If these could be simply removed by spade and distributed to our agricultural lands and gardens the fertility of these could be very considerably increased and the deepened tanks would contain water for man and animals and would shelter fishes.\*

\* Dr. Bentley suggests that in areas where flooding takes place silt is deposited on the soil and its fertility is increased. I suggest that besides the above factor floods increase the fertility of the soil in another way. A good deal of manure remains scattered throughout the uncultivated lands. Rotten animal and vegetable products for instance form very good manures. With moderate rain these will be washed down into lower lands or be borne by rivers into the sea. When rivers are unable to carry the rain water the whole country gets inundated. All the above mentioned manures get dissolved in the water which covers all agricultural land. This water is tolerably rich in various mineral salts, which constitute its fertility. The soil is a colloidal substance, i.e. it consists of a very large number of very fine particles which give it an immense surface area. The colloids have the property of firmly holding (this phenomena is now technically called absorption) a thing of immense importance in modern biology) various mineral matters. This union of mineral matter with the colloid is so firm that the

Everybody knows that after a tank is excavated the undersoil which is spread on the bank of the tank makes the place extremely fertile. Peasants will pay very high rent for use of such lands, they know that for the next 4 or 5 years they will have plenty of vegetables from it. Thus it would seem that there is an important source of manure in this country which can be made available for our use by our own labour *eg* by the use of the spade.

The question is how can we get this necessary labour? Is it too costly? That there is no dearth of labour in Bengal can be easily shown. The agriculturists who comprise the bulk of the population of Bengal work hard for about three months to get their crops and for three months more they work as hired labourers; they generally spend about six months in idleness. Besides this there is a large number of *bhadralogs* (men of the genteel class) who are distributed among the agricultural population and many of whom do little or no work. It is the business of the politicians and legislators to organise this unused force for useful work. If all these idle forces could be utilised Bengal might be converted in ten years into a heaven. And this could be done without sending a single pice to any foreign country.

As a preliminary to this industrial conscription I suggest that the boy scout movement be instituted and spread throughout the whole of Bengal. Let the school and college youngmen in Bengal be organised into boy scouts and let them work with the spade. Let them excavate new tanks and wells fill

up old *dobas* and repair roads and do other useful work with the spade.

The suggestion is not an impracticable one. There is nothing derogatory in working with the spade. I am informed by a teacher of the Hastings House School which was an institution where boys from some of the most cultured and richest families in Bengal used to get their education that the students there had to dig land with spade to cultivate flowers and fruits and vegetables; the students took great interest in the matter which was also a very good form of exercise for developing their muscles. As it is proposed that the village boy scouts would do works of greater magnitude than in the institution mentioned above I suggest that there should be no class on Saturdays but students will have to work both on Saturdays and Sundays in the morning from 6 A.M. to 10 A.M. Special arrangements could be made for spade work during the summer vacation and a week's holiday might be given to students in the healthy winter months when they might do eight hours work per day for several days.

#### SOME AGRICULTURAL SUGGESTIONS

It is impossible to dissociate agriculture from sanitation altogether. If you increase the available food supply in the country by agricultural improvements you improve sanitary conditions at once. I have here in my mind two reforms which are mainly agricultural but which by improving the food supply of the country will indirectly help its sanitary improvements.

#### RAILWAY LINES

Indian economists like R. C. Dutta condemn railways from an economic point of view. If half the sums spent on railways had been judiciously spent in improving the waterways of India much better results would have been achieved. The waterways not only afford much cheaper method of transport but help agriculture and water supply of the country and also the fish supply. They also may help the sanitation of the country by making a better system of drainage. Until recently the railways have not been a success economically. But if we consider the immense amount of agricultural land absorbed by the railways and also if we calculate the food stuff that could have been obtained from these lands the actual econo-

mineral salts cannot be removed from the soil by simple means as mere washing. Thus during a flood the agricultural lands which had lost a part of their mineral wealth regain them.

Also during a flood the land remains submerged in water for several days. During this time water penetrates the lower strata of earth where it dissolves the mineral salts present. As this soil has not been impoverished by agricultural operations it is richer in mineral matter. Then as the water on the land and the interstices of different strata are now more or less continuous by means of diffusion and probably in some cases by osmosis also the mineral salts of the lower strata reach the upper strata and get absorbed by the hungry colloidal particles. With moderate rain the mineral salts have a tendency either to pass seaward or to go into the lower strata of the soil. With flood this tendency is reversed and equalization in the distribution of the mineral salts among the different strata of the soil takes place. This obviously helps most the uppermost agricultural layer of soil.

mic advantage of the railways would be seen to be much less than is apparent at present. And who will calculate the cost of the immense suffering and industrial loss that have been caused by railways by spreading malaria in the country?

I have often wondered why the sides of the railroads are not planted with trees as is done in the case of ordinary roads. It is not necessary to sing the praise of trees in detail in the economy of nature. Their foliage and flowers make the landscape charming. Compare the fine rows of trees along the Chowringhee Road and the Gariahata Road with those of the Central Avenue or the new Russa Road: what a dreary aspect the latter offer especially in summer months. Then the trees are of great value as fuel or timber, and some like the jackfruit give us both timber and edible fruit. Trees like the pipul give shelter and food to birds which are nature's scavengers and enemies of insects which are generally enemies of man. Then the trees with their more vigorous and longer root system are enabled to remove valuable mineral salts as manures from subsoil and when the tree sheds its leaves the scattered leaves carried hither and thither by the wind form very good manure for our cereals and vegetables whose root system cannot spread into the deeper layers of subsoil. Further the trees bring out the subterranean water into general circulation: otherwise this water could not have mixed with the general circulating water and the rainfall in the country would have been less. The trees like the acacia whose roots contain nodules of nitrifying bacteria are like so many miniature nitrifying factories. During the war when the Germans were short of chili salt-petre they devised a means by which the nitrogen in the atmosphere was converted into useful nitrogen compounds out of which they prepared their nitric acid for explosives and nitrates and ammonia for manuring their soil. Our leguminous plants like the acacia, the *krishna chura* (poinciana), the *sirs* etc. are so many miniature factories which are preparing nitrogen salts from atmospheric nitrogen

with the help of their root nodule bacteria. When the leaves and fruits of these plants are shed and scattered by the wind, water and animals our agricultural lands ultimately gain the important nitrogen manures prepared by those plants.

It is therefore, clear that the planting of trees is a very important thing for the country. All available space in the country should be covered with trees. The P.W.D. roads are generally so covered. The Gariahata Road and Trunk Road are shaded by beautiful trees. I have seen a fine collection of timber trees by the sides of the Krishnagar to Bogula Road. What I now propose is that the sides of the railroads should be planted with trees. They are peculiarly suitable for this purpose: they are already fenced to keep away animals and the soil being new it is extremely fertile. Plants planted there during the rainy season would grow almost without any care. Where planting of big trees is not suitable smaller trees like the areca nut, the *acacia*, the *palas*, the small *poinciana*, the dates, the coconuts etc. could be planted to the considerable increase of the beauty of the landscape and wealth of the country.

#### RIVER EMBANKMENTS

What I have urged about the railroads may be repeated again in the case of the river embankments. While walking along the Damodar embankments from Shibgunj (opposite Falta) to Kulgachi (B.N.R.), I have often thought why this large expanse of land which is peculiarly suitable for coconut plantation has not been utilized for this purpose. As the embankments are intersected with khals there is no cartroad along them. So a considerable part of the soil on both sides of the embankments could be planted with coconut or other suitable trees. An immense number of coconuts could be grown from this area alone. But all these possible sources of wealth to the country have not yet been utilized. Trees like coconut would be of use in strengthening the embankments. Their roots spread in various directions and keep the land firmly fixed.

## THE SPIRIT OF ANCIENT HINDU CULTURE

**W**E have read this little book\* of about 250 pages with great pleasure and profit. The author is a learned and thoughtful writer, who has assimilated his learning and does not make too many quotations, and is capable of expressing deeply philosophical conceptions in simple language, at once chaste and elegant and forceful. Though a staunch admirer of Hindu culture he has no illusions and sees clearly all the weak points of our civilisation and does not want to explain them away, as others before him have done, but frankly faces them and tries to show how they have come to exist. The best chapters are those on Hindu ethics and Hindu politics, and the Introduction in which the Eastern and Western cultures are contrasted, is also a fine piece of composition. Altogether, this is a book well deserving of a niche in the book-lover's library. We hope the author will bring out an English edition, which will direct the attention of western scholars to the peculiar excellences of Hindu culture, which are ably summarised in this small volume.

Human intellect is fond of putting the question either or and expecting the answer yes or no to all problems. It is a shallow trick of our understanding. It is fatal to the quest of Reality which does not vouchsafe its integral vision to either of these types of mind, but to both in different aspects. Truth is far too subtle a thing to be effectively circumscribed within the network of a word or a formula. It especially eludes the grasp of the persons who try to bottle up the spirit and say that it is *here* and *nowhere* else.

the spirit and say that it is *new* and *newer* than the finest machinery. It is for the West to give us the finest machinery, the ideal systems, the perfect technical organizations. It is for the East to put soul everywhere to inspire the right mental psychosis to subordinate the giants of matter and force, heat and electricity to the service of the finest, highest altruistic ideas of the soul. The central thought, the basic conception, the fundamental motive and impulse must come from the East, the superstructure, the elaboration of details, the perfection of the outer fabric of all sciences, all institutions must be borrowed from the West. We want both self assertion and self renunciation, a capacity for war and yet a disposition to peace, a mastery of machinery and yet an imaginative vision.

"The West looks outward and emphasises the need of building up a superb outward structure of civilisation."

• The Spirit of Ancient Hindu Culture by Magno-  
lal A. Buch, M.A., Baroda Rs. 24

tion for the happiness of man. The East looked inward and emphasised the need of obtaining mastery over self and developing the soul powers of man. The West, therefore, looks to science as the ultimate panacea for all ills. The East looked to philosophy as the last refuge for all weary and sorrow stricken humanity.

[ The doctrine of Advaita ] "Unity, it should never be forgotten is the very goal of philosophy. No philosophy which fails to give us this unity, which binds us in a mere maniness or togetherness, can satisfy the soul of man. In science, the highest triumph is the triumph of law and reason over details and particulars in conduct the highest conquest is the conquest of the self over its conflicting chaos of desires in religion, the possession of all other realms by the God idea is the most superb possession. In philosophy the conquest by the Absolute of all other principles is the highest conquest. Thought wants unity conduct wants unity facts want unity. The Advaita gives that unity which can completely satisfy

The author believes in the value and even the necessity of image worship for certain types of mind and in certain stages of the soul's growth as an aid to concentration and religious solidarity

Idols and temples serve their devotees in conjuring up a religious atmosphere, in uniting all the people in their religious ways of worship, and in systematizing the exercises of faith. The crucial test is the test of faith of religious emotion, and of religious habits."

The author holds that "these are largely taken away from our life along with the images."

"The most important fact is not the medium of our communion with the Deity, but the communion itself. The fact of cardinal importance is not the language, or the medium of expression, but the fact, or the matter of expression."

Few are so highly trained as to be capable of breathing the pure air of the impalpable essences

"Image worship is symbolic worship. It is the worship of supernal realities through the symbols which are supposed to represent them best. It is the translation for the time being of the infinite in terms of the finite, of the spiritual in terms of the material, of the invisible in terms of the visible, of the timeless and spaceless and formless in terms of time, space and form, of the whole in terms of the part, of the universal in terms of the individual.

But the author expressly guards against any intention of idealising the institution

\*Not a few groveling people take idols themselves

is gods. This is the great danger of all institutions of all symbols and particularly of image worship. It is the danger of materialization. The pure spirit which was the underlying character of the institution is largely forgotten and the institution becomes fossilized. It is against such excesses of idolatry, against the worship of mere forms which do not stand for any spirit and which have no spiritual message to deliver that the great reactions of an iconoclastic type are directed.

Among the checks to the autocratic power of a monarch in ancient India were (1) a body of laws and customs which were not the monarch's creation but which were there to guide and control him, (2) assemblies and representative gatherings, Ravana had to call a conference of Rakshasas when he wanted to declare war with Rama. Dasaratha summoned a conference when he wanted to retire, (3) a body of ministers to counsel and advise the king, (4) a power higher than kings and earthly potentates, the Rishi, who alone was competent to modify old laws and create new ones, and who, a wandering mendicant, without home and property, was by virtue of his selfless character, a far greater force than warriors and traders in the body politic.

The chapter on the Hindu Ethical Attitude is the most instructive in the whole book. The author has drawn out the points of difference between the eastern and the western conceptions of morality with a master hand.

'A Hindu will place metaphysics first and ethics afterwards. Morality has value only so far as it fits a man for his ultimate destiny, on which metaphysics alone can throw light. It has disciplinary value no doubt. It is not a factor to be ignored. It is the essential preliminary stage which every soul must pass through. It is a fine preparation for higher spirituality but it is nothing more than a bridge between an unmoral life and a supramoral one. Moral categories are no more final than intellectual categories. Moral life therefore, is only an episode in the career of the soul.'

'The Hindu system [of ethics] is characterised by a depth, subtlety and complexity from which other religious systems are mostly free. It has, therefore the defects of its qualities. It is quite well suited to philosophic souls but it is not equally well adjusted to average minds. It does not possess that bold simplicity that severe clearness, that logical consistency which the Islamic and the Zoroastrian ethical systems possess. These systems place before a man as the final alternatives righteousness or unrighteousness. The Hindu system says that the final alternatives are realization or non-realization. A life of righteousness, therefore loses that paramount importance, that radical sting which it has with other people. It is a mediocre life after all. It is even

vulgar. It is not inspired as such with any fine philosophical ideal. It is merely earthly perfection, it has nothing of the heaven in it. It is dull, lifeless, unelevating. The spark of spirituality, of higher illumination of philosophic thought is necessary to convert its dross into gold. Morality, therefore, fails to excite as much interest and attention as it does in other systems. It is not final. It is not fundamental.'

'The result is that the philosophical concepts like *Karma*, *Maya*, *Moksha*, *Atman*, are far more prominent in Hindu thought than purely ethical concepts. A consequence of this extreme metaphysical attitude was that the Hindu Ethics ignored the importance of personality to a great extent. The concept of personality is the very highest concept in systems like Christianity. Hence much attention was not paid to the growth of independent personalities, to the development of a variety of types. Individual distinctions were not of much importance, the underlying unity was the only reality. An over-insistence on this unity led to a flatness in growth, an impoverishment of the wealth of differences a monotony of life. The Western ideal of personality has led people in the West to develop a diversity of types to the growth of a picturesque variety of talents and characters. The Eastern ideal of unity reduced the importance of the difference between man and man and thus led to the cultivation of one monotonous type of life everywhere. Hence the pictures that we meet with in the epics are all descriptions of types not individuals, there is no play of character, no exhibition of individual traits, no variety of life.

'Another typical feature about the Hindu attitude is the lack of enthusiasm which it exhibits about the interests of society. This attitude was also an outcome of their metaphysical passion for salvation. Salvation was to be an individual salvation, it was a private, personal affair. The salvation of individuals, not any scheme of collective uplift. Both the doctrine of *Karma* and of *Moksha* were in their rigorous application individualistic doctrines. They meant each one for himself, not each for all. Hence all the modern ideas of nationality, patriotism, social service, internationalism were somewhat alien to the ancient Hindu ways of thinking.

With this position is essentially connected the Hindu indifference towards the future of the race. If the race as a collective entity had not much interest for the Hindu mind how could its future interest it? No nation devoted so much attention to the development of minute detailed theories about the future of individual entities as the Hindus. How each soul from life to life how it would go to higher or lower worlds these and many other details were graphically described. But what shall be the future of the society, of the race? This question did not touch them much. The only answer possible was the theory of cyclic revolutions the eternal procession in the same round of the whole universe, the perpetual birth and rebirth four ages beginning with the golden age or Satya Yuga and ending with the Kali Yuga the age of complete decadence. The Hindus therefore, had no theory about the progress of society.

'The conception of the Highest Good the em



phasis on the spiritual as the only reality necessarily leads to a tendency to deprecate the value of earthly goods. "Secular welfare, economic prosperity, amelioration of outward conditions of life—all these cannot possess that importance from the point of view of a life which places its goal in a too religiously conceived spiritual emancipation and realisation which they naturally have for a more human system of ethics. The finite is often conceived in opposition to the infinite and to be sacrificed at the altar of the infinite. Life on earth is too often thought of as a negation and not a step to a further life beyond. Hence ascetic ideals often get ruinous predominance and at certain stages of Hindu civilization were all powerful. Hence renunciation, celibacy, fasting, penances, extreme sacrifice of body and bodily goods are often so eloquently preached."

"The Hindu outlook on earthly life is necessarily pessimistic. The pessimistic outlook is the result of the metaphysical passion for infinity. The misery from which a Hindu wants to fly is not physical or intellectual pain, the misery from which he wants to fly is the misery of being under the illusion of time, space and causality. All happiness which has got the taint of finality is misery to him."

"The special strength as well as weakness of the Hindu ethical attitude lies in its complexity. It favours all attitudes, even the most conflicting. It often advocates an attitude of extreme self assertion as an attitude of self effacement. All types of virtues, even the most opposed are alternately praised and run down. All this looks like inconsistency and chaos. The fact is that the Hindu system of morality is as complicated as life itself. Simple, self-consistent, logical formulae have a certain charm for humanity they can be easily understood and followed. But these are hopelessly inadequate to envisage life which itself is a very complicated business."

The complexity of the Hindu ethical system is traced by the author to the following causes: (1) The metaphysical character of the Hindu system, "a metaphysical moralist is more weak, hesitating, conflicting than a pure dogmatic moralist." (2) The impersonal character of Hinduism as contrasted with other systems which are the creations of historic personalities. The consistency of a doctrine which is the outcome of one mind is lacking in the Hindu system. (3) The Hindu faith has evolved

through many centuries and through many types of civilization, and its doctrines are not embodied in one single book. The result is that "all the different sides of life receive consideration, but the stern simplicity characteristic of some other faiths is lost. The system is a picturesque mosaic, a monument of the speculative genius of a great people, containing positions of all varieties" (4) The recognition of the fact that men occupy different physical, mental, spiritual and environmental planes as a result of birth, race, temperament, hereditary circumstances, society and so on. The duties of every stage of life, and of every order of society, are therefore different and require the application of different sets of laws.

The underlying idea of the whole Hindu ethics is the realization of the destiny of the soul. To pierce the veil of appearance and attain the final Reality, to pass from death to immortality, the soul has to go through endless processions of life and death, it has to experience life from every direction, it has to identify itself, not in imagination, but in actuality with every type of existence, it has to satisfy all its longings. This education through varied experiences, unlimited sufferings and trials and tribulations, till the soul grows chastened and purified and is fit to know itself covers untold ages, and a narrow code of man-made morality varying with every clime and age, is, according to the Hindu view, utterly inadequate to meet the soul's infinite needs. To such a cosmocentric point of view must be attributed the philosophic grandeur of the Hindu ethical ideal, though it must be admitted that the ideal is one which deprives conduct of most of its practical ethical content and incentive in the mind of the average man, who is incapable of taking a long view of human life and its goal.

BIBLIOPHILE

## POLITICAL PARTIES IN AUSTRIA

THE one thing which the working people of Europe realize is that imperialistic expansion, national wars, and internal conflict as well, have their origin primarily in economic causes. They realize that the ego has generally

found satisfaction in power over other men and in enhancing one's own magnificence. And that the most effective way of achieving and exercising this power is and has been, to reduce the individual or the class, to economic dependence

The process once started it has increased in geometrical progression poverty breeding poverty more poverty breeding lessened resistance to tyranny poverty breeding deeper and deeper ignorance in which superstitions thrive and upon which the tyrant plays and all destroying the spark of desire for intellectual and spiritual advancement which alone elevates man above the animal kingdom.

Thus in Europe you find all Socialist parties—however they may differ in means of speed and method—based upon the principle of economic emancipation of the working class. And in this light they interpret history and the cultural developments of the ages. To those who flout the economic interpretation of history the Socialists reply that without food there is no life and without life no cultural or spiritual aspiration. Thus their efforts to free all men from economic servitude is ultimately a spiritual movement.

The reactionary or conservative parties determined to maintain the *status quo* of capitalist society depend upon the educational institutions which they control upon the church the army the press and all the institutions maintained by them for the protection of their property. They may yield slightly to the Socialists only when compelled to do so by granting such temporary palliatives as a few cents more in wages or a few seconds less of working time or—when their own health is threatened—to improve the pest ridden quarters of the workers.

It is in light of this constant conflict between the working and the capitalist class that the program of every political party in Europe must be viewed. The issue is very clear—the exploited working class—having been forced by suffering and starvation to think—advancing to achieve its own economic emancipation through organization of economic and social institutions and the capture of the political state and the master class using every weapon at its command to maintain its control.

In German Austria (so called because the Austrians are German in race culture and language) the two economic forces mentioned above are seen at work. A review of four of the principal parties may be given in demonstration.

#### THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST PARTY

The Christian Socialist Party or the Austrian Conservatives are in power today and enjoy alike the benediction of the Entente and the capitalists. Originally it was started as a party to protect the interests of the small manufacturers. The Christian comes in because they are practically all Roman Catholics of the most orthodox hue. At the last National election in August 1920 two thirds of the votes which placed the party in power were those of women. This is significant because

the women of Austria are as nearly everywhere extremely conservative because of their own age long subjection and lack of intellectual opportunity.

The Christian Socialist Party is a party of petty capitalists or the *bourgeoisie* it is very anti-Semitic practically all are bigoted Roman Catholics and before the October 1918 revolution were strict monarchists preaching opposition to liberalism. Even today although they do lip service to the Republic they are suspected of harboring designs for the re-establishment of the Hapsburgian monarchy. Their economic program is in the main that of the *status quo*.

#### THE NATIONALISTS

The third strongest party in Austria is the Nationalist Party sometimes referred to as the German People's Party. It holds 20 mandates and is behind the Christian Socialists by 82 mandates and the second strongest party, the Social Democrats by 66. For this reason however they hold the turn of the scale and are thus very strong.

The Nationalists are bitterly anti-Socialist, strongly militaristic finding their support among the larger capitalists the student class and the intelligentsia who have been created by them and who have lost their social and economic prestige. About the Nationalists clings the odour of the old regime and of much that was decadent and evil in the monarchy. They were of course strict monarchists. Their economic program is for the exploitation of the working people of Austria by the Austrian capitalists. Their hatred for the Entente is uncompromising however differing in this respect from the Social Democrats who are essentially compromisers.

#### THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The Social Democratic Party is the second strongest party in the Austrian State. When the Hapsburgian Monarchy was dethroned in 1918 this party came into power. One of its most widely known leaders Dr. Friedrich Adler had shortly before shot and killed the Austrian Prime Minister Count Sturgkh, whose intolerable military control and censorship had destroyed what few constitutional rights the Austrians had enjoyed. Adler was the son of Dr. Victor Adler moderate Socialist leader and had been the founder of the Austrian Labor Councils which now have secured to the workers practical control of their own working conditions in the factories.

The Social Democratic Party today is a Socialist reformist party working for gradual state control and the introduction of social and economic reforms by the Social Democrats. Their program is the usual Socialist one calling for socialization of natural resources and means of production and for workers control of factories. But when faced with actual accomplishment

ment of their program, they are compromisers

The party is divided into three groups the left, led by Dr Adler the center led by Dr Otto Bauer, and the right led by Dr Karl Renner. Dr Bauer and Dr Renner have each held the portfolio of Secretary for Foreign Affairs while the Social Democrats were in power. But these three groups differ only in theory and discussion, in action they are one. The party is supported principally by industrial and brain workers, by conservative trade unionists and by a number of reformist bourgeois. It looks to the control of a reformist Socialist State negotiating with other Powers in the time honored method of states everywhere. Its activities are extensive and varied ranging from a large daily paper, the *Arbeiter Zeitung* (Workers Newspaper) to the control of the many co-operative stores and of the co-operative movement throughout the State. The party is very powerful and under its direction the Austrian workers have built their own institutions and organized themselves until in 1915 their leaders were able to take the reins of government.

#### THE COMMUNISTS

The other party in Austria which gives more concern to each and every party than any other single or all parties combined is the Communist Party. This is the party of no compromise the advance guard of the social revolution for the destruction of the age long system of economic control of the working class by capitalists. This party, without one delegate in Parliament is an incubus to the Entente as well as to the Social Democrats who prefer compromise with other parties to the militant determination of the Communists.

Out of the total Austrian population of six million souls the Communists have an organized body of but 30,000. Of these but 24,000 voted the Communist ticket at the last election, the rest voting for the Social Democrats out of fear of the monarchical and reactionary tendencies of the Christian Socialists.

The Communist Party is affiliated with the Third or Communist International with headquarters in Moscow. Its program is that of the Third International and of Communist Parties in every country with which it is in close touch. It preaches unceasingly the social revolution the immediate and complete overthrow of all imperialist and capitalist governments and the establishment of Communism holding that lives lost now if necessary will be fewer than if society continues to exist under capitalism where workers give of their lives in war, in disease or in unsafe industrial processes. It denounces reform in any shape or form preaching the fallacy of a little freedom for one nation or reform for one group of people while the

workers in other countries European and Asian alike live in slavery and can be used to destroy governments established by workers.

The last election showed that the Communists had their greatest strength among the highly intelligent metal workers among the miners and factory workers. Two thirds of their votes were those of men, most of whom have military training (Military service was compulsory under the Hapsburgs).

The Communists publish a daily newspaper in Vienna *Die Rote Fahne* (The Red Flag) with a circulation of 25,000, a weekly paper *Der Arbeiterwart* (Workers Councils), with a circulation of 7,000 and a monthly *Kommunismus* (Communism). There is also a weekly paper *Die Rote Soldat* (The Red Soldier) published by a group of Communist soldiers of whom there are 2,000 in the Austrian army of 30,000. *Die Rote Soldat* has a circulation of 6,000 within the army itself. All such propaganda of the Communist Party is carried on in the army under the Revolutionary Soldiers Committee.

The Communist Party conducts ten night propaganda schools in the State six of which are in Vienna. In the schools picked men and women from the Communist Party are taught the following subjects and then are sent out to teach other workers in factories.

Economy Factory Management and Control the Labour Union Movement in various countries (Russia included) Working Class Tactics the Problems of the Social Revolution, the Materialistic Conception of History, Communism in the Various Countries Institutions under the Soviet State in Russia today, and other such subjects. These men and women are being trained as managers of the Communist State when it is ushered in. They study for two or three hours at night in cold, badly lighted rooms. Often they are ragged and tired and they are all thin and undernourished. But they are young working people between the ages of twenty two and thirty five keen of intellect uncompromising in character and with an international vision. Some of their teachers are university men and women whose idealism has led them to take up the class struggle and give their training freely to the working class.

The books which the Communist students study are such as would stagger college students in many countries their discussions would put to shame university men their knowledge of economic life problems and possibilities would enrage the capitalist who claims that his brains are superior and necessary in the management of industry. The Communists along with other workers in Austria have already secured a sound practical training in factory management through the Workers Councils founded under the Socialists. But today we moved

friend of the Social Democrats in their political and economic program.

The Communists claim that although they are weak in numbers today many of the workers who vote the Social Democratic ticket, will follow them in time of crisis. If German Communists start the social revolution the Austrian Communists will join them they say. And so will the Communists of the sur-

rounding states such as Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Roumania. Likewise Italy. The Communists of Austria, unlike the Social Democrats lack tried leaders who command influence and great power. The movement is a mass movement and from the mass leaders may come in time of crisis.

ALICE BIRD

## THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE IN VIENNA

THE International Socialist Conference (officially known as the 2 1/4 Congress) met in Vienna from February 22-28. Preliminary conferences had been held in Berne Switzerland in December 1920 and at Innsbruck Austria. Delegates from Socialist groups in 12 different European countries who had been refused admission or who had refused to join the Third or Communist International with headquarters in Moscow were present. These were delegates from the Social Democratic Parties of Germany France England Yugoslavia Serbia Lettland Austria Poland (an international Jewish movement) Roumania Russia (the Mensheviks) and the Russian Social Revolutionists. Switzerland and Czechoslovakia. The Social Democratic Party of Finland wired approval but sent no delegates. Delegates from Bulgaria were present but were permitted only as auditors not as voters.

The delegates were older men and women from the various countries most of whose names in the past have been known for their socialist activities but who to day have been challenged and condemned by the Third International as reformists who have failed or who will fail to remain true to the working class and the social revolution in time of crisis.

Preceding the Conference Gregory Zinoviev President of the Executive Committee of the Third International sent a wireless broadcast referring to the leaders of the 2 1/4 Conference as betrayers of the people social patriots traitors to the working class conspirators with their governments and above all reformists who were holding back the wheels of the social revolution. Some of these names were Jean Longuet and Ranoudelet of France Dr. Rudolf Hilferding Wilhelm Dittman Robert Dismann Georg Ledebour and Frau Louise Seitz of Germany Dr. Friedrich Adler and Dr. Otto Bauer of Austria Robert Grimm of Switzerland and the English delegates.

The Third International in dealing with social and labor organizations in the various countries had previously demanded among

other things as a pre-requisite to the admission of these parties to the Third International that the parties should be swept clean of reformists. The purpose was to have an out and out revolutionary working class in the various countries who would fight without compromise in any form until the international social revolution was complete.

These reformist leaders refused to be swept aside therefore conferences were called in the leading European countries such as in Germany, France and Italy where the Socialist Parties were split into two camps the left groups joining with or forming the Communist Parties and the other remaining group continuing as the right moderates or reformist Social Democrats.

In this way the European working class movement stands to-day divided into two camps the Communists very strong and increasingly stronger militant uncompromising in their demands for the immediate and complete destruction of capitalism and the Social Democrats or reformists who unite with other parties in the formation of cabinets and in government control and who when faced with opposition from the workers themselves reply as did the governments of the Czar and the Kaiser by shooting down their opponents. This has been the case in Germany under the Social Democratic rule of Noske, Scheidemann and Ebert.

Thus the Vienna Conference was primarily an attempt of the Social Democrats of Europe to found an international conference in opposition to the Third International on the one hand, and to the old Second International on the other which had supported the war in 1914 and had thus destroyed itself.

The three principal subjects discussed at the Conference were

- 1 Imperialism and the Social Revolution
- 2 Methods and Organization of the Class Struggle
- 3 The International Fight against the Counter revolution

R. C. Wallhead delegate from the Independent

ent Labor Party of England, reported on the first subject; Dr Friedrich Adler, of the Social Democratic Labor Party of German Austria, reported on the second, and Georg Ledebour, of the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany, reported on the third.

In every discussion, two elements were seen at work—the English delegates stood to the extreme right on every question, voting for the English reformist methods of attaining Socialism, and the Russian delegates representing the Social Revolutionists and the Mensheviks voting for the Soviet system and the immediate international class war for the establishment of international socialism. The Russian delegates however, opposed the present Russian Bolshevik or Communist Party Government. But even in this small conference, was discerned the basis of the charge that Russia represents Asia and Asian thought, as contrasted with the compromising tactics of the English.

Toward the close of the conference two Indians—one Hindu and one Mahomedan—spoke with Jean Longuet, delegate and Deputy from France, and asked him what action the conference intended to take on India. Longuet said:

"There will be a general resolution on imperialism. India may be mentioned in that. Of course we sympathize."

Later, in Berlin, a representative of the German Independent Socialist Party was approached with the same question and the following answer was given:

"We think that is a question which we shall leave to the British labor movement."

The Indians replied that India was an international question, and had nothing to do with the British labor party. They charged that the Conference was a nationalistic conference without vision, without even the intelligence to understand India's prime position in international imperialism: capitalism. One of them charge d

"The conference, pretending to be an international body for the destruction of international capitalism, has neither the vision, the desire, nor the power to formulate a program regarding India, or to understand that the greatest imperialistic capitalism in the world rests on India, and is the reason for the subjection of all Asia in which the past war had its origin. To hear the delegates talk, one would not know that there were such continents as Asia and Africa. A few words are uttered by the English delegates on imperialism, but there might be discussions on astronomy or mathematics."

Wallhead an English delegate, in reporting on "Imperialism and the Social Revolution," used eloquent words—as Englishmen do. His knowledge did not seem to extend back of 1881, nor did his internationalism extend beyond the Suez Canal. Even in words it did not reach so far as India. Wallhead said in part:

"If we should speak of the causes of the war, we must begin with 1881, when Great Britain occupied Egypt from 1881 to 1903, Great Britain has enlarged its territory by four millions of English square miles in all continents of the world."

"English imperialism has not brought prosperity to the working class, nor improvement in its social conditions. If the imperialism of that country, which has robbed the most territory, and the most races in the world could not improve the condition of its own workmen, how could it do so in any other country?"

Wallhead's words contained some truths although by no means the full truth. He talked well as the Indians said most English liberals and labor men do. "The talking revolutionists," they sarcastically remarked. Wallhead's preliminary statement, attached to the invitation to the Conference, was also eloquent. A part of it follows:

"The proletariat has no illusions over the fact that within capitalist society, peace is as little secured as the freedom of nations. Where the proletariat has gained political power, there it must also defend it with armed force against the attacks of imperialism. Where the revolution has not yet advanced to the point of the proletariat seizing the political power, there the working class must defend the results gained by the revolution against the Imperialism which endeavours, by forcible means, to lead the counter revolution to victory or to check the progress of the revolution, it must make use of the revolutionary crisis to achieve political power. In the great capitalist countries where imperialism still rules and in the small states which imperialism uses as its vassals and of which it makes a cat's paw, the working class must not permit itself to be led astray by the old lying practice which proclaims every war undertaken in the interest of capitalist expansion to be a national war of defence, but must offer unbending opposition to the war policy of the ruling classes and must, with revolutionary determination, throw its whole weight into the fight against imperialistic wars. This the proletariat must do in the case of any war, but it must do it even more against wars which are undertaken to crush the social revolution in other countries."

"Imperialism has robbed whole nations of the foundation of their economic existence, has handed over whole countries to plundering by the capital of the world powers, has subjected whole continents to violent invasion. The social revolution is the revolt of the working masses of all countries against the imperialist policy of subjection and destruction. It is only by the proletariat taking the lead in the fight against imperialism that it can rally all other opposing forces around it and with their help smash imperialism and, at the same time its foundation—capitalist exploitation."

Wallhead's speech at the Conference was practically a repetition of this declaration. Three Indians from the Indian Revolutionary Committee of Europe—one from Italy, one from Sweden, and one from Germany, sat in the gallery as he spoke.

"What is he going to do about it?" one asked.

"He will go home and write a book," another replied.

After all the talking had been finished, the Conference passed a few resolutions: one against imperialism, one against Soviet Russia which was said to have invaded Georgia, one against the barbarous torture of Roumanian and Hungarian Communists, one against counter-revolutionary actions in regard to Soviet Russia, and one on the class struggle, leaving the methods to be adopted to the country concerned.

During the Conference, the Communist Party of Austria, which is a section of the Third International, bombarded the delegates and the city of Vienna with leaflets opposing the "talking" or "resolutions" Conference. Six public Communist meetings were held throughout the city and the "old men" who were sitting in the Conference were reminded of their repeated betrayal of the working class and of their "reformist" tactics.

The Communists took the resolutions and principles of the Conference, and contrasted them with the achievements of the Third International. In regard to imperialism, they said, the Third International was conducting an unceasing warfare upon the great imperialist powers and upon capitalism. They told of the actual financial and military help given to the revolutionary forces in Turkey, Persia and the Near East, and to the Indian revolutionaries working for the overthrow of the British Em-

pire. That wasn't mere talk, but a hard fact, for which the oppressed peoples of the Near East and men of India were giving their lives.

In regard to the torture of Hungarian Communists, the Communists recalled the action of the Russian Soviet Government when the Hungarian Commissars were condemned to death. The Soviet Government did not pass a resolution, but sent a wireless to the Hungarian ruler, Horty, telling him that if his orders were carried out, every Hungarian officer in Russia would be shot immediately. The result was that the Hungarian Communists were freed.

In regard to the class war, the Third International demanded the formation of an uncompromising Communist Party, the capture of political and industrial power at once and the holding of that power by force if necessary. As for the Soviet invasion of Georgia, the Georgian Communists themselves, aided by the Russians, were the ones who were waging the war against the counter-revolutionary forces financed by British money and by capitalists.

Following the Conference, many visitors remarked upon the obvious uninspiring atmosphere. There were no young, enthusiastic leaders to bring into life an International capable of competing with the Third International in inspiring the working class. Instead, the men and women were older leaders who fully recognized that the social revolution in Europe is inevitable, but who cling to their power and in some cases to their popularity and past records of service in order to control the working classes and prevent them from overthrowing capitalist society and establishing their own governments, and the new social order.

ALICE BIRD.

## MY LITTLE ADVENTURE

(By an American boy of 10 or 11 years of age)

To-day I was out on a hike to Fox Lake,  
And I thought it would be good to look around,  
So I did.

I looked down on the ground,  
And I was so glad to find a bird's nest with one egg.  
I looked closely and saw, it looked like a song sparrow's egg,  
And I went on and kept thinking about it.

And then I found some snail shells to bring home,  
And I thought it would be a good thing  
To write about my little adventure  
On my little hike to-day.

## SOCIAL LIFE IN THE MAHABHARATAN AGE—III

**T**HE Udyoga Parva as its name indicates deals with the events immediately preceding the great war and with the preparations for it. As many as eleven Akshouhinis of soldiers assembled under the banner of Duryodhana drawn from the furthest limits of the then known world and including among them Chinas Kuratas Yavanas Sakas Kambojas and representatives of other semi civilised frontier tribes.<sup>1</sup> Thousands upon thousands of tents were pitched. The world was emptied of its manhood only old men and boys being exempted and it is worthy of note that all the castes including even the priestly Brahmins were impressed into service. Many *yojanas* of ground were covered by the contending armies. Then the leaders on both sides met and laid down the laws of war which prove the high civilisation and humanity of the people of ancient India. No one who had not previous notice and no one who was dazed or bewildered or lulled by a sense of false security or insufficiently armed or without his armour on should be attacked charioteers camp followers carriers of arms the military band should be similarly immune from harm.<sup>2</sup> Among the well established rules of civilised warfare as laid down by Bidura in the Udyoga Parva are the following. Those who are faithful or are in the midst of their devotions or have surrendered at discretion if they appeal for protection should not be abandoned even in the last extremity.<sup>3</sup> Brahmins cows men of the same blood women and children are not to be killed so also those who have maintained you and those who have sought your protection.<sup>4</sup> This code of chivalry<sup>4a</sup> was literally followed in most cases as for instance at the commencement of the war when Yudhisthira as head of the Pandavas saluted the generals of the opposite camp e.g. Bhishma Drona Kripa and Salya all of whom recognised the unrighteousness of Duryodhana whose cause they had embraced they bitterly confessed. Man is the slave of money money is not anybody's slave. This is the truth O king and we are tied to

the Kourabas with money.<sup>5</sup> But the war as it proceeded with its work of havoc and carnage was not without some very remarkable examples of violation of the rules of fair fight. Drona having been killed by the trick suggested by Krishna of Yudhisthira the truthful calling out that Aswatthama the son of the veteran general had fallen where as it was only the elephant of that name that had been killed Dhristadyumna justified the act by saying that no battle is ever won by adhering absolutely to the right path.<sup>6</sup> This is only another way of expressing the western idea that everything is fair in love and war—a theory which has received such horrible practical support in the late European war. Krishna again suggested to the Pandavas the necessity of Bhimasena hitting Duryodhana below the belt with his club as otherwise the latter would be invincible. Duryodhana bereft of his mighty army and its redoubtable leaders having challenged the Pandavas singly to a fair fight Yudhisthira retorted. 'The Kshatriya's religion is cruel and heartless moreover everyone is mindful of the right when in danger while in prosperity no one bestows a thought on the after life.'<sup>7</sup> Being mortally wounded in unfair combat Duryodhana poured forth the vials of his wrath and indignation on Krishna saying that he had neither shame nor contempt for such dishonest practices. Krishna in self justification asked the Pandavas where but for his devious tactics would have been their kingdom their wealth their victory?<sup>8</sup> It must be confessed that Sri Krishna who is popularly regarded as an incarnation of God does not shine very bright in these passages of the Mahabharatan account of the Great War.

The great war of Kurukshetra was fought out to the bitter end and no wonder for Duryodhana had informed Krishna of his firm resolution not to yield to the Pandavas even that much of ground which can be penetrated by the point of a sharp needle.<sup>9</sup> and we are told that kings have an insatiable earth hunger and like dogs fighting for a piece of flesh they fight with each other to

the finish for the conquest of the earth.<sup>10</sup> It therefore required no prophet to foretell that the war would lead to an appalling and terrible loss of life.<sup>11</sup> At the commencement of the Salya Parva we find that out of the eighteen Akshouhinis of combatants engaged on both sides, the five Pandavas, Krishna, and Satyaki, altogether seven, had survived on the one side and only three, to wit, Kripa, Kritavarma, and Aswatthama, had survived on the other.<sup>12</sup> Not for nothing did Arjuna call Yudhisthira the root of all the mischief, for his passion for gambling had led to the destruction of the Kouravas, and all the people of the north, south, east and west had been sacrificed in the great holocaust at Kurukshetra,<sup>13</sup> so that at the end of the war, balancing the gain and loss, Yudhisthira finds himself forced to exclaim: 'Having killed our collaterals, ancestors and descendants, our kinsmen, friends, associates and advisors, and gained a victory at such tremendous cost, we have really been vanquished, for our victory is like defeat, and defeat is equivalent to victory.'<sup>14</sup> Sanjaya tells Dhritarashtra at the beginning of the Stri-Parva, that all the eighteen akshouhinis having been killed, the earth is empty and denuded of men.<sup>15</sup> Hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of corpses of kings were burnt to ashes in streams of butter with which the flames were kept up, the wail of the women who were the only survivors pervaded the desolate fields of Kurukshetra, and the sacred banks of the Ganges where all had assembled to perform the last funeral rites of the dead, looked joyless as after a festival.<sup>16</sup>

Among the camp-followers of the army of Duryodhana were merchants, spies and prostitutes.<sup>17</sup> Charloeters, shopkeepers, men in charge of treasure and implements of war, physicians and surgeons and prostitutes accompanied the army of Yudhisthira.<sup>18</sup> When Krishna, on behalf of the Pandavas, visited Dhritarashtra with negotiations for peace on the eve of the war, the latter ordered that public women in their thousands, decked in jewellery, should advance on foot to welcome him.<sup>19</sup>

The advice of Bldura, the Polonius of the Mahabharata, to Dhritarashtra, contains many saws, maxims and precepts, some of which reach a high level of moral excellence, and the others are practically wise or expedi-

ent. For the impotent, forgiveness is a vice; for the powerful, it is a virtue. This is a truth which we Indians would do well to remember. The following are conducive to happiness in this world:—health, wealth, a loving and sweet-tempered wife, an obedient son, and knowledge which brings a practical return. Students who have finished their education ignore their teachers, married men ignore their mothers, men who have outlived their passion ignore women, patients after recovery ignore the doctor, and those who have gained their object ignore the source of their gratification.<sup>20</sup> The reflection contained in the above passage may appear to be somewhat cynical, but no one can deny that it shows profound insight into average human nature. The husband is woman's best friend. It is character which preserves the family honour. Men of character conquer everything. The dinner of rich men consists principally of meat, of the middle classes of milk and its products, of the lower orders of oily preparations. Hunger is the best sauce, but it is rare among the rich; mostly it happens that rich men are poor eaters, whereas the poor can digest even a log of wood. The self within us is our best friend and greatest enemy.<sup>21</sup> In the art of nursing lies the secret of the power wielded by women. So behave in early life that you may live happy in old age; so behave throughout life that you may be happy in after-life.<sup>22</sup> Without riches, nothing counts for virtue among men. Men who habitually speak what is pleasant, are very common; those who speak what is wholesome yet unpleasant are as rare as those who like to hear it.<sup>23</sup> Women should be carefully cherished, as they are worthy of regard, virtuous, full of noble qualities, and are a bright adornment to the house and are in fact synonymous with the prosperity of the house.<sup>24</sup> Untruth should be conquered by truth.<sup>25</sup>

King Dhritarashtra having given it as his opinion that a man who knows the three Vedas, even if he commits sins, is not affected thereby, the sage Sanatsujata gives him an emphatic denial.<sup>26</sup>

In the Bhagavadyana sub-section of the Udyoga Parva, there is a highly inspiring story of the learned dowager queen Vidula, who incited her son Sanjaya to declare war against the king of the Sindhus. The



following are among her exhortations. A moment's conflagration is better than an eternally smoking low fire, contentment destroys prosperity, with a heart of steel, do thou hunt for thy patrimony, the man who lives in this world like a woman is said to have been misnamed, don't follow the ways of the mean hearted wretches who live on others, make your name a success, don't be a misnomer, I am born of noble blood, and have been wedded to a noble family like a river which taking its rise in a great lake falls into another great lake, by conquering your enemies in war, be faithful to your royal duty, poverty is synonymous with death show valour, and I shall honour you after you have killed all the people of Scinde."

In an earlier article we have spoken of the class war between Brahmins and Kshatriyas, in which the lower castes sided with the Brahmins. We get a clearer indication of this in chapter 154 of the Udyoga Parva, where Duryodhana requests Bhishma to accept the post of generalissimo of the army, and by way of argument tells him the legend that of old the Brahmins aided by Vaishyas and Sudras fought with the Kshatriyas of the Haihaya tribe the three castes on one side, the Kshatriyas alone on the other but all the three castes combined were repeatedly defeated by the warrior caste. Then the leading Brahmins enquiring of the cause of their success were told by the Kshatriyas that they implicitly followed the lead of one great captain, of commanding intellect whereas the Brahmins were fighting each for himself in the way he thought best. Thereupon the Brahmins appointed a valiant Brahmin, well versed in the art of war as their general, and defeated the Kshatriyas.

The legend about human longevity in the different Ages current to this day is given in chapter 10 of the Bhishma Parva, where we find it stated that in the Krita age man lived for 4000 years in the Treta for 3000 years, and in the Dwapara for 2000 years. But the truth comes out in the question of Dhritarashtra to Bidura in chapter 36 of the Udyoga Parva. In all the Vedas, said Dhritarashtra quite correctly the span of human life is laid down as one hundred years. Why is it then, he asked that all persons do not actually attain that age? If further facts are needed to

prove that the length of human life did not then differ materially from the present times, they are furnished by chapter 193 of the Drona Parva where the Brahmin general is said to be 85 years old, with all his hair, down to the ears, turned grey, and also by chapter 197 where Arjuna calls him the aged master.

Karna the hero of the Karna Parva whose ringing words, placing pride of worth above pride of birth, are wellknown,\*\* abused Salya the king of Madras by saying that the Madra women lived too free a life, and ate garlic onion fowl beef and ham and drank wine. The reply that Salya gave is remarkable for its wisdom and reminds one of Burke's dictum that no indictment against a whole nation can be true. He said Everywhere wives who are devoted to their husbands are to be found. Everywhere men amuse themselves by ridiculing the men of other countries. Dissolute men are similarly to be found everywhere. Everybody is keen to find fault with others, but none is aware of his own sins or knowing, tries to remember them. Everywhere there are kings who faithful to their own duties, punish the wicked. It cannot be, O Karna, that the entire people of a country are addicted to sin. There are many people in all countries whose nobility of character surpasses even that of the gods."

References to sea voyage are to be found in the following passages—Udyoga Parva, ch 32, verse 83. Drona Parva, c 26, v 65, c 45, v 8, Karna Parva, c 2, v 20, c 3, v 28, c 78, v 75, c 83, v 23, c 94, v 5, Salya Parva c 19, v 2, Souptika Parva, c 10 v 23. In these passages allusion is made to vessels foundering in the sea, merchants in distress owing to the rough sea, shipwrecked merchants stranded on islands, ships foundering with all their merchandise on the coast after crossing the high seas and the like events, all pointing to the prevalence of sea voyage in the Mahabharat an age.

In our last article we referred to the habit of drinking among high born ladies Gandhari in her lament, spoke of the wife of Abhimanyu as the daughter of king Virata who overpowered by the Madhira wine she had drunk used to embrace her husband after bashfully smelling the fragrance of his face."

The only patriotic lines in the Mahabharata as in almost all the Puranas are to be found in passages like the following<sup>31</sup> which contain panegyrics couched in almost identical language on the merit of being born in Jambu Dwipa the centre of the system of concentric circles which bounded the several continents and seas composing the Pauranic world. It will be seen that the factors evoking our love of country here emphasised are not ethnical or linguistic or political e.g. common race or language or government but religious and social involving an appeal to common religious practices and cultural traditions which continued to give the Hindus whatever unity they had till the patriotic idea in the western sense was introduced among them by the British.

In Bharata Varsha and nowhere else do the four Yugas Krita Treta Dwapara and Kali exist. Here devotees perform austerities and priests sacrifice here gifts are bestowed to testify honour for the sake of the future world. In Jambudwipa Vishnu the sacrificial Man whose essence is sacrifice is continually worshipped by men with sacrifices and in other ways in the other dwipas. In this respect Bharata is the most excellent division of Jambudwipa for this is the land of works, while the others are places of enjoyment. Perhaps in a thousand thousand births a living being obtains here that most excellent condition humanity the receptacle of virtue. The gods sing Happy are those beings who when the rewards of their merits have been exhausted in heaven are after being gods again born as men in Bharata Varsha who when born in that land of works resign to the supreme and eternal Vishnu their works without regard to their fruits and attain by purity to absorption in him. We know not where we shall next attain a corporeal condition when the merit of our works shall have become exhausted but happy are those men who exist in Bharata Varsha with perfect senses.<sup>32</sup>

In Bhishma Parva chapter 2 we find that Brahma's egg consists of the seven upper and seven lower spheres and that the universe is composed of thousands and ten thousands of thousands of such mundane eggs nay hundreds of millions of millions. We may fitly close this brief reference to Mahabharata cosmology with Muir's observation thereon.<sup>33</sup>

Indian mythology when striving after sublimity and seeking to excite astonishment often display an extravagant and puerile facility in the fabrication of large numbers. But in the sentence last quoted its conjectures are substantially in unison with the discoveries of modern astronomy, or rather they are inadequate representations of the simple truth as no figures can express the contents of infinite space.<sup>34</sup>

X

1 U P ch 18  
2 Bhishma Parva ch 1  
3 Udyoga Parva ch 32  
4 Udyoga Parva ch 35  
4a Even in Chandragupta's times this high code of chivalry was maintained e.g. Megasthenes. Whereas among other nations it is usual in the contests of war to ravage the soil and thus reduce it to an uncultivated waste among the Indians on the contrary by whom husbandry is regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable the tilers of the soil even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood are undisturbed by any sense of danger for the combatants on either side are waging the conflict make carnage of each other but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides they never ravage an enemy's land with fire nor cut down its trees.

5 Bhishma Parva ch 43

6 Drona Parva ch 199

7 Salya Parva ch 33

8 Salya Parva ch 62

9 Udyoga Parva ch 126

10 Bhishma Parva ch 9

11 Udyoga Parva ch 155

12 Salya Parva ch 1

13 Karna Parva ch 71

14 Souptika Parva ch 10

15 Stri Parva ch 1

16 Stri Parva ch 26

17 Udyoga Parva ch 195

18 Udyoga Parva ch 149

19 Udyoga Parva ch 85

20 Udyoga Parva ch 32

21 Udyoga Parva ch 33

22 Ibid ch 34

23 Ibid ch 36

24 Ibid ch 37

25 Ibid ch 38

26 Udyoga Parva ch 42

27 Udyoga Parva ch 132 33

28 सूतोवा दूतश्रोता यवा सो भवाम्यहम्

दशवत् कुलेजम् भवामयं तु पौरुषम् ॥

29 Karna Parva ch 46

30 Stri Parva ch 20

31 Bhishma Parva ch 2 (not to be found in all the editions)

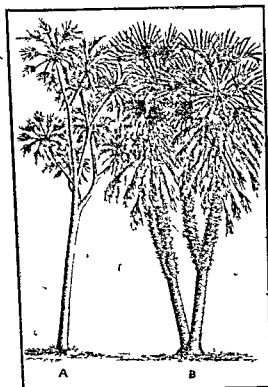
32 Translation by J. Muir Original Sanskrit Texts vol I, pages 495 96

33 Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts vol I page 504

## BRANCHED PALMS

**I**n one of our recent visits to the Royal Botanic Garden, Sibpore, we were surprised to see a tree, resembling a palmyra palm, having several branches

century ago. Its popular name is Egyptian Doum palm. Some even prefer to call it Gingerbread tree on account of



*Hyphaene indica* Becc

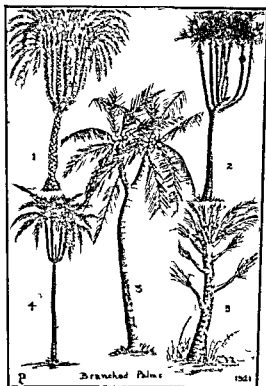
Drawings by author from—

A—The figure of a male Indian Doum Palm in Bassein and

B—The figure of a female tree in Baroda

Published in the Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society, Vol. XXI

At the foot of the tree there was an iron plate bearing the latin name—*Hyphaene indica*. On enquiry, we came to learn that this plant was originally a native of the banks of the river Nile in Egypt and the adjacent parts of Arabia. It was introduced in India about a the soft core of its stem resembling



*Branched Palms*

Drawings by author from—

1. A photograph of a branched date palm sent by a gentleman in Calcutta
2. The figure of a branching palmyra palm published by R. F. Stoncy in Vol. XXI of the Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society
3. The figure of a double-headed coconut in the West Indies in Smith and Pape's 'Coconuts—The Consols of the East'
4. The figure (No. 1) of a branched coconut in Munro and Brown's 'Practical Guide to Coconut Planting'
5. The figure of a branched coconut by T. A. G. Pape in 'Coconuts—The Consols of the East'. This curious phenomenon was observed in

gingerbread. Mature trees of this kind are met with in many fashionable old gardens in India.

It should by no means be concluded from the above statement that the peculiar trees of this genus are confined to Egypt and its adjacent places only. As a matter of fact a closely related species—called *Hyphaene* *indica*—because it has up to this time been found in India only—in Gujarat Kathiawar Bassein Laccim Ahmedabad and Baroda etc in West India. Its native name is Oka Mundel and popular English name is Indian Doom Palm. A beautiful male tree of this kind is to be seen in the Bassein Botanical Garden and a female tree in the Garden at Baroda.

Although *thebaica* and *indica* look almost alike externally still they can be easily distinguished by their fruits—the fruits of the former being tapering and those of the latter broad and rounded towards the tip.

It is perhaps true that these plants are planted in Indian gardens simply for the sake of their curious habit. Still they are not without any economic value. The Egyptians make buttons and rosaries from the woody portion of the fruits conduit pipes etc out of the woody stem feed the camels on young leaves and put to several other uses the various other parts of the plant—*Hyphaene thebaica*. It is said that the sago contained in the stem of *Doom* palms can be profitably utilized if desired as a famine food.

Besides *Hyphaene* there is another kind of palm called *Pholidocarpus* found in the Malayan Archipelago which also has branched stem. But we occasionally see curious branches in date palms coconuts and palmyra palms. Such unusual branches are due to the hypertrophy or abnormal growth in the cells of the growing parts of such plants caused by either insects or disease. It does not

necessarily follow that such branches should invariably grow whenever a normally branchless palm is attacked by either insect or disease.



*Hyphaene thebaica Mart*

Photograph taken by the author in the Royal Botanic Garden, Singapore.

Ignorant people however interpret such unusual phenomena as the precursors of some unknown catastrophe and they get frightened under the influence of hallucination.

In one of the old issues (*Agrahayan* 1325 B S) of the *Prabasi* I find that Mr Rakhraj Roy has published an interesting figure and account of a branched date palm growing in Khoshbag in Burdwan. I hear that there is a similarly branched date tree at Bhawanipore in Calcutta.

KUSUM

## GLEANINGS

## One of Burma's Religious Customs.

The Burmese are fond of pagodas by the erection of which they think they gain great merit, counting toward peace in the next world. They are also like children fond of a joke so they build their pagodas of queer and fantastic shapes. The framework is usually of bamboo covered with gold and silver paper and the erections are often put on rafts supported by barrels and floated in rivers or lakes.



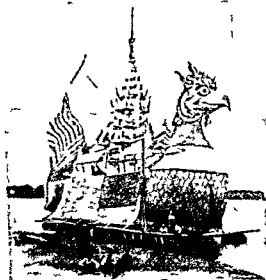
Catching fish with a spider's web

several unsuspecting spiders having spun their webs on the bamboo loops

## The Heart as a Pumping Engine.

What a wonderful pumping engine is the human heart! From our cradle to our grave its work is incessant—stupendous. Within each human breast, this energetic organ is beating on an average, about 70 times per minute, or 4 500 times per hour. Accordingly the heart beats, approximately, 108,000 times daily, 39 000,000 times yearly, and, during a lifetime of three score and ten years, two billion seven hundred million times. If we estimate the population of our world at 1,700 000 000 people, then all the human hearts on our terrestrial planet are beating at the rate of, approximately 127,000 000 000 times per minute, or 66 quadrillion times per year. That is to say, these 1,700 000 000 human hearts are throbbing at a rate of about 2 billion times per second.

As we well know, our heart-engine contains four compartments two auricles and two ven-

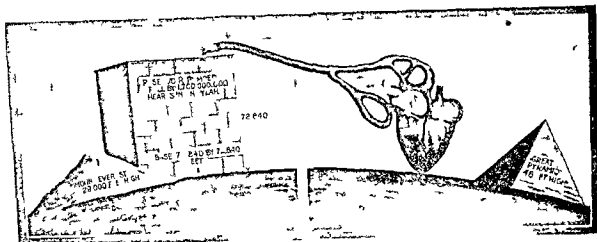


A Float of Paper Pagoda

The illustration shows a particularly gorgeous paper pagoda intended to represent a curious kind of hen, floating on the lake Meiktila in upper Burma.

## Catching Fish in New Guinea with a Spider's Web

In New Guinea the spiders are as large as hazel nuts and they have great hairy dark brown legs about two inches long. The webs they spin are often six feet in diameter and are very strong. The natives soon found this out, and they set up long bamboo sticks looped at the end, in places where the webs were thickest. When the natives returned next day, their fishing nets were ready for them—



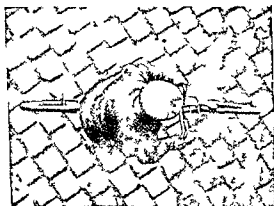
The composite bulk of all the human hearts in the world and the labour of pumping it they perform

ricles. The auricles are reservoirs which supply the pumping ventricles with blood. Therefore the dynamic energy of the human heart resides in the right and the left ventricles. When these ventricles contract the right ventricle sends its supply of impure blood to be purified by the oxygen in the lungs and the left ventricle forces its supply of purified blood to circulate in the body. When the heart beats that is when the right and left ventricles beat an average of about 10 cubic inches of blood is expelled from the heart engine. Accordingly in a minute after 75 heart beats the energetic heart has pumped 750 cubic inches of blood. That means the heart pumps 45 000 cubic inches of blood per hour 1 000 000 cubic inches of blood per day and 392 000 000 cubic inches or more than 22 000 cubic feet of blood per year. Were the heart a water pump instead of a blood pump it would expelasmuch as a cubic foot of water weighs about 62½ pounds approximately 7 000 tons of water during the course of one year.

And this amount of work is accomplished by only a part of a small muscular organ about as big as the average human fist. It has been estimated that the left ventricle alone exercises sufficient pressure per square inch to support a column of blood 9 feet in height and that it performs daily an amount of work equal to 90 foot tons. Were we able to collect in a cubical reservoir all the blood pumped by one heart engine in one year that reservoir would be about 11 feet in each of its three dimensions. Or were it a circular water tower with a diameter of 70 feet it would be somewhat more than 11½ feet in height and it would contain about 1 700 000 gallons. Our drawing depicts the size of a heart representing the combined bulk of all the hearts in the world and the work performed by the combined hearts in the course of a year.

### The Birds as they see us

How the birds see us from the above is an interesting question but it is impossible to



A cyclist from above. Perhaps it was all the bicycle rider was unaware of the fact that his top view was being photographed. He might have fooled up lost his balance and spoiled the whole thing.

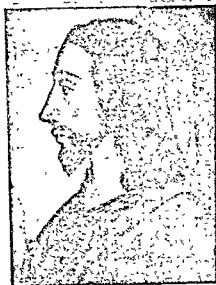


A ten n of larks as they look from overhead



A man in the street from above.

know, unless a bird comes and reports this to us. But here is an attempt of a photographer to give at least some idea of it. The photographer has taken some top views, just as the birds do. We reproduce some of them.

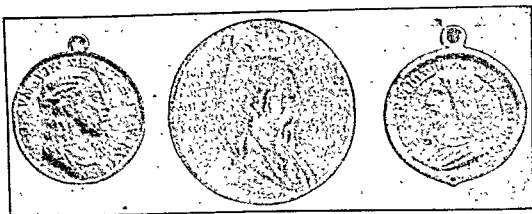


A FLEMISH PAINTER'S CHRIST

Thought to have inspired the most striking type of the medallion portraits of Christ.

### The Christ of the Medals.

The face of Christ was never limited by painter or described by contemporary, so far as



Sixteenth century German medals of Christ.

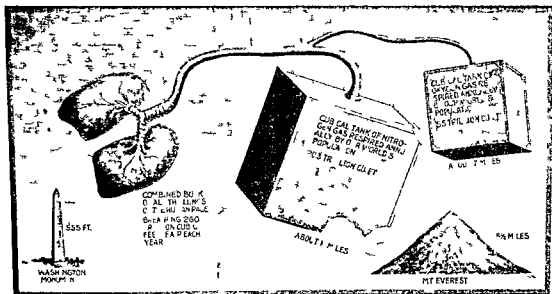
we can learn from the Bible narratives or authentic history. We have no way of knowing whether the traditional Christ-face of art has any justification in fact. There is a legendary story that a portrait of Christ painted during his lifetime was perpetuated in a bronze and gold tablet; that when the Turks expelled the Christians from Asia this tablet was brought to Europe and copied by some painter. However this may be, the Italian artists of the Renaissance are found reproducing and modify-

ing a very definite type of the Christ-face. A few of the portraits of Christ left behind by the designers of the beautiful medals of the Renaissance, that is of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are herewith introduced; in each case only the obverse, bearing the Christ portrait, is shown.

The chief peculiarities of the type of Christ on the fifteenth-century medals are the retreating forehead, the thick, fleshy nose and lips, the monstache which leaves the upper lip almost bare, starting from the wing of the the







Combined bulk of all the lungs of human race breathing 260 trillion cubic feet of air each year

amount of water vapor and impurities. We all know that oxygen supports life and that nitrogen dilutes the energy of the oxygen we inhale. In pure air we find about 78 per cent of nitrogen and about 21 per cent of oxygen, the remaining 1 per cent containing very small amounts of argon, carbon dioxide, hydrogen, and other gases. Our breath of life consists of a mixture of these several gases, each independent of the others and is not formed like water of united gases, oxygen and hydrogen. As we are very well aware, air is not nearly so heavy as water; indeed, water weighs about 773 times as much as air. That is to say, if a cubic foot of water weighs 62½ pounds, a cubic foot of air would weigh only about 1½ ounces.

We draw a breath of air through the nose; it enters our lungs and there purifies the blood, which is returning to the left auricle of the heart after circulating through the body. We draw in this breath the oxygen in it purifies our blood and then we expel this breath now impure with carbon dioxide. The action of our lungs expanding or contracting is peculiar inasmuch as our lungs expand or contract according to the expansion or contraction of the surrounding chest cavity in which they are placed. That is, our lungs are merely elastic bags with a tendency to expand whereby they are filled with air on inhalation and when they are squeezed by our contracting chest they part with some of the air on exhalation. In ordinary breathing the average adult inhales and exhales at each respiration about 30 cubic inches of air. This is the

air is however only a small portion of all the air in our lungs, the remaining 75 being stationary. That is to say, after we have exhaled 30 cubic inches of air, there is still left in our lungs more than 200 cubic inches, about 1/3 of a cubic foot.

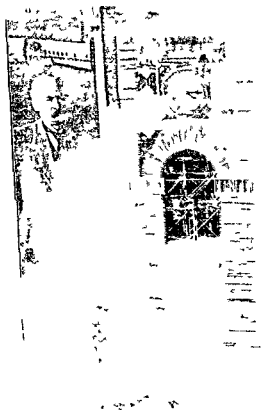
However, the total amount of air respired by only one individual during a lifetime of threescore and ten years is enormous. It is easy to compute that amount. If we take for an average 28 cubic inches since a human being does not respire as much in childhood, then one of us inhales and exhales within a minute—at the rate of 18 respirations—504 cubic inches of air; within an hour 30,240 cubic inches; in a day almost 726,000 cubic inches; in a year almost 265,000,000 cubic inches; in threescore and ten years about 18,543,000,000 cubic inches, approximately 10,730,000 cubic feet. In other words, if a cubic foot of air weighs about 1.294 ounces, then each one of us would inhale during a lifetime of 70 years approximately 43½ tons of the breath of life! That is about 6½ tons per year. In other words, the whole population of the world respire annually about 10½ billion tons of air. Therefore the whole population of our world in order to live inhales yearly at least 2½ billion tons of oxygen. Now, since our world's population inhales annually about 260 trillion cubic feet of air, it would inhale during the same time about 5½ trillion cubic feet of oxygen gas. Accordingly, our world's annual respiration would fill full of air a tank which would be a mile square at its base and about 1,765 miles in

height And the world's yearly respiration of oxygen—the real "breath of life"—would approximate a similar tank about 370 miles in height

Such is human breath—the "breath of life" At every breath we exhale we begin to die, at every breath we inhale we begin to live It is either respiration or expiration Yet were the proportions of our "breath of life" to be changed a little—were it to contain more oxygen or less oxygen than it does—what a change would also take place in some of our bodily mechanisms! If we survived such a change, it would certainly affect, perhaps radically, both the pulsations of our heart and the respirations of our lungs

### A Clock Made of Straw.

The clock in the accompanying picture is made entirely of straw and is the work of an ingenious artisan who completed it after fifteen years of labour All the workings, pendulum, hands, face, etc., are made of straw It is 6½ feet



A clock made of straw.

high, and keeps time as accurately as an ordinary clock

### Japan's Greeting to the New Year.

In Japan this is the year 2581, and it belongs to the tenth year of the period entitled Taisho On the day that marks the beginning of the new year, the Japanese children put on fantastic masks and have much fun outdoors



Japan's greeting to the new year.

The Japanese masks are grotesque and look clumsy, but they are made of paper and are therefore light The curious quality of these masks is in the work of the color artist But Japan is a country of artists, and whatever the Japanese do is managed from the viewpoint of how it will look

Symbolism also plays an important part in the masks They represent the figures of tradition, and many have a special meaning, other than just being grotesque

### Euphorbia—the Porcupine Plant.

A very singular desert plant has recently been discovered in British East Africa It is



Porcupine Plant

known to botanists as *Euphorbia eurasica* and often exhibits a most remarkable habit of growth.

Like so many other plants that thrive in dry locations this euphorbia produces long spines that practically cover it. Hence the plant bears an astonishing resemblance to a porcupine. Indeed a traveller coming suddenly upon the plant finds it difficult to believe that

he is not looking at one of these animals crouching between the rocks.

There are many other instances in which plants and animals resemble each other. The butterfly for instance often has the same coloring as the flowers among which it lives. Thus nature protects it from attack.

### AFGHANISTAN AS AN INDEPENDENT POWER

**A**FGHANISTAN has sent a special diplomatic mission to Europe to proclaim the absolute sovereignty of Afghanistan and to open diplomatic and commercial relations with foreign states.

By this action Afghanistan announces to the world that it is free from the British domination which for fifty years prevented its free action and development.

The mission is meeting with success in



Afghanistan diplomatic mission now touring Europe proclaiming the Sovereignty of Afghanistan and establishing consulates and embassies in Europe and America. Sitting (left to right) Mohammed Wali Khan head of delegation, Col. Habibullah Khan Military Attache, Standing Ghulam Sadiq Khan and Faiz Mohammad Khan Councilors of Legation. Edib Bey who has been left in Berlin in charge of the Afghan Consulate.

every state to which it has toured so far. It is headed by General Mohammad Wali Khan, Envoy Extraordinary, formerly Afghan Plenipotentiary to Soviet Russia, and one of the Afghan representatives who negotiated the Russo Afghan Treaty. The other representatives are Faiz Mohammad Khan and Ghulam Siddiq Khan, Councillors of Legation, and Col Habibullah Khan, Military Attache.

After the conclusion and signing of the Russo Afghan Treaty on February 26, the delegation proceeded to Latvia and Poland, and thence to Germany. In each country the complete sovereignty and the absolute independence of Afghanistan was formally recognized, and commercial relations entered into. From Germany, the mission will proceed to France, to Italy, to other Continental countries, and then to the United States.

General Mohammad Wali Khan, as are the other three members of the mission, and their three interpreters and assistants are modern men of the higher type. They give the impression of being sincere, uncorrupted men, unused to the intrigues of Europe. But after two years' education and experience in Russia, the Head of the mission is quite capable of dealing with western diplomats. He, like his colleagues, is a simple, quiet man, speaking in a fear less, independent manner, he wears none of the trappings and glitter and badges which make most official dignitaries resemble fire engines.

In an exclusive interview with the writer, General Mohammad Wali Khan told of the objects of the delegation, and of its accomplishments so far. He spoke in Persian, through Faiz Mohammad Khan who also speaks Hindustani and English.

"The object of the special diplomatic mission to Europe," the General said, "is to proclaim and to secure the recognition of Afghanistan, as an absolutely independent, sovereign state. We also expect to establish political and commercial relations between our own and foreign countries.

'We have made a treaty with Soviet Russia, and have established commercial and political communications with that



General Mohammad Wali Khan head of the diplomatic mission from Afghanistan. He was for two years Afghan ambassador to Soviet Russia, and was one of the two Afghans who signed the Russo Afghan Treaty on February 26.

country. Russia recognizes our independence and sovereignty. We have established consulates in seven Russian cities, an embassy in Moscow, and consulates in Petrograd, Ishkabad, Tashkend, Kazan, Samarkand, Merv and Krasnovodsk, and Russia has established consulates in five Afghan centers.

"We were in Latvia and Poland and Germany, where our sovereignty was recognized and commercial negotiations entered into. Poland has sent a commercial representative to Afghanistan. We are now the guests of the German Government, and the German Government along with the other countries, have received us in a most excellent way and our relations with them are the most friendly.

'We have likewise exchanged ambassadors with the Turkish Nationalist Government, located at Angora, likewise with Persia, and with the new republics

in Bokhara and Khiva We have, accordingly, recognized the independence of these countries, and our ambassadors are in Teheran, in Angora, in Bokhara and in Khiva, and ambassadors from these countries are in Kabul "

When asked if this action of the Afghanistan Government does not mean the end of British domination of his country, General Mohammad Wali Khan said that it did "Up to the war of 1919 " he continued, "our political independence was limited by England But as a result of the war, the position of England in our country came to an end We are free from such political dependence now "

The next question put to the General was 'Are you satisfied with the policy of Soviet Russia towards Afghanistan and other Oriental countries?'

"Yes," he replied "We are satisfied with the Russian policy We are convinced that the policy of Russia means the non interference in the internal affairs of Oriental countries It has meant the freedom of Afghanistan "

Continuing his discussion further, the General said "Our foreign policy will be strictly neutral and pacific We have no desire to make wars, but if we are attacked we shall of course be on the defensive that our independence may be saved We want to be recognized as one of the civilized nations of the world "

When asked if he did not think that civilization meant making wars on weaker peoples and subjecting them, the General laughed

The next question asked was 'For the safety of your own country, and in order to preserve your own independence, do you not think it necessary that countries bordering Afghanistan should also be free and independent?'

Mohammad Wali Khan and his Councilor discussed the question for some minutes in Persian, and then diplomatically replied

Since the civilized nations believed in the 14 points, which included the independence of all peoples and nations, so do we also believe in the freedom of other peoples Afghanistan, therefore, wishes

the independence of surrounding nations, and of course, they will secure it "

The General refused to answer the question whether Afghanistan recognizes the British mandate over such countries as Mesopotamia, or the protectorate over Egypt

"What is the attitude of Afghanistan toward the Indian people?" he was asked

Another lengthy discussion in Persian ensued, and then, more diplomatically still, he replied

"We are neighbors, we are brothers, we are in full sympathy with the Indian people "

Speaking of the development of Afghanistan, he said that railway and telegraph lines will not (?) be constructed, the country will do much in the way of electrical development, and in the establishment of industries or institutions necessary to the advancement of the nation Commercial relations will be entered into with other countries, but experts will work out problems concerned with this matter

Faiz Mohammad Khan, who is a young, progressive man speaking Hindustani and a number of other languages, told of



Faiz Mohammad Khan—Councilor and Secretary of Afghan stand diplomat mission now touring in Europe.

of the Russian Socialist Federate Soviet Republic agrees to give to Afghanistan financial and other help

*Supplementary Clause*

In development of clause 10 of the present treaty the Government of the Russian Socialist Federate Soviet Republic gives to the Sovereign State of Afghanistan the following help.—

1 Yearly free subsidy to the extent of one million roubles in gold or silver in coin or bullion

2 Construction of a telegraph line—Kushka Herat Kandahar Kabul

3 Over and above this the Government of the Russian Socialist Federate Soviet Republic agrees its readiness to place at the disposal of the Afghan Government technical and other specialists

(Signed, February, 26, 1921)

## THE RUSSIAN-PERSIAN TREATY

*Clause I*

THE Government of the R S F S R, in accordance with its declarations set forth in notes of January 14, 1918, and June 26, 1919 of the principles of the R S F S R's policy with regard to the Persian people, once more solemnly declares Russia's immutable renunciation of the policy of force with regard to Persia pursued by the Imperialist Governments of Russia that have been overthrown by the will of her workmen and peasants

Accordingly, wishing to see the Persian people independent, flourishing, and freely controlling the whole of its own possessions the Government of the R S F S R declares all tracts, treaties, conventions and agreements concluded by the late Tsarist Government with Persia and tending to the diminution of the rights of the Persian people completely null and void

*Clause II*

The Government of the R S F S R brands (as criminal) the policy of the Governments of Tsarist Russia which without the agreement of the peoples of Asia and under the guise of assuring the independence of these peoples, concluded with other states of Europe treaties concerning the East which had as their ultimate object its gradual seizure. The Government of the R S F S R unconditionally rejects that criminal policy as not only violating the sovereignty of the states of Asia but also leading to organized brutal violence of European robbers on the living body of the peoples of the East

Wherefore and in accordance with the principles set out in clauses I and IV of the present treaty the Government of the R S F S R declares its refusal to take part in any measures whatsoever tending to weaken or violate the sovereignty of Persia and declares completely null and void all conventions and agreements concluded by the late Government of Russia with third Powers for the harm of Persia and concerning her

*Clause IV*

Recognizing the right of each people to the free and unhindered settlement of its political fate, each of the High Contracting Parties disclaims and will strictly refrain from interference in the internal affairs of the other party

*Clause V*

Both the High Contracting Parties bind themselves

1 Not to permit the formation or existence on their territory of organizations or groups, under whatever name, or of separate individuals who have made it their object to struggle against Persia or Russia, and also against States allied with the latter, and similarly not to permit on their territory the recruiting or mobilisation of persons for the armies or armed forces of such organizations

2 To forbid those States or organizations, under whatever name which make it their object to struggle against the other High Contracting Party, to bring into the territory or to take through the territory of each of the High Contracting Parties anything that may be used against the other High Contracting Party

*Clause VI*

Both the High Contracting Parties are agreed that in case on the part of third countries there should be attempts by means of armed intervention to realize a rapacious policy on the territory of Persia or to turn the territory of Persia into a base for military action against the R S F S R, and if thereby danger should threaten the frontiers of the R S F S R or those of Powers allied to it, and if the Persian Government after warning on the part of the Government of the R S F S R shall prove to be itself not strong enough to prevent this danger, the Government of the R S F S R shall have the right to take its troops into Persian territory in order to take necessary military measures in the interests of self-defence. When the danger has been removed the Government of the R S F S R promises immediately to withdraw its troops beyond the frontiers of Persia

*Clause VII*

In view of the fact that the combinations set out in clause VI might similarly take place in relation to security on the Caspian Sea, both the High Contracting Parties are agreed that in case in the personnel of the sh

1 Persian fleet there shall prove to be citizens of Powers making use of their fleet for purposes unfriendly w  
F S R the C  
shall have the right to

Government of Persia the removal of the said harmful elements

#### Clause VIII

The Government of the R S F S R declares its complete rejection of that financial policy which the Tsarist Government of Russia pursued in the East, supplying the Government of Persia with financial means not in order to assist the economic development and flourishing of the Persian people but in the form of a political enfeeblement of Persia. The Government of R S F S R therefore resigns all rights to the loans furnished to Persia by the Tsarist Government, and declares such loans null and not to be repaid. It similarly resigns all demands for the use of those State revenues of Persia by which the said loans were guaranteed.

#### Clause IX

The Government of the R S F S R, in accordance with its expressed condemnation of the colonial policy of capitalism, which served and is serving as a reason for innumerable miseries and sheddings of blood renounces the use of those financial undertakings of Tsarist Russia which had as their object the economical enfeeblement of Persia. It therefore hands over into the complete possession of the Persian people the financial sums, valuables, and in general, the assets and liabilities of the Discount Credit Bank of Persia, and similarly the movable and immovable property of the said Bank existing on the territory of Persia.

#### Clause XI

Proceeding from the consideration, that by virtue of the principles set out in Clause I of the present treaty, the peace tractate concluded between Persia and Russia in Turkmancha on the 10th of February, 1828 clause 8 of which deprived Persia of the right to have a fleet on the Caspian Sea, has lost its force, both the high contracting parties are agreed that from the moment of the signing of the present treaty they shall equally enjoy the right of free navigation on the Caspian Sea under their own flags.

#### Clause XV

The Government of the R S F S R, proceeding from the principle it has proclaimed of the freedom of religious faiths, wishes to put an end to the missionary

religious propaganda in the countries of Islam, which had as its secret object action on the popular masses and supported in this way the rapacious intrigues of Tsarism. It therefore declares all those religious missions closed which were established in Persia by the late Tsarist Government, and will take measures to prohibit in future the sending of such missions into Persia.

#### Clause XIX

Both the High Contracting Parties in the shortest time after the signing of the present treaty will set about the renewal of trade relations. The means of organizing import and export of goods and payment for them, and similarly the order of collecting and the amounts of Customs duties set by Persia on Russian goods shall be defined by a special trade convention, which shall be worked out by a special commission of representatives of both parties.

#### Clause XX

Both the High Contracting Parties mutually give each other the right of transit of goods through Persia or through Russia into a third country, and further goods taken through must not be taxed with a duty larger than that on the goods of the most favored nation.

#### Clause XXI

Both the High Contracting Parties in the shortest time after the signing of the present treaty will set about the renewal of telegraphic and postal relations between Persia and Russia. The conditions of these relations shall be defined in a special telegraphic convention.

#### Clause XXII

With the object of supporting the good neighbourly relations established with the signing of the present treaty and for the strengthening of good mutual understanding, each of the High Contracting Parties shall be represented in the capital of the other Party by a plenipotentiary representative enjoying in Persia as in the R S F S R the right of exterritoriality and other prerogatives according to international law and customs, and according to the rules current in both countries with regard to diplomatic representatives.

### REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books.—Editor, M. R.]

#### ENGLISH.

JIVATMAN IN THE BRAHMA SUTRAS By  
Nanakumar Guha, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., Lec-  
turer, University of Calcutta. Published by

the author from 30, Alipore Road, Pp 9+230  
Price not known

The book contains a Preface, an Introduction and seven chapters. It was the author's

doctorate thesis which won him the Calcutta Ph.D.

In the Introduction the author tries to prove 'that Badarayana and Veda vyasa are the same person and that the Sutras of Badarayana must have been composed prior to Panini who flourished about 700 B.C., if not earlier (p 3). The Introduction is learned but the tendency of the majority of Indian scholars is to antedate while that of European scholars is to postdate the scriptures and philosophical writings of our country.

(1) The heading of chapter I, is Scope and method of the Vedanta Philosophy as compared with those of Hegel. This chapter is very disappointing. In fact there is no comparison at all. The author discusses some points of the Vedanta Philosophy and some points of Hegel's Philosophy. He then concludes— The sad failure of the dialectical method in which European thinking has culminated lends but an additional support to the Vedantic dictum that God can not be established by reasoning (p 31). But we may point out that the very dictum that God cannot be established by reasoning is established by reasoning. It is by reasoning that reasoning is here disparaged. Is it not a typical example of a *Petitio Principii*?

In one place our author writes— True knowledge aimed at by the Sutras is not speculative knowledge but direct and immediate knowledge arising from the vision of Brahman itself. The Sastras are the only guide with regard to Brahman who is beyond all thinking (p 27). Our author says the Sastras are the only guide. We may ask him the following questions—

- (a) Which Sastra if it be one?
- (b) Why that particular Sastra and not any other Sastra? Why the Vedanta and not the Koran or the Bible?
- (c) If all the Sastras is it possible to follow all of them? Are not the Sastras different contrary and sometimes contradictory?
- (d) Whose interpretation of the Sastras is to be accepted? Why accept the Vaishnava interpretation of the Vedanta and not that of Sankara?
- (e) Why not accept for your guide any impostor who may claim to have seen God? The acceptance of a Sastra as your guide presupposes (1) either the tyrannical super imposition of an external authority on us by tradition (or any other external authority) (2) or discrimination (rational or irrational) on your part. If it implies discrimination why then this disparagement of the intellect? Instead of asking it then to play second fiddle install it as the first fiddler. Abolish its supremacy and you become a slave. You can sacrifice intellect only at the altar of despotism and superstition.
- (1) In chapter II our author deals with the fourfold classification of the Jivas. The four

classes mentioned are (1) Jaryajna (born of uterus) (2) Andaja (born of egg) (3) Svedaja (born of moisture) and Udbhaja (plants). The creatures belonging to the third group (viz Svedaja) are produced from moisture. This proves that there is at least one class of living beings that come out of the non living. Yet our author says that the Vedanta philosophy rejects *in toto* the opinion that the living can come out of the non living (pp 5, 64-74). Such is the bias of nationalism and sectarianism that even our religious scriptures are to be made up-to-date scientific manuals.

(2) The heading of the third chapter is 'The Jiva in its connexion with the body. With a view to explaining the interaction between mind and body the author tries to establish on the basis of the recent advances of the science and the results attained by the Society for Psychological Research that not only does matter occupy space but mind does so as well (pp 6-94). And he concludes by saying that then there cannot be any real difficulty regarding the interaction between mind and matter (p 21).

(3)

Our author's argument seems to be this—  
Matter occupies space  
Mind occupies space

Therefore matter and mind can interact.  
Does spatiality imply or signify causality?  
Has not the very question remained unsolved in the scientific world?

(b)

In this connection our author writes many things on matter and ether. Here he treads on dangerous ground. He speaks of friction less incompressible and homogeneous ether which fills all space and says—

It must not be supposed that the existence of this universal fluid is purely imaginary. On the contrary it is a necessity to the scientists in connection with the transmission of energy which can only be explained on the basis of such a medium (p 90).

The author is quite ignorant of the Principle of Relativity and is unaware of what ferment has been created in the scientific world since the well known experiment of Michelson Morley in 1897. Is not the assumption of ether now considered as a useless hypothesis by many competent authorities including Einstein (vidi Einstein's *Theory of Relativity* p 53)? Professor Whitehead calls it a 'mere idle concept and a barren virgin' (*The Concept of Nature* p 78). Moritz Schlick says 'Modern Physics following Einstein asserts that ether does not exist' (*Space and Time* p 12) and that the theory of relativity banishes ether as a substance out of physics (p 20). Professor Broad is more cautious. He says— The effect of all this is to make the notion of ether



utterly unimportant. The results do not of course prove that there is no such thing but they show that if there be such an ether, it is of such a singularly retiring disposition that we need never intrude on its privacy (*Hibbert* for April 1920 p. 476). The well known philosopher Alexander calls it unseeable and gratuitous (*My Time and Duty* vol. II pp. 3-4).

The author's line is analogous to such an ether. If on the assumption of its existence let us prove the interaction between mind and body this will be a stupenid failure.

## (c)

According to our author European psychologists point out that mind is in the whole and every part of the body (p. 92).

We perfectly understand that our author's statement is 'Proposition A' but we were not aware that all the European psychologists held such a doctrine. Our author has given however the name of one authority and he is the Jesuit Father Maher of whom he seems to be very fond. The Father suggests that the soul is indeed present in the whole body but in a non-quantitative manner (p. 92). He criticises and modifies the theory and concludes that mind occupies space.

## (d)

But the conclusion of our author is mainly based upon the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*. One gentleman even shook the hand of an apparition. Apparitions can assume forms which cannot be regarded as non-spatial. So our author's conclusion is that the soul must occupy space (*vide* p. 94).

Our author is a spiritualist. Yet it did not occur to him that the spatiality which he attributed to the soul might be the spatiality of its astral body whose existence the spiritualists (including our author) do not deny. So spiritualism if true might prove the spatiality not of the soul but of its *sukshma* body.

## (e)

Another curious conclusion of the author is that *hridaya* is a particular region in the spinal cord. His reasoning seems to be this—

*Hridaya* is the seat of the soul (in the Vedanta). The Spinal Cord is the seat of the soul (in the Tantra and some Yoga Sastras). Hence *hridaya* is a region in the Spinal Cord.

Our author is not aware that the standpoint of the Vedanta is altogether different from that of the Tantra Sastras.

In the Upanishads the Vedanta philosophy and in most of the pre-Tantric Hindu scriptures the heart is considered to be the seat of consciousness whereas in Tantric writings it is the cerebro-spinal system that is considered to be the seat of the soul. There was the same difference of opinion in Europe too. According to

Aristotle the heart was the seat of the soul, and according to Galen the brain was the seat. From this does it follow that Heart = Brain?

## (iv)

In chapter IV our author examines the principal sutras bearing on *svatantra* and concludes that the *Jiva*s are very minute eternal powers having their seat in *hridaya* and that they are to be viewed as eternal *amras* of Brahman. Just as the rays of light are *amras* of a source of light and they are not in reality one eternal all pervading consciousness appearing as many owing to the superimposition of the qualities of Buddha as maintained by Sankara and his school (p. 8194).

## (v)

In chapter V the author says that he has shown in opposition to the views of Sankara that there is great difference between the state of deep sleep and that of *mukta* and that during deep sleep the *Jiva* does not put away the bondage of *maya* (p. 8). In this section our author charges Sankara with inconsistency. He says that Sankara in his *Bhashya* on sutra III 39 admits that the *Jiva* does not attain absolute identity with the Highest in the state of deep sleep (p. 199). And he continues. It seems to us that here the Acharya evidently forgets what he has said in different places of his *Bhashya*. He has indicated in unequivocal terms in some places of his well known *Bhashya* that in the state of deep sleep the connexion of the *Jiva* with the *Upadhis* ceases and it attains Unity with the True (a). He has even compared the state of deep sleep to that of final release and has noted that in both these states there is entire absence of specific cognition (p. 199). This is followed by two quotations—the first from *Bhashya* on sutra I 19 and the second from that on IV 4 16. Then the author remarks—In the first passage cited above the Acharya says that in the state of deep sleep the connexion of the soul with the *Upadhis* ceases and that it is merged in the True (a). In the second passage it has been held that the state of deep sleep and that of final release agree in the fact of the want of special cognition (b) (pp. 199, 200).

Here our author has mis understood the first passage. Sankara does not say that the self is merged in the True (a). His language is *pralaya* which means merged as it were. The use of *pralaya* makes the merging apparent and not real.

The view quoted in the passage (b) is not a by issue but a fundamental principle of the Sankara Philosophy. The State of deep sleep and that of final release agree in the fact of the want of special cognition. Our author cannot understand how and in what a man profoundly sleeping can retain the seed of *avidya*. I am not a Sankarite but the Sankarite argument is

that the connexion of *avidya* with the *jiva* and the Brahman cannot be explained on the intellectual level Suresvaracharya cites two apt illustrations (a) 'The owl experiences the nocturnal darkness even during the day time and its sole evidence is his own consciousness' (b) 'He who wants to prove *avidya* by argument is like one who tries to see the darkness of a mountain cave by means of a lamp' (Taitti. vartika 1 76 77) The implication is that the existence and nature of *avidya* cannot be proved by argument Our author is bound to remain satisfied with it He himself has laid down the principle that 'the application of any method based on pure thinking to matters lying strictly beyond thinking leads to conclusions which are anything but satisfactory' (p. 5)

## (vi)

In chapter VI headed 'The State of Mukti or Final Release' the author points out that in the state of *Mukti* the *jiva* does not entirely lose itself and attain a state analogous to that of deep sleep as Sankara holds but on the contrary is joined into Brahman as one Spirit enjoying His bliss for ever

## (vii)

In chapter VII the author deals with the philosophical presuppositions of Sankara and his school particularly their doctrine of *Maya* and the results they lead to To say the least — says our author, his views are opposed to our best traditions and highest aspirations The Vaishnava Schools generally speaking and the Saiva School of Sreekantha conceive of *Maya* as something real and identical with *Prakriti* of the Geeta which veils the true relation of the *jiva* with the Lord and when on the attainment of *bhakti* or loving devotion this veil is removed, the *jiva* is joined unto the Lord as one spirit and goes on drinking into his joy for ever The Vedanta as interpreted by them is in accord with the revealed Scriptures (p. 9) In interpreting the Vedanta Sutra the author has generally followed the interpretation of the Vaishnava Schools as represented by Ramanuja Nimbarka and Baladeva and that of Sreekantha and very often subjected that of Sankara and his School to criticism often unpalatable (p. 2)

If in understanding the Badarayana Sutra Sankara is not always a reliable guide it is simply because Badarayana is not a reliable guide in understanding the Upanishads We must make a distinction between the standpoint of the Upanishads and that of the Badarayana Sutra The Upanishads contain germs of various systems of philosophy—absolute monism as well as many forms of qualified monism Now Badarayana's philosophy is a form of qualified monism Needs saidly he tried to systematise the Upanishads

from the standpoint of a qualified monism He ignored many passages which formed the basis of Absolute Monism and introduced many doctrines which were opposed to the purely monistic principles of the Upanishads Now Sankara had to comment on many such Sutras of Badarayana His philosophy was Absolute Monism based on the classical Upanishads To him the Upanishads were primal and final The Upanishads were *Smriti* where as the Badarayana Sutras were *Smriti* Sankara could not accept the primality and the finality of the Sutras But he was also an orthodox theologian and had a great respect for Badarayana So in commenting on those Sutras which contradicted the monistic principles of the Upanishads he did not or could not say that Badarayana had misrepresented the Upanishads What could he do then? Some Sutras he had to explain away and some he had to explain in the light of the monistic principles of the Upanishads He did not interpret those Sutras he corrected them If primality and finality be attributed to the Sutras Sankara's Commentary will we admit appear in some places as forced and artificial But if the Upanishads be accepted as primal and final we must in many places charge Badarayana and Sankara with misrepresentations The Vaishnava theologians could not accept the absolute monism of the Upanishads and so had to depend upon Badarayana when it suited their convenience If he did not suit them they would fall back upon some other resources Now, if you please you may call them reliable commentators of the Badarayana Sutras

The author has tried to understand the Sutras bearing on the subject with the help of 10 commentaries and has embodied the result in the book under review He has spared no pains to make the book useful

The book is not only an exposition but also a defence His exposition is good but his defence is a failure The world is too far advanced to go back to the infallibility of scriptures His method of treatment shows that he has not been able or is not willing to emerge from the darkness of medieval scholasticism

His reading is wide but not wide enough for a scholar, and scholarship requires not only extensivity but intensity too He might have conveniently omitted his dissertations on European science metaphysics and psychology, thus rescuing the book from some lamentable mistakes

The author himself has given us his own estimate of the book which he has written Thus it will appear writes our author that I have treated of the Vedanta from a standpoint to a large measure untouched by any scholar (p. 9) The mode of treatment all throughout I hope will be found to be entirely new I do not know of any such attempt either in the east or in the west (p. 2) He repeats— The

manner of presentation, I venture to think will be found to be entirely novel' (p. 9)

ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES. PART I. By Sri Jadu Nath Mazoomdar Bahadur Vedantāśāstrapātri M. A. B. L. (published by the author Jessore) pp. 159 Price Re. 1 with postage

The subjects dealt with are (i) Buddhism in its relation to Hinduism (ii) Buddha Buddhism and its achievements (iii) National awakening through literature (iv) The Philosophy of Identity (v) Advaitism Is it a system of Religion? and (vi) A discourse on Food

The Essays and addresses are thoughtful.

THE IDEAL OF THE KARMAYOGIN By Sri Lurobindo Ghosh Published by Rameswar De from the Prabartak Publishing House Chander nagore pp. 111 Price Re. 1.12

A delightful book The Ideal is very high

MAHENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

VEDIC INDIA By Abinash Chandra Das Vol. I Publ. 1911 by the University of Calcutta 1921 The author has obtained the Ph.D. degree of the Calcutta University by submitting this book as the thesis

It is not easy for a European scholar to write about a book like Abinash Chandra Das' *Vedic India*. From the beginning to the end it goes straight against everything that we considered as established facts. We have been accustomed to think of human civilization as being of comparatively modern growth and now we are asked to carry its development in India back for hundreds of millenniums. We thought that we could infer from philological, historical and geographical reasons that the Indo-Aryans were foreign invaders who entered India sometime between the fifth and the third millennium B.C. and now we are requested to believe that they have been settled in Sapta Sindh from times immemorial before the Deluge and before the great upheaval that made an end to the big seas which in distant geological periods separated Southern India from the Asiatic continent nay that those parts of the world were the original home of the Aryan or as we usually say the Indo-European race where the human race first developed a higher civilization which then spread over the remaining world. The Phoenicians the Sumerians the Chaldeans the Egyptians the Hittites the Mitannians etc. having all got their civilization from India.

It will be remembered that somewhat similar ideas were prevalent in Europe in those days when the first information about ancient Indian civilization was brought to our parts of the world. Sanskrit was thought to be the most ancient language and India was considered as the source of every higher development. The author returns to these old conceptions and fixes the date of this primeval civilization

back by untold centuries and he does so at the hand of a vast amount of learning especially in geology and geological literature.

I do not claim to know anything about geology and geological periods. I have no doubt that the geological facts are throughout correctly stated. Still I am unable to see that the author is right in his interpretation of ancient Indian hymns in the light of such facts.

In Rv. X. 136.5 we hear about Kesin that he dwells in both oceans the eastern and the western. We are asked to find here a reference to the two oceans that bounded the home of the Vedic Indians in a period when the present day India had not yet come into being viz. an arm of the Arabian sea which in those days ran up the present lower valley of the Indus along the foot of the Western Range and covered a large portion of the present province of Sindh probably up to Lat. 30° North, and the sea that covered what is now the Ganges valley.

Rv. x. 33.6 Soma is asked to bestow four oceans of wealth and x. 47.2 we hear of a receptacle of wealth holding four oceans. Here Mr. Das wants us to think of the two seas just mentioned, and in addition to them of a northern sea in the present Eastern Turkestan and a southern one, which once covered the present Rajputana and separated Sapta Sindhu from the Dehkan.

There is no mention of the Deluge in the Rigveda. The author infers that it was written in antediluvian times and he is inclined to think that the big flood had something to do with the great upheaval which led up to the formation of present-day India. When we are told in Rv. II. 12.2 that Indra fastened the earth that was shaken Mr. Das thinks that we have here a reference to the extensive seismic disturbances connected with that upheaval.

It is impossible for me to see in such explanations anything but loose guesses which do not become more probable because they are often repeated.

It is still more difficult to follow the author when he makes use of etymology in support of his theories.

The Panis are identified with the Phoenicians and we are told a fanciful story about their domes and dealings. On the other hand the word Pani is identified with many a merchant. The Chaldeans were Cholas and even brought with them Aryan gods. Assyrian Shu, god being explained as a corruption of Indra or of Hapati, Varjanya or of the Sanskrit word *alla* and *Ina* being said to be a corruption of *shul* in. Similarly Belor or Baal is derived from *Valr*, Ann from *Igni*, Sa from *Chandra*, Dnyagras from *Dinesa*, Ishtar from *Ushas* and so forth.

Everybody who is familiar with comparative philology as it has developed in Europe after we learnt to know about the marvellous

achievements of the ancient Indian grammarian will agree that such etymologies cannot be accepted without throwing overboard every thing we have learnt about the history of sounds and letters

There are also other difficulties which prevent us from accepting Mr Das view. We should be unable to understand why ancient Indian shares some late phonological features with Iranian, Armenian and Balto-Slavonic languages, why it has replaced ancient *c* and *o* with *r* and so forth. Moreover, it would not be easy to account for such facts as are usually relied on by those who think that the old home of the Indo-European peoples was somewhere in Europe as *r* is the geographical distribution of the flora and fauna which was known to them in the time of unity.

I shall not however go further into details. I shall only mention one point which may perhaps seem to be insignificant but which to my mind is decisive. I have always admired the Indian mind for its high intellectual faculties. During the periods which I am able to control I see how it has always been capable of producing new and fresh fruits. Now however we are asked to believe that this same Aryan mind had to all effects reached the highest development hundreds of millenniums ago. The only possible inference would be that it has remained practically stationary during untold millenniums—that it has during the greater part of its existence been unproductive and barren and that its growth and development which we were wont to admire has extended over such a vast period that it becomes insignificant in comparison with such nations as for instance the Germanic ones. For they were certainly still barbarians less than two thousand years ago and in spite of that they may now compare and in some respects even favourably with the Indo-Aryans who had developed we are told a marvellous civilization hundreds of thousands years ago.

I am unable to follow the author in a theory which raises such difficulties. I shall continue to think of the Indo-Aryans who are by the bye just as dolichocephalic as the typical Germanic tribes of Norway and Sweden as a highly imaginative race which has always shown its faculty of intellectual development but which would not in my opinion be capable of remaining without progress and without advancing for millenniums.

STEN KONOW

THE REIGN OF RELIGION IN CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHY—by S. Radhakrishnan Professor of Philosophy, the University of Mysore

Philosophy which is systematic reflection upon the nature of ultimate reality begins in religion because it is in religion that man first expresses his sense that there is something at the back of all that he is or does or experiences

something which has a meaning to be discovered and with which he can perhaps make friends. Thus throughout the history of our race the relations of philosophy and religion are always intimate though often hostile and it is by no means a peculiar characteristic of our own time as the title of Professor Radhakrishnan's book suggests that the direction of philosophical thought should be largely or even principally determined by considerations arising within the sphere of religion.

As a critical study of certain notable tendencies in contemporary speculation, The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy is excellent and its defence of absolute idealism as the natural outcome of systems which play the game of philosophy squarely and fairly against some pluralistic theories now or recently in vogue is worthy of serious attention from those who are attracted by the ease of style and looseness of texture affected by the latter. But the force of Professor Radhakrishnan's polemic is considerably diminished by the vagueness with which he uses the word religion. He is of course not unaware that

absolutist as well as pluralist conclusions may appeal to religious experience. Indeed in the opinion of William James the existence of monism may be justified on pragmatic grounds by the satisfaction which it seems to afford to a religious craving. Professor Radhakrishnan's own last chapter on An Approach to Reality Based on the Upanishads which he tells us is put in to rescue the book from the charge of being wholly polemical and negative in its result is in itself sufficient evidence of the close association of the type of philosophy which he himself prefers with the religious tradition of his own people. But the religion which he thinks of as reigning in contemporary philosophy is not the religion of his own people. It is the religion of Western Europe and America—that is to say Christianity with the emphasis laid on those aspects of the Christian tradition which are least alien to the religion of India. And if in this way he is inclined to take religion in too narrow a sense he sometimes seems to give to the word too wide an extension of meaning. He sometimes goes near to identifying religion with democracy and with the philosophy of change in which democracy has lately tended to seek an intellectual justification for its faith sometimes with distrust of reason in general sometimes even with any extra philosophical demands which enter into philosophy and spoil it.

This tendency to put down to the account of religion every irrelevant consideration by which the philosophic student may be turned aside from the single minded pursuit of ultimate truth occasionally leads to odd results. For instance, we are told of Leibnitz the patriarch of pluralism that he is not so much an academic

thinner as a democratic one. Religious idealism and anti-absolutism are the prominent features of Leibnitz's philosophy. In support of this statement one may quote Mr Bertrand Russell is quoted that to please a prince or to escape the censures of a theologian he would take any pains. But is an excessive desire to please a prince or to escape notice as democratic or anxiety to escape the censures of a theologian a mark of religious idealism?

No doubt it is possible with the late Mr Benjamin Kidd in a work which though little remembered now made at the time of its appearance a considerable sensation to argue with some plausibility that the faith of democracy is not justified by reason but presupposes motives derived from the Christian religion. On the other hand it is no doubt true that the unpopularity of absolutism in philosophy is sometimes due to its supposed uncongeniality with the spirit of democracy but in this case democracy is so far from ranging itself in opposition to absolutism under the banner of theistic religion (and it is this kind of religion that Professor Radhakrishnan regards as dangerous to philosophic integrity) that its distaste for speculative absolutism is rather a reflection of its disinclination to profess allegiance to any monarchy even to that of God. There is so much that is just and acute in Professor Radhakrishnan's criticism that it is a pity to have it attached to a thesis which he does not seem to have worked out thoroughly and consistently in his own mind. His censure of pluralism does not really depend upon his theory that its recent vogue in Western thought is due to religious prejudice. He is constrained to admit that at least one of the most prominent champions of this philosophy, Mr Bertrand Russell, can certainly not be accused of a religious bias in favour of a belief in God and immortality. That such a bias is sometimes apparent in opponents of 'absolutism' is no doubt true enough and it is also true that pragmatism which is sometimes allied with pluralism and is always an enemy to 'absolutism' has profited by the encouragement given by the Ritschlian and kindred schools of theology with their emphasis on judgments of value to the habit of thought which aims at inculcating upon philosophers generally. But the true significance of these facts is as we have seen obscured by Professor Radhakrishnan's failure to discriminate the influence of religion from other influences which have worked concurrently with it and also to distinguish between the mutually complementary aspects of religion experience itself in virtue of which it can supply motives for monism and pluralism alike.

We venture to think that he would do greater justice to his subject if he were to return to it again after a more careful study

than he has as yet found time to give to the past history and present character of the dominant religions of Europe and America. With the religious and philosophical thoughts of the European Middle Ages he has at present, as is obvious from many references to it in his book no more than an inaccurate acquaintance, derived from second-hand sources of little authority but no doubt most of those who can detect this omission in our author's equipment would show themselves equally deficient in acquaintance with the corresponding developments of Indian faith and speculation. So, too many Christian scholars might be capable of mistakes about the religion and theology of contemporary Hinduism comparable with some made by Professor Radhakrishnan about those of Christianity as it exists to day for example when he speaks of it as teaching a 'shadowy theism' or of the Fourth Gospel as substituting a word incarnate for the Father revealed by Christ but we may wonder that these were not corrected on reference to the distinguished Christian thinker to whom, as his old teacher and friend, he expresses his acknowledgments in his preface—*The Times Literary Supplement*

THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF WAR ON INDIA  
PART I INDIAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT DURING THE WAR By Iqbal Bahadur Saksena  
A Professor of Economics Canning College, Lucknow Pp 138 Price Re 1-8 0

INDUSTRIAL POSSIBILITIES OF INDIA By R. Trimurti Rao B.A. L.T. Lecturer, College of Engineering Madras Pp 192

There is no doubt that the War gave a great impetus to Indian industries by throwing the country for a time upon her own resources and by creating an unexpected demand abroad for certain classes of Indian products. The newly started Department of Industries may be taken to be an earnest of the Government's desire to see the progress temporarily attained consolidated and further progress achieved in other directions. On the threshold of this new industrial revolution it is certainly worth our while to take a bird's-eye view of the present position of Indian industries. This the two authors attempt to give us in the little books under review. The information supplied is up-to-date and authoritative having been collected from official publications and other reliable sources. Both the books cover practically the same ground. Among others the following industries are noticed—Chemical and metallurgical industries the manufacture of oils, paints and varnishes forest products, lac, paper, glass, cement, pottery, ship building,

[\* Mr Mages Chandra Ghosh and Prof. Dharendra Nath Choudhury have shown the extent and depth of the author's knowledge of Indian Philosophy in previous numbers of the Modern Review. Ed. M. R. J.]

tanning and leather manufacture hardware and textiles Mr Rau gives a brief historical sketch of every industry, he describes and also discusses the manufacturing processes Mr Saksena promises to deal with the commercial and financial aspects of Indian economic development during the war in two subsequent volumes

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF THE BARODA STATE FROM 1909-10 TO 1918-19 By Manilal B Nanavati Director of Statistics Baroda State Published by authority of H H the Gaekwar's Government Price Re O 13 0

The abstract has been drawn up on the lines of the statistical abstracts of British India Anyone interested in H H the Maharaja Gaekwar's Dominions will find here detailed statistical information about every aspect of the life of the State

#### ECONOMICS.

HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL HINDU INDIA VOL I By C V Vaidya M A LL B Published by the Oriental Book supplying Agency Poona City 1921

The volume before us is the product of an ambitious attempt to deal with the history of ancient India in a far more detailed manner than has hitherto been done The author proposes to write a comprehensive history of the Medieval Hindu Period from the death of Harsha to 1200 A D and in the single volume before us of four hundred closely printed pages he brings it down only up to 800 A D

Unfortunately the ambition of the author is not equalled by his equipment He does not seem to possess a true perspective view of the course of events in ancient India and blindly accepts the *ipse dixit* of European scholars notably the late Dr V Smith (whom, by the way, he always refers to as Sir V Smith) That scholar erroneously believed that the empire of Harsha was the last word in the political evolution of India though it seems he began to modify his views in the last days of his life Mr Vaidya out Herodotus Herod solemnly declares the reign of Harsha 'to be the culminating point of India's evolution' There seems to be no more reason for this belief than the purely accidental circumstance that we happen to know more about his reign than that of many others from the narratives of a court poet and a Chinese traveller Again Mr Vaidya believes that Harsha's reign witnessed the final and greatest triumph of Buddhism' Nothing can be more untrue Even the pages of Huen Tsang a writer of admittedly Buddhist proclivities could hardly conceal the fact that Buddhism was in its last gasp

The view point of the author is thus wrong from the very start One instance would suffice to show how this has vitiated his reading of Indian history He looks upon the 'prevalence

of Buddhism to be one of the main causes 'that sapped the strength of the Indian people and made their warriors fall like card board sepoy before the Turks of the Ghaznavide Mahmud It will be enough to note that Buddhism had ceased to be the prevailing religion long before the advent of Mahmud of Ghazni at least in those parts which felt the brunt of his attack It may also be noted in passing that if Mr Vaidya had even looked into the pages of Elliot's History containing contemporary accounts of Mahmud's expedition he would not have laboured under the delusion that Indian warriors fell like card board sepoy before the Turks

So far about general ideas Unfortunately the details in the book are also in many cases far from trustworthy I shall quote only a few examples On the very first page he assumes without proof that the Maukharis of Kanauj held sway as far as the Brahmaputra in the East and the Vindhya Range on the south Then on the next page we are told that Prabhakaravardhana of Thaneswar was in 605 A D by far the most powerful king in Hindustan This is hard to believe in view of the undeniable fact that in less than a year's time Sasanka the king of Bengal had extended his conquests as far as Kanauj Again on p 51 he takes Chanchu the country round Ghazipur as the territory of the Vaudheyas Not only is there no evidence in support of this assumption but all the evidences we possess point to the eastern Punjab as the home of that tribe

Mr Vaidya has vigorously combated the view now generally entertained that the Jats and Gujars were non Aryan and has in particular criticised at some length the theory enunciated by Prof D R Bhandarkar in his article Foreign Elements in Indian Population Mr Vaidya lays great stress upon anthropometric considerations but it is well to bear in mind that the science of anthropology so far at least as Indian races are concerned, is yet in its infancy and can hardly be set against deductions based upon clear historical evidence Whether such evidence exists in the present case may of course be doubted and as such Mr Vaidya is welcome to reopen the question But we cannot help thinking that the question has to be decided on historical grounds alone and Mr Vaidya would have been well advised to confine himself thereto without venturing into the quicksands of Indian ethnology

In spite of all these and other defects Mr Vaidya's book cannot be said to be without any value He has brought together a number of details which are not likely to be met with in any other single volume But in aiming at the fullness of the Gazetteer he has sacrificed the perspective of history and one might say without much exaggeration that his book contains the defects of both without the merits of either

THE KINGDOM OF JAFANAPATAM 1645 *By P F. Harris Litt. B. Ceylon Civil Service*

This small booklet of 67 pages contains a very interesting account of the Portuguese administration of the kingdom of Jafanapatam and the province of Marar in the north of Ceylon. The information as the author tells us is derived from a manuscript preserved at the Bibliotheca Nacional in Lisbon. The chief feature of the book seems to be that it is full of reports it lets us see in which one might form a fair notion of the economic condition of Ceylon in the first half of the 17th century A.D. Of particular interest are the details about the customs duties and regulations affecting well known industries such as weaving, pearl fishery &c. As a specimen of the curious bits of information which one might expect in this booklet, reference may be made to the Marallas' on p. 23. These were of the nature of death duties amounting to half the value of the property, to which the Government was entitled when the owner died without leaving any children, grand children, brothers and the children of brothers and sisters.

R. C. MUMDAR

KANARISE

'HIND SWARAJYA' A KANARISE VERSION OF MAHATMA GANDHI'S INDIAN HOME RULE *By D. K. Bhargadaya M. A. S. (London)* published by K. M. Dasaprabhu and Sons, Cnr. Street, Mangalore (1920) Price 5 as Pp. 104+11

Though this book is a translation from the English original it deserves commendation. The writer has brought out this book at an opportune moment. There are very few books dealing with politics. Every addition of such works as the one above is welcome. The style is clear, simple and natural. Every Kanarese knowing person will find in this sufficient material to weigh and consider. A full index should have been added at the end of the book.

P. A. R.

MARATHI

BOLSHEVISM IN RUSSIA—Part I with 14 illustrations *By Mr. I. A. Joshi Publisher, Mr. A. B. Chavan Pages 264 Price Re 1-8*

Thanks to the incessant efforts of newspapers, conducted by Englishmen in India we have had placed before us a horrid picture of Bolshevist doctrines and Bolshevist activities in Europe and Asia which excited our curiosity to know something about them. The look under notice satisfies this desire to know with curious results. For instead of intensifying the horror at the mere mention of the word Bolshevism the reading of the book enables one to find for himself how distorted and unfaithful is the picture drawn by our English journalists of a

movement which has freed Russia from the thralldom of the Czar and is spreading its propaganda far and wide beyond Russia. This first part of the book gives a concise and connected account of the rise of Bolshevism in Russia its leaders and their achievements, leaving a detailed account of the Soviet administration for a fuller treatment in the second part which is promised. It is a pity that the author has nowhere mentioned the sources of his information so as to enable his readers to judge for themselves how far the account given is faithful and whether fact and fiction are blended together to make the dish delicious. The pictures of Russian revolutionaries are interesting.

MAHARASTRA SARAWAT or History of Marathi Literature—*By Mr. I. L. Bhawe B.Sc. Publisher B. I. S. Mundal, Poona. Pages 588 Price Rs. 6*

On several occasions in the past rewards have been offered in vain for writing a readable and true history of Marathi literature. But what money could not accomplish a real love for literature has achieved and placed in the hands of Marathi readers a really valuable work, dealing with Marathi literature of the pre-British period which is really more substantial and of more lasting importance than the later prose literature which is more or less a slavish imitation—and not best even at that—of some antiquated English books. I do not wish to minimise the importance of the Marathi literature of the ante-British period, considering the valuable service it has done in giving a stimulus to the popular thirst for knowledge in these days. What I mean is that between these two distinct divisions of Marathi literature, the palm is sure to be carried by the older one, being more national, original, substantial and spontaneous. The author would have done well to include the later prose literature by enlarging the scope of his undertaking and to give us a complete history of Marathi literature down to this day. Perhaps he has reserved this portion for another volume. It is impossible even to indicate the merits and demerits of the work in a short notice like this. It will suffice to say for the present that the author has not done full justice to some poets like Ramdas, Sohrobr and Vajal Nath while some others of little significance have received more attention than is due to them. But such differences of opinion are inevitable and do not in the least affect the true merit of the work. The chapter on Shalurs or ballad-composers and singers is particularly interesting and will forcibly appeal to the rising generation which has begun to show its appreciation of the stirring songs composed by these illiterate poets in commemoration of the heroic achievements of the Maharattas. Altogether the service rendered by Mr. Bhawe to Marathi literature is of a high order, and I may say without hesitation that what Babu Dinesh

Chandra Sen is to Bengal Mr Bhawe is to Maharashtra The get up and illustrations are excellent

A G APTÉ

## HINDI

SCOUT GITANJALI—compiled by Lakshmi Narayan Gupta B A LL B, Scout Commissioner, Shahjahanpur Pp 72

This is a collection of Hindi and English songs and lyrics meant for the Boy Scouts The attempt for providing a manual for the Boy Scouts is no doubt a laudable one, but most of the Hindi songs and poems suffer from the point of art Some well known Bengali national songs have been rendered into Hindi with conspicuous failure for being tackled by inexperienced hands and for neglecting linguistic peculiarities

LOKAMANYA TILAK—by Pandit Nand Kumar Dasgupta To be hal of the Joshi & co P Box no 704 Calcutta Price Re 1 Pp 132 1921

We congratulate this short but interesting life story of the God given Captain as Aurobinda put it The main incidents of the life of Tilak are delineated in a charming style All the sides of the great man's life i e as a man scholar, journalist and patriot are shown with a fair command of facts The book contains a portrait of the hero The author puts his heart to the task and we hope he will add more facts in the next edition

VAIVEDYA—by Dharamdhar Sharma Kerali Govt High School Darjeeling Pp 29

The writer tries his hand to write poems in the Gorkhali dialect Though the execution of the poems is rather perille the writer has done a great service to his fellowmen by putting such things as national song, 'awakening' before them

VAIVAHARIK VIVARAN—compiled by Krishna Lal Mathur Published by the Rajasthan Hindi Sahitya Sabha Jhalapattan City, Rajputana Samvat 1977 Pp 203 Price Re 1 1 annas

There being very few works in Hindi for popularising scientific literature, this book though compiled from Bengali and Gujarati sources will be quite welcome to the general readers All the 15 topics are very well-chosen and well written The names of the books and authors from which these are taken should have been mentioned The compiler has done well by inserting 16 figures and illustrations The get up gives credit to the publishers.

RAMES BAI

## GUJARATI

MANAS SHASTRA (માનસ શાસ્ત્ર) translated by Harisiddhi Lal Vagbhay Dnyanesh M A, LL B

Vakil High Court Bombay, and published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad Pp 343 Cloth bound Price Re 1 (1918)

At all times it is difficult to treat of abstruse subjects like psychology and metaphysics in a way as would attract the general public it is more difficult when it has to be done through the medium of the translation of a foreign book William James Professor of Psychology in the Harvard University has been considered one of the best writers on the subject and this book is a translation of his work It is not as if the translator who himself has studied the subject independently of this book has blindly trusted or accepted all the opinions of the writer He has freely acknowledged that certain of his opinions are open to doubt However to those inclined to know how the subject has been treated by other nations the translation furnishes a very useful guide one feels in reading it that it is not the work turned out by a novice or by a mere mercenary hack, it is written by one who is thoroughly interested in it and quite at home in the subject

SAPTABHANGI PRABODH (સપ્તભંગી પ્રબોધ) by Vajratilaka Vajratilaka Prayarak Shri Manjari Vajratilaka Printed at the Lahore Steam Printing Press Brard's Thick Cardboard pp 126 Price—not printed (1921)

This is an extremely technical original work in which the learned author has tried to explain the Saptabhangis which is one of the three elements of the Jaina Darshanas In its seven sections the Muni Maharaj has attempted to give the reader an idea of what this doctrine means to a Jaina and how those who do not understand it have attempted to gloss it over with false notions and where they have committed mistakes It is a praise-worthy attempt on the part of a Jaina ascetic

ADHYATMA TATTVALOKA (અધ્યાત્મ તત્ત્વલોક) by Vajratilaka Vajratilaka Vajratilaka Muni Vajratilaka Printed at the Lahore Steam Printing Press Brard's Cloth bound with illustrations Pp 821 Price—not given (1920)

This substantial volume of nearly nine hundred pages is the work of a young Jaina Muni who hardly looks thirty It is a trilingual work in Sanskrit, English and Gujarati the original being Sanskrit with translations and general notes in English and Gujarati the result of the help of others interested in Jaina Philosophy In these days one rarely comes across a scholar who would care to write out a treatise in Sanskrit and that too on such an abstruse subject as Adhyatma Vidya It is, therefore, greatly to the credit of this Jaina ascetic that he has attempted and succeeded in the attempt to compose such a treatise in good faultless Sanskrit In its eight chapters the book covers the whole province of Jaina philosophy, spiritual and Any single shloka





in actual practice, for the many? Mahatma Gandhi has again and again referred to the poverty vice and misery of our great modern cities. We cannot separate these evils from the wealth and comfort of those segregated areas where the rich and educated live. We have to go to the slums to understand the full significance of modern civilisation.

Mahatma Gandhi has spent a great portion of his own life in learning by intimate personal experience every fact concerning these slums. The poor people have always been his friends; ever welcome at his board and sharing every thing he possessed. These slums where poor people live with their awful monotony of human misery are open books to him which he has read from cover to cover.

I have myself often and often watched Mahatma Gandhi in the heart of the great city of Durban in South Africa with hundreds of poor indentured Indian men and women and children about him. Apart from his aid these poor labourers might have been driven back to work on the sugar plantations at a starving wage while the absentee shareholders with their motor-car comforts were reaping their unearned increment out of this servile labour. I have dwelt with Mahatma Gandhi in the Indian location at Pretoria and in different places where the Indian poor people—the washerman, the vegetable sellers and others have been treated like pariahs while the rich magnates of the gold reef of the Rand built their palatial mansions. And here in India as we all know Mahatma Gandhi has incessantly toiled among the mill hands of Ahmedabad among the oppressed villagers of Champaran and Kaira and in a thousand other ways. He has gained his experience of the life of the poor in the only one way in which it is possible to learn it: by living himself as a poor man and by working with his own hands as a labourer.

We who have not been able to live this life may have our motor-cars and all the comforts of modern civilisation but the poor people all over the world are

asking the insistent question—why should we the poor starve? why should we have to pay the price for such luxuries as these?

That question will have to be answered. Mahatma Gandhi is out and out on the side of the poor. That is why the poor people have recognised him instinctively as their friend and champion. That is why, on the other hand, the vested interests of capital and land and wealth have sooner or later closed their ranks against him.

Let me repeat my one point for the sake of absolute clearness. These slums of our great cities all over the modern world—these areas of squalid disease-stricken poverty—are the drab side of the picture of the comforts of our present civilisation. They cannot any longer be banished out of sight and forgotten while the rich enjoy their luxuries. They appear to be the inevitable consequences of the whole capitalistic system. And so long as that system which is bound up with 'civilisation' as we use the word to day continues to operate this slum poverty will continue to operate also. This is the plain and open indictment of civilisation that is being made not merely by a Ruskin or a Tolstoy but by nearly all the earnest thinkers of the present age in the West—by men as different in temperament as Romain Rolland and Kropotkin as H. G. Wells and Anatole France.

Furthermore now that we have learnt to study more carefully the history of peoples—not merely of wars and dynasties—we have slowly come to understand that this same capitalistic civilisation which is now running riot over the whole world, has not been a growth of the modern age alone. It has swept over the earth's surface many times before like some fell disease leaving decay and ruin and death behind when ever it has come to the full.

There was a civilisation of Pharaoh in Egypt, which manufactured on a large scale comforts and luxuries of the few while the multitudes sweated and starved. But one man who loved the poor among his own people named Moses stood out against the court of Pharaoh and

in his lot with the oppressed Hebrews. For this reason, to day, while the names of all the Pharos are forgotten, this one man is honoured by Christians and Musalmans alike, as a Prophet of God. We read in the Bible about him,—

'By faith Moses, when he was grown up, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather to be evil entreated with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. By faith he forsook Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the king, for he endured as seeing him who is invisible.

To take a more recent example. The Roman Empire fell, at last because of its neglect of the poor. For its civilisation had been built up as that of Egypt and of Babylon before it, out of the tears and blood of countless, toiling slaves. Under the Roman Empire, the few had their comforts,—their marble baths and halls, with slaves ever ready at hand to attend them, while the poor had to be content with doles of bread and a few public amusements. The multimillionaires of ancient Rome flaunted before the eyes of men their wealth and their vice, in their sea side palaces, at Pompeii and Herculaneum, on the Bay of Naples. But there was a peasant, in a far off province of Judaea, whose name was Jesus of Nazareth. He had seen, at close quarters, this exploiting enslaving 'Civilisation' in the rich Graeco-Roman cities by the shores of the Sea of Galilee, and he pronounced his woe upon them —

'Woe unto thee, Bethsaida! Woe unto thee, Capernaum. Art thou exalted, with buildings reaching unto the heavens? Thou shalt be brought down to hell!'

But turning from these wealthy cities with their gold and marble, their luxury and banqueting, he spoke his message of peace and sympathy to the poor —

'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart, and ye shall find rest to your souls.'

Here was a message not of material comforts but of spiritual joy. Christ told his disciples ever to seek to serve God

and to despise Mammon,—the Mammon of those wealthy and luxurious cities. Christ gave his own ideal of a perfect human life in these well remembered words

"Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow, they toil not, neither do they spin

'And yet I say unto you, that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these

"Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which today is, and tomorrow is cast into the oven, how much more shall he clothe you, O ye of little faith!'

'Be not therefore anxious, saying, what shall we eat? or what shall we drink? or wherewithal shall we be clothed?

"But seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you'

Since those words were uttered, the Roman Empire has passed into the dust. The names of its greatest Emperors are all well nigh forgotten. But there is one name of that period in history, which has reached to every corner of the earth in blessing—the name of that peasant of Nazareth, Jesus, the Christ, who thus declared the will of God to men.

We pass rapidly down the centuries to the Byzantine Empire with its centre in the luxurious city of Constantinople, and its emporiums at Alexandria and Antioch. Wealth on the one hand and servile labour on the other were eating like a cancer at its heart. And in contrast to all these in far distant Arabia we see one who lived the life of the desert, the life of the open air amid bracing poverty and a freedom from luxury of any kind whatever,—Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam. Men have wondered at the marvellous advance of the Arabian adventurers, as they swept forward to the conquest of Syria and Egypt. But their secret lay in the simplicity of their life, their power of joyful endurance of hardship, their new found brotherhood of faith in God, untainted by the luxury of the Byzantine Civilisation and unstained by its servile misery. They came, not merely as conquerors but redeemers.

We may draw before our eyes the picture of that one incident, when the Prophet, Muhammad, was in the cave with the faithful Abu Bakr, and they had been deprived of all earthly help, and every hope seemed gone.

Abu Bakr said to the Prophet,—“We two are alone.”

“Nay,” said Muhammad, “God is with us,—a third.”

It was not in the material wealth of the world that man's true strength lay,—this was the Prophet's meaning—but in the spiritual blessing which God's presence can always bestow. In God's service, stripped of all human comforts, is a greater wealth than anything external is able to impart.

Those who regard all the comforts of modern civilisation as necessities,—if man's life is not to be “a veritable dog's life,”—can hardly appreciate the bracing atmosphere which a man breathes, when all these outward comforts are abandoned and the soul of man is set free. The Great Renunciation of the Buddha under the Bo Tree, the Ultimate Faith of Muhammad in the cave, are acts of joyous victory. They reveal spiritual powers which in the average man, are as yet almost wholly undeveloped. They have a strength and an inspiration which is of infinite value. And Mahatma Gandhi is bringing home to us this truth in singular and unheard of ways. His voice, with its strange accent, appears to me to be strikingly in harmony with the voice of Jesus of Nazareth, who said,—“Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.”

“God is with us.”—“Seek ye first the Kingdom of God.”—This is the same eternal word of Truth which each new age of faith brings back once more, with living power, to the heart of mankind.

Those who have obeyed this word of Truth to the uttermost, leaving all behind, have often been called ‘mad men’. They have appeared incredibly foolish to the comfort-loving world. But their foolishness has been one with that foolishness of God, which has brought down to the dust the proud wisdom of man. And their weakness has been that ‘weakness of God,’

which has destroyed the vain glory of mankind. But of the saints and prophets it is written “They trusted in God.”—“In God was their strength.”—They endured, “as seeing Him who is invisible.”

This faith in God, Mahatma Gandhi has brought back again to men, not by words, but by deeds, and the heart of India has understood.

Let us be careful, therefore, when we find ourselves rejecting the madness of a Moses, or a Muhammad, of a Buddha, or a Christ. Let us not forget, that history has finally proved their ‘madness’ to be the very Truth.

Insistent voices are calling to us to-day, both in the West and in the East. They tell us plainly that, merely to build up another civilisation, like that of Rome, out of the oppression and servitude of the poor is to court the same disaster which overtok Rome itself. They tell us,—these prophetic voices,—that we must turn resolutely away from the choking stifling unnatural and artificial atmosphere of our own age, and go back to the bracing air of the desert which nourished the simplicity and faith of Muhammad and his early followers, to the fields of Galilee and the open sky beneath which Jesus of Nazareth taught his first disciples the love of God to mankind, to the forest hermitages of ancient India where the true nature of the spirit within man was first revealed, to the viharas of the Buddhist monks, where men learnt to return good for evil and to have sympathy with all God's creatures.

Men, who think deeply upon human problems and seek the guidance of history with regard to the future, are turning away more and more from these barren ‘civilisations’ and ‘Empires’ of the past, however outwardly imposing. They can understand, in the light of the terrible disaster which has overtaken Europe in our own days, how such artificial structures, by means of which the rich are able to oppress the poor, and the strong are able to exploit the weak, have always ultimately tended to destroy simplicity, beauty and truth. The mere material comforts which they afford to +

exploiting nations or individuals by no means complicate humanity for the destruction of the natural and simple life lived by the many. The luxuries of these civilisations (so they now see) have been bought far too dear a price.

Thus they find in the capitalistic system of our own times—with its inevitable destruction of the poor and exploiting of weaker nations—nothing more nor less than a dread repetition of the buried empires of the past. They are more and more prepared to abandon such an ideal, in disgust. Placing their whole trust in God and returning in deep humility to Him as their true source of strength, they seek a means whereby the ultimate brotherhood of man may be made actual and universal and they find that the first step forward is the recovery of the simple life lived close to nature. They strive to enter into that life and to leave all false standards of wealth and power and empire behind. They remember the words which the village maiden Mary the mother of Jesus sang—

My soul doth magnify the Lord  
And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour

For He hath regarded  
The lowliness of His handmaiden  
He hath showed strength with His arm  
He hath scattered the proud in the  
imagination of their hearts  
He hath filled the hungry with good  
things

And the rich He hath sent empty away

It is because Mahatma Gandhi has learnt this one condition of progress which the historians and statesmen and thinkers of the West are beginning slowly to realise as a supreme factor in human history, it is because Mahatma Gandhi has thrown boldly aside these old false standards of empires and civilisations, it is because Mahatma Gandhi has discovered afresh the truth of human simplicity and the beauty of human life lived close to nature—it is for these reasons that he has been able to inspire the masses of India with a new hope.

For this simple natural life was theirs in the distant past, it had remained their

greatest treasure through countless generations. They loved it and were happy in it. Whatever invasions passed over their heads they went back to this life again in peace. They loved every river and lake and mountain of their country with a devoted love. The very soil of their Motherland was sacred to them. Empires one after the other had devastated their lands but the flood had subsided and their old deeply loved simplicity had returned once more to give them happiness. But their latest empire from the West, as Rabindranath Tagore has shown in his prose writings has been infinitely more penetrating and disintegrating. It touched this very simplicity and beauty of the Indian life itself at its most sensitive points of approach. Therefore just as Mahatma Gandhi has fought with all his strength against the destruction of ancient hand spinning and weaving by modern mechanical power, so in exactly the same way he has fought against the destruction of this beautiful and ancient life of India by a modern mechanical culture.

To return to the writer in the Hindustan Review from whom we started. He impatiently despises this return to the simple life of nature. He praises the city life with its material comforts and conveniences—its motor cars and aeroplanes and armies and ruins says. He calls Mahatma Gandhi's ideal nothing more nor less than a degenerate atomism, a vicious set back in human history, a return to the life of the savage of the forest. He takes some of the extreme phrases used by a literary genius such as Tolstoy (as he struggled in early days with this very problem) and fastens them one and all upon the Gandhi cry.

The Tolstoyan republic he says is the Gandhian republic—a republic in which every man lives in a state of nature as a happy wild beast in a forest.

How far these actual quoted words of Tolstoy—as a happy wild beast in a forest—might be justified, how far they agree with the picture given in Kalidasa's *Saluntika* which the great Goethe praised so highly I do not stop to enquire. I would only point out that the whole story of the exile of Rama

in the wild forest with Sitā by his side and with his brother Lalshimāna as his companion shows how dear this ideal of the forest hermitage life has ever been to the Indian heart. But to return to Mahatma Gandhi himself. We can test his true position much more easily than by fastening on his back all the eccentricities of Tolstoy's artistic genius. For Mahatma Gandhi is essentially a genius of action—a creative worker in the transformation of human life till it expresses itself in deeds. He is never content until his ideal has become concrete. In his active life he has had different opportunities of expressing his ideal in an Asram. It is easy to learn from these different attempts of Mahatma Gandhi what his real meaning is when he attacks so vehemently and unsparingly modern civilisation.

The first attempt of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa was at Tolstoy Farm, some twenty-one miles distant from Johannesburg. In this Asram is the title shows the influence of the great Tolstoy's writings was most powerful in shaping the ideal of life. I have heard about Tolstoy Farm from Mr. Kallenback and others who lived there. It was indeed a life of plain living and high thinking. It is doubtful if any such ideal of the simple life had ever been carried out in South Africa in the modern age before. While he was still young and in vigorous health Mahatma Gandhi, with his big house open to all in Johannesburg had practised as a lawyer and had made a fortune. He had lived the modern city life with its so-called civilisation. He had found it empty and valueless and an offence to his own Hindu ideals. Perhaps the most striking thing in Mahatma Gandhi's first Asram was the way in which he and the highly educated and comfort-loving men with him put their hands to the plough and the hoe and the spade and found an intense joy in the hard farm labour by means of which they obtained their daily bread. They despised railways along with other luxuries and I have often heard from Mr. Kallenback with what

zeal and enthusiasm they used to walk into Johannesburg and back again in a single day starting at two o'clock on a cold starlit morning across the open country. Mahatma Gandhi in physical endurance could outdistance them all. It is from pictures such as these that we can put in its true setting his disgust at being compelled to travel by rail or motor car.

Come to the second Asram which Mahatma Gandhi founded at Phoenix in Natal. Here in this Asram I have spent some of the happiest and most dearly remembered days of my life. It is in the heart of the coastal district of Natal, not far from the sea and beautiful undulating hills. The place lies at some sixteen miles distance from the modern business city of Durban. A group of simple dwellings with land round them under cultivation, a library of noble books in the central building which is also used for religious worship, a hand press for printing close to a running stream, here is a very slight external picture of the Phoenix Asram which I know and love. Most of all it was the peace of the inner life inside the Asram that endeared it to me—even as Santiniketan has become dear to me for the same reason. Let me describe one scene of ineffaceable beauty if I can. It is night time and the evening meal is over. We are gathered round Mahatmaj himself. Nestling in his arms is a little Musalman child whom Mahatmaj has made his own son. Next to him is a Christian Zulu girl from the mission across the hills who has learnt to love Phoenix as her home. Kallenback is there with two of the little Indian children of the Asram on his knees—a great favourite with all. It is Mahatmaj himself who conducts the religious worship as the evening closes. He reads to us first some Gujarati verses about the love of God. He explains these afterwards in English. Then these Gujarati hymns are sung by the children's voices. Later in the evening we sing together, *Lord kindly Light*, and at last retire to rest.

I had been to Christian churches in Natal from which this Zulu girl

have been turned away in contempt because she did not belong to the white race. But here was a haven of peace and love. Humanity was One. Racial and religious divisions had been merged in that unity. Here was peace. I pass on rapidly to the third Asram at Sabarmati in India itself, close to the great modern city of Ahmedabad, with its artificial life of factory and steam and smoke and stunted human lives. Here again the contrast is most striking—the filthy smoke-sodden factory district on the one hand where the factory men and women pass their joyless existence and on the other hand the handloom weaving at the Asram on the banks of the beautiful Sabarmati River where all is clean and pure and free from filth both moral and physical. I have lived many times in this Asram also. Such occasions have been full of joy and inner peace. It is easy to trace the development of Mahatma Gandhi's ideal since the days of the Tolstoy Farm. Spinning and weaving have now become perhaps the most vital part of the active life of the Sabarmati Asram though agriculture is by no means forgotten or put on one side. The study of the mother tongue and of Hindi takes up a large amount of the time spent in education. The chanting of the Gita has become a main portion of the daily worship. The scenery is changed, there are slight differences of emphasis, but the underlying spirit is the same. There is the same universal love of humanity, the same faith in simplicity and in the dignity of labour, the same desire to live close to nature and to avoid the luxuries which separate men from one another and destroy true brotherhood.

I leave my readers to judge whether it is fair to raise prejudice against such ideals based upon *Ahimsa*—the creed of love for all God's creatures—by comparing them with the savage life of the wild beasts of the forest. In so far as nature is simple and gentle and free from artificial luxury such a life is one with nature.

But it differs essentially from the wildness and the savagery of animals such as the tiger—to which the epithet 'wild beast' is commonly referred.

No, the life that I have shared in these Asrams which Mahatma Gandhi has founded is no savage life but rather the most humane and cultured that is perhaps to be found among men in India to-day. It is not in the narrow sense of the word an ascetic life but a life filled with the purest human joy. Little children, little babies have a wonderful and almost infallible faculty for finding out the child heart in grown-up men and the sight I have most often watched in Phoenix and in Sabarmati Asrams has been that of Mahatma Gandhi with all the babies of the Asram gathered round him. They are all shouting with delight and brimming over with fun and laughter and joy as he is absorbed in playing with them on his return. Such a scene as this is not compatible with sour asceticism or political nihilism or any other man-made invention of the perverse human mind.

I have myself argued for hours against some of Mahatma Gandhi's theories such for instance as that of celibacy and the abstention from the married life or about the taking of vows. The argument has ended by my being told that I have not understood his meaning. I have been no blind follower. I have rather been a constant critic. With all the more strength therefore can I refer to this beautiful love of the children (which is reciprocated with such instinctive joy by them) as showing beyond any need of further proof that Mahatma Gandhi's central thought of life is that of joy not pain, is positive not negative, is constructive not nihilistic, is full of new creative life for mankind, not an empty futile visionary dream.

But to learn its true secret there must be a sharing of the simple life itself; there must be a willingness to make the sacrifice. There is no other course.

Shantimuktan

C. F. ANDREWS

## OUR INDIAN PRINCES

THE Indian Constitutional Reforms including the inauguration of the Chamber of Princes have brought to the forefront the problems connected with the internal administration of the Native States of India. They are said to comprise a third of the total area of this Peninsula and to contain a fifth of its population. A passing thought suggests itself on these statistics whether the subjects of these States have not left their ancient homes, in any appreciable numbers to find shelter in British India. But of this later on. Now a fifth of the population of a country cannot be expected to live under a regime very unlike that under which their brethren in their vicinity live. These latter must either pull the former up or be content to be dragged down a perpetual state of unequal environments, of unequal treatment of unequal conditions regarding political existence is unthinkable. What is the remedy?

No one who has any sense of patriotism in him would regard with equanimity the extinction of these semi-sovereign states. In my opinion, their continued existence is of the essence of peaceful progress for the country as a whole. Many of the rulers appeal to the imagination of the masses as representing the faded glory of ages gone by,—not a few of them call to one's mind traditions which link the living present with the glorious past. Therefore, the idea that these states should go into the melting pot and emerge therefrom as component parts of a wider administration, would not commend itself to thoughtful men, nor can we contemplate with equanimity the prospect of the affairs of Indian States being guided and controlled solely from without. That would sap the very foundation of their existence. Government by pulling the strings from behind would undermine loyalty within and responsibility of the Chief; there must be absolute freedom in internal management. It may be said that this is likely to lead to the oppression of the people and to the perpetuation of misrule in not a few instances—I concede the probability. But every one of us have to pay a price for being engaged in political work. Many are the

means which even in British India are resorted to for the purpose of preventing free thinking and free speaking. They may not often take the form of a prohibition order under Sec. 144 of the Cr. P. C., but we submit to them because we feel that our individual privations would serve as examples for others to cultivate a spirit of self-sacrifice and of true patriotism. So should it be with our fellowmen in the Indian States. They must submit themselves to the indignities of deportation of an unconvicted jail life of unjust deprivation of property, if they are true sons of their land of birth—so long as the agitation for the betterment of their principality is sincere so long as there is no desire to dethrone but only to nationalise, the humiliations and privations which they may have to bear should be suffered cheerfully and in a spirit of true martyrdom. Far better to have deportation and incarceration than to be instruments for compelling their Prince to yield up even an inch of the power which the treaty has conferred on them. I should not be understood as suggesting that the overlordship of the Government of India should be withdrawn—far from it in emergencies the exercise wisely and with caution of the powers yielded up by the treaty would be of immense value to the people of the States. Their very existence is a check on arbitrariness and oppression, but I feel no doubt that every true Indian would agree with me that except in very exceptional circumstances the paramount power or its representatives should avoid any interference in the internal affairs of the States. I am clearly of opinion that everything being equal, the subjects of an Indian Prince should be happier than those in British India. The administration is less costly and as a result, the incidence of taxation is often lower. The aspiration of the people and the under-currents of their ideals would be better appreciated by an Indian Ruler and in a thousand ways religious, social and economical, the conduct of affairs would result in greater contentment and prosperity to the subject population. I premised my last observation by the conditional clause



'all things being equal' I am under no illusion as to the present. *Things are not equal*. I was informed the other day—I believe the information is correct that if a choice were offered to the people of a taluk or of a village in an Indian State to exchange their allegiance in most cases they would cheerfully accept the British way but this fact does not affect the ideal to be aimed at. All the greater is the need for persistent agitation by the subjects of the States to effect salutary reforms in their affairs this agitation as I said before must be incere vigorous devoid of any taint of disloyalty and coupled with readiness to yield themselves up for the cause if these ideas are not lost sight of persecution cannot be long lived and before long peace and good will would reign supreme.

I have thus far dealt with the duties of the people. I shall now advert to the responsibilities of the rulers. I am sure to be accused as an impertinent outsider who has taken up on himself the role of a lecturer to ragged persons who are not unmindful of their trust. But he must be a peculiarly stone-eyed autocrat who has not realised that there is deep and widespread dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs. At least everyone of our Princes must be aware that there is profound truth in the saying of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman that good government can never be a substitute for government by the people. I am sure that many an Indian Prince has deeply and devotedly the interests of his subjects at heart. He is doing his best to make them happy and contented. In not a few instances languor, supineness and irresponsibility are to be found but I am Indian enough to believe that in the majority of cases the will is there but not the way. Speaking in the first instance of the South Indian States which I know fairly well I make bold to say that there is constitutional government in everyone of them that the rulers are very anxious to do the right thing by their subjects and to advance popular aspirations as much as possible. That brightest example of Indian Rule and Statescraft Mysore is as advanced in many respects as British India and in some respects furnish examples for British Indian statesmanship to copy and emulate. Travancore, Cochin and even the little State of Pudukottah are in the main as well adminis-

tered as any part of British India. These States have had the rare good fortune of being guided by men of spotless reputation and integrity and of unsurpassed experience in the theory and practice of administration—Rangacharlu Madhava Rao, Seshiah Sastri, Seshadri Aiyar these names are synonymous with efficiency, uprightness, tact and devotion they have made South India the nursery of statesmanship. Baroda had the benefit of the ripe experience and wisdom of one of them and is ruled by a Prince of great intelligence and statesmanship, hence it is that we hear that its affairs are in a very satisfactory condition. Can the same be said of the very large number of Indian States in the North? I confess I have no personal knowledge about them—but I have talked to their subjects, I have heard from British residents in the neighbouring districts. I must say that my information does not lead me to the conclusion that everything is as one would desire it to be. I daresay there is exaggeration and a desire to make the black look blacker yet there is no escaping the feeling that there is vast room for improvement. I heard of the ancient State of Kota being very ably administered. I heard of that great patriot, the Maharajah of Bikanir introducing the elements of self government in his State. I heard of Gwalior's evident attachment to his people. I am not exhausting my information. The net result is that there is good ground for the desire on the part of the people of many of the Northern States for a root and branch reform in the administration. It is not enough that the rulers are solicitous of the welfare of their subjects, it is not enough that they bring under careful scrutiny certain aspects of statecraft. They must take the people into their confidence—they must give them power to control the affairs of the State. The administration of justice must be *sans rapproache*, there should not be room for the feeling that as between the State and the subject the Courts are powerless. The oppression by the minor officials should be put down with a high hand. There must be an atmosphere of moral purity in and about the person of the Ruler. The Ruler himself must be constantly in touch with the details of the administration. There must be freedom of speech and of writing—the Ruler should not be oversensitive when honest criticism is

offered. Some of the ideals I have enumerated are not in evidence in even some of the most advanced of Indian States.

I have heard that the subjects of the Indian States often emigrate to British India and that consequently there is a depletion of population. If this is true something must be rotten somewhere and a wise ruler should start enquiries to understand the reason and to remedy the contributory causes. I am clearly of opinion that an Indian Prince has the latent power in him of making his people very contented if he would only exercise the power. Before any reform is introduced in India a great deal of circumlocution has to be resorted to. Vested rights and long standing prerogatives have to be consulted the path in an Indian State is not beset with such thorny problems. A clear grasp of the end and aim of rule an idea of the true perspective of the inevitable reaction that must take place by reason of what is going on in the neighbourhood should enable the Prince to put his house in order with greater facility and surer success. Would some Prince—I hope I may say, would a few Princes—think in advance of the times and commence reformation which would not only put them right with their own people but would be a source of inspiration even for British India? I would make a practical suggestion.

I do not want Diarchy in Indian States. I do not want Indian Princes to be constitutional sovereigns to the extent of depriving themselves of all powers and of committing them into the hands of their ministers. I want them to follow American constitution. I want them to be hereditary Presidents with the large powers of executive control and of choosing ministers which that constitution confers on the President. I want them at the same time to give their peoples as full a share in the details of the administration as the Congress and the Senate enjoy. This would have the effect of leaving in the hands of the rulers not a little of the present power while at the same time it would enable the subjects to take part in the administration of the country. I do not wish it to be understood that the American constitution can be bodily imported into these States. There must be pruning and shedding off before it is made adaptable. Two cardinal points should be borne in mind. The Prince must be a real ruler, not an automaton or figure head. The subjects should have every facility to

manage their internal affairs. Each should act as the complement of the other. I am sure the wit of the Indian rulers and of their advisers would be keen enough to devise a satisfactory scheme on these lines.

Anyhow the present conditions of existence must be ended. Living a life of unconcernedness allowing matters to drift on in the old way would only result in storing up trouble for the successors. History shows that what may be accepted peacefully and willingly today if offered would be spurned with contempt and insult and as inadequate if it is yielded up a year hence. So far the spirit of democracy has not made itself felt in the Indian States. But the immunity will not be long. That is improbable. Prudence and statesmanship should dictate the setting of the house in order betimes. Advantage should be taken of the intervening time to calculate the results of the experiments elsewhere being tried. It should not be forgotten that the same blood which runs in the veins of four fifths of their neighbours courses through the bodies of the other fifth. There is a constant stream of thought passing and repassing from the frontiers into the States and out. Inevitably the same claims would be put forward and pressed to an issue. Then what should be a free gift may be wrung from the hands with violence and chagrin. I have given expression to these thoughts not because any of them is new or original but because events are moving so fast that it is the duty of all those who cherish the well being of our Indian States to sound the note of warning before it is too late. The National Congress has for some years been advocating the cause of the subjects of these States. Recently there was a conference in Bombay which expressed itself in no unequivocal terms. These attempts should not be regarded as the vapouring of meddlesome agitators. The outside calm in the States is no index to the distrust and turmoil within. There is and bound to be unrest and the signs of the times point to the necessity for immediate action.

I am not sure that the Chamber of Princes would be the proper place for discussing the internal affairs of each of the States. But the Princes can deliberate upon the principles that should guide them in keeping pace with movements which have been inaugurated in British India. The new Chamber would

well answer the expectations formed of its usefulness by its progenitors, if a serious and earnest attempt is made by its members

to grapple with the main outlines of the problems which are common to all of them  
T. V. SETHAGRI AVER

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Universities and Research

[With the permission of the writer, we have considerably curtailed and abridged the criticism printed below. We have omitted many points of criticism, because they are unconnected with the critic's main intention, of which no essential portion has been omitted.—Ed. M. R.]

The work which I am going to criticise has high pretensions to originality, being the thesis approved by the University of London for the degree of D. Sc. (Leon). It is entitled "Public Administration in Ancient India" (Macmillan & Co., London). The author is Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee, Minto Professor of Economics Calcutta University.

The mention of the sources of information, in its introductory chapter, leads one to imagine that it is only with the classical works of antiquity that the author is concerned, and that he does not draw upon any recent work on the subject. The scholars he thanks in his Preface, are those who have 'personally made valuable suggestions' to him. He does not acknowledge his indebtedness to anyone else, neither does he seem to be aware of any pioneer worker in the field of his study, as he mentions none.

The judges appointed by the Syndicate of the University of London to pass their opinion on the thesis submitted to them, may show generous appreciation and magnanimous ignorance in these changes in the angle of vision days, but we in India cannot let this work pass without an analysis of its contents, and allow the claim of pioneering to go unchallenged, despite the stamp of the great academical distinction that has been set upon the work by the authorities of that august body, and in justice to those who are honestly working and modestly publishing the results of their researches in the pages of Indian periodicals, it is essentially necessary that we should insist upon a proper recognition and acknowledgment of their contributions to the stock of human knowledge by any subsequent author, who, far from assailing them, draws upon them for materials of his own work.

Those who are interested in the study of Indian history will perhaps be able to remember that some time back a new line of research and study was inaugurated in this country, by Mr. Kasi Prasad Jayswal, by the publication of his papers on the ancient Hindu polity and the constitutional aspects of ancient India in history and Hindu law, in the obscure pages of the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* and the *Modern Review*, where they originally appeared in 1912-13. They have also been referred to in the *Journal of the Royal*

*Asiatic Society* and in some of the standard German works on comparative jurisprudence. Since the publication of those papers, the expression "Hindu Polity" has become so familiar that it has been widely and wantonly used and misused without any attempt at fully understanding its meaning. Whether I can accept all the conclusions of Mr. Jayswal is a question which cannot be discussed within the space at my disposal.

Dr. Banerjee, however, in his thesis, does not mention any of these contributions to the literature on the subject. But in spite of his carefully avoiding the mention of his indebtedness to Mr. Jayswal, the production of the thesis was, no doubt, somewhat connected with a very close perusal of those papers, and I cannot but conclude that it is more than accidental coincidence that we have to deal with.

Mr. Jayswal opens his discourse on Hindu Polity with a quotation from the Santiparvan of the Mahabharata—

Majet trayi dandanitau hatayam sarve dharmah prakasyayurvibiddhab.

By this he illustrates the importance of the subject in the judgment of the ancient Hindus. This passage Dr. Banerjee also makes the text of paragraph 1, in page 1, of his work, without the barest mention of, or the slightest reference to the way, in which the same passage has been handled by his predecessor in the field, for a similar purpose.

In page 7 of the reprint of his papers, Mr. Jayswal says—"It is a curious coincidence that the suppression of republican institutions in India and Europe commences almost contemporaneously, though the causes in each case were different."

Place against this what Dr. Banerjee says in page 47 (note) of his "Public Administration in Ancient India." "It is a curious coincidence that small states of Northern India were absorbed in the Magadhan Empire about the same time that the Macedonian Empire destroyed the independence of the city states of ancient Greece."

It certainly comes home to me more forcibly than any of the 'coincidences' in the events of the ancient world, be they accidental or otherwise, that the 'curious coincidence' referred to above, can be traced even in the methods of thinking and the modes of expression of the two scholars of modern times.

Again, Mr. Jayswal in the course of his speculation on the suppression of what he boldly calls the 'republican institutions' in India says—"This (the disadvantage of being small and therefore weak) was vividly seen by Kautilya and his contemporaries in the crisis presented by Alexander's invasion, when those

'free nations' in spite of their heroic resistance could not help succumbing one by one, to the superior forces of Alexander. Hence Kautilya, among others, advocated a studied policy of obliterating these little sovereignties. He decided to incorporate these little states into the Empire of Chandragupta's.

Dr. Banerjea puts the same thing in the following way, "And when the success of Alexander's invasion made manifest the weakness of small independent states, the people probably welcomed, or at least submitted to Chandragupta's attempt to establish a centralised imperial government."

Now, what would the reader call it? Is it another case of "curious coincidence" in the psychological processes of working of the brains of two of our scholars?

There is yet another case of 'curious coincidence' which is very striking. Mr. Jayaswal has made a mistake in chronology by placing the end of the 'Hindu republics' about the 4th century A.D.

"Gradually these republics ceased to be a feature and factor in the political life of Hindu India. About 300 years after the Vikrama Samvat, we find a few of them still lingering in Sindh and the Punjab. The Madrakas of Kautilya still existed and so did the Vaudheyas of Panini. The State of Malavas in Rajputana was the strongest in the last days of 'Hindu republics'."

Along with this, the following extract from Dr. Banerjea's book is to be read—

"In a few parts of the country these institutions lasted till the third or fourth centuries [sic] of the Christian era."

One would like to know, whether in the case of the extracts given above, there was also another instance of "curious coincidence," or it was the result of blindly following one to whom the learned Doctor was loth to acknowledge his indebtedness. Mr. Jayaswal's attention was drawn to the Malavas as being the powerful in the last days of the "Hindu republics." No mention is made of the "Pusyamitras" who apparently escaped Mr. Jayaswal's notice in 1912-13. Dr. Banerjea commits exactly the same mistake. He too does not mention the 'Pusyamitras,' and the Malavas have been offered a prominent place in his work.

Krsna has been described as a 'republican chief' by Dr. Banerjea, but suspicious people would naturally ask whether his opinion has been based on what Mr. Jayaswal says of the mythical hero of the Vadava race. In the pages of the Hindu Polity he has been described as a 'republican leader.'

The term *danda*, which is found in the ancient political science of the Hindus (e.g., *dandaniti*) and in the Hindu law, was rendered by Mr. Jayaswal, for the first time, into English, by the expression "executive government." Dr. Banerjea uses the same expression for the same purpose as if it were his own.

The word *ganah*, in the *Arthashastra*, described as *varitastrotropajivinah*, has been rather unguardedly rendered by Mr. Jayaswal as "republics, living by the profession of arms and industries." This has been translated by Dr. Banerjea by the expression "republics engaged in agriculture, industry and the profession of arms." It is strange that the same mis take occurs in both the writers. I am not ready to accept the sense which has been put upon the word

*ganah* by both the writers or rather by Dr. Banerjea's prototype. I hold that the word has not been rightly interpreted in the sense of "republic." In the *Mahabharata* it has been used to signify 'guilds', and there is no reason why the same meaning cannot be applied here also. The enumeration of *upajivika* or profession of these *ganahs* in the *Arthashastra*, leads me to entertain the view that these *ganahs* were merely guilds, or trade-unions, who had their own laws and even minted their own coins, the circulation of which was perhaps confined among the members only of these guilds. The kings in whose territories they used to settle, temporarily or otherwise, tolerated them, or even cherished them, to ensure their help in times of need. Again the translation of the latter portion of the sentence is only an echo of the expressions used by Mr. Jayaswal in its rendering.

Here is one more instance of "coincidence". Mr. Jayaswal wrote, in 1911, the following—

It is striking to note the immense advance in political thought of Kautilya in comparison to that of his European contemporaries though a contemporary of Aristotle, etc.

This should be read with what Dr. Banerjea says on the same subject.

"It strikes us as a curious coincidence that Canakya the greatest political philosopher of India, was the contemporary of Aristotle."

Again the views of Kautilya on slavery and their comparison with the provisions in the code of Manu, published by Mr. Jayaswal in 1911, in the pages of the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* coincide exactly with what Dr. Banerjea says, with regard to the same subject, in his thesis.

The process goes on. Mr. Jayaswal in his "Hindu Polity" has the following.

"The members of the tribes were called *vrisah* (वृषिः) from which the word *Vaiśya* (one of the people—the commoner) is derived."

Dr. Banerjea paraphrases this in the following way.

"The members of a clan were originally designated by the collective name of *vīś*, but in the course of time this name was reserved for the common people."

It is rather curious to find two scholars, pursuing their researches in two different regions of the history of ancient India making the same mistakes in their works, and embodying the results of their investigation in language marked even by the same looseness of expression and the same idiosyncrasies of style.

The tribal administrative systems and the economic organisations of guilds and trade-unions in ancient India have been indiscriminately put under the category of "republics" by both the writers. But in fact one fails to understand the wisdom of doing so. Is there actually any tangible and reliable account of the administrative systems of these minor clans, save a few legends on coins, of probably limited circulation, and occasional references to them, which also are not very numerous in the inscriptions? Traditions are there, but they have not yet been properly analysed and studied. Does the type of government in vogue among these tribes or clans conform exactly to what we now understand by the word "republic," or does it come up to the ideal that the ancients had

of a republican state? We are afraid, no definite statement can be made in answer to these pressing questions. It would be generalizing too hastily and too widely, should we be tempted to make any assertion positive or negative, in the present state of our knowledge.

Mr Jayaswal upbraids 'the cheap wisdom' that asserts that Chandragupta was 'the first historical emperor of India,' and points out that long before him the idea of an empire extending up to the sea has been found to exist and can be traced to the traditions of the *Atareya Brahmana* and that 'there had been 1500 B.C. and earlier, a system of imperialism in which one of the conquering monarchs was recognised as the legal lord over others, the latter retaining the sovereignty of their respective states. Sometimes the sovereigns under the Emperor (Maharaja, Chakravarti Samrat) formed a constitution as the one described in the Mahabharata under Jarasandha.'<sup>10</sup>

Dr Banerjee writes —

'Chandragupta was not the first monarch to aspire to the title of Samrat or king of kings. The people for many centuries previously had been familiar with the Chakrabarti or suzerain idea. In the Mahabharata we read of Jarasandha's ambition to become a paramount sovereign.'<sup>10</sup>

The same looseness of expression characterises both the above quotations. It is strange to find that the vagueness of the assertion, unsupported as it is by evidence and of indefinite chronology, did not deter the author of a doctorate thesis of three hundred pages from reproducing it with a school boy faithfulness. And this has been done with the economy of the class-room note maker who does not think it important to retain the lawyer like qualification 'a system of imperialism.' To Dr Banerjee there is no difference between 'an imperial system' and 'imperialism.'

Imperialism, as it is understood now, or as it was understood by the Romans, was perhaps never known in India, or rather we have no evidence to support the theory put forth in the above statements except a few words found in some literary works, in which facts and imaginary situations, traditions and fairy tales, poetic imagery and sentiments play equal parts.

From the accounts of foreign historians we know that Alexander and his followers came to be aware of the fact that the kings of Gandarita and Praisai had extensive kingdoms in the East and that they possessed very powerful armies, considerably more numerous and efficient than what they had seen already.<sup>11</sup> The reference is apparently to the kingdom of Magadha ruled by one of the Nandas or to time. A statement like this, which is almost contemporary, is worth serious consideration, and may be accepted as a proof of the fact that there were, at least some likeness of empires on the east of the Indus. Well if by imperialism an extensive empire only were meant, then perhaps one might have taken it as the earliest evidence of the existence of such a state of things in India, in the pre-Mauryan period. But there is no evidence to show that any attempt was ever made, in the pre-Mauryan period, for the centralization of the control of a vast and extensive empire. There were the kinglings and the princelings

who were virtually independent in their own states, with only perhaps a little lip loyalty to their sovereign lord, or with even a little more than this—a formal recognition of their liege lord in his *Rajasiya* or his *Asinadha*.

Mr Jayaswal vigorously attacks the current idea that the Hindu kings were despots. He gives a special heading to one of his sections "Checks on the Arbitrariness of the Hindu Monarch."<sup>12</sup> In this section he puts forward the fact that an oath was administered to the king at the time of his coronation, and has given a new meaning to the word '*pratijna*,' in the Santiparvan of the Mahabharata, which was accepted and borrowed with acknowledgment by the late Dr V. A. Smith and incorporated by him in his *Early History of India*. Apart from the formal oath administered to a sovereign at the time of his accession and its sequel, the law was pointed out, and this certainly was another and a more effective check, in as much as the law was held to be above the king. The third check was the council of ministers,<sup>13</sup> and the fourth check was the opinion of the Brahmanas and the Sannyasins.<sup>14</sup>

We find these theories introduced in Dr Banerjee's work —

"The system of Government," he writes, "may be described as a limited monarchy. There were various checks on the authority of the monarch. The king had to abide by the law as laid down in the Sastras, or embodied in the customs of the country. In the practical work of administration, he was guided by his ministers, who wielded the real power in the state. Then there was the influence of the learned Brahmanas as a class. With these operating on the governmental system it was difficult for a king to have his own way."<sup>15</sup>

A 'marvellous coincidence' indeed! And we are almost taken by surprise when we find Dr Banerjee quietly adopting the meaning of the term *pratijna*, as put upon it by Mr Jayaswal.

Dr Banerjee, however, once for a moment, and it is once only deviates into the right path. In quoting the oath given, he says that he owes 'this suggestion to an article in the *Modern Review* of Calcutta (1913) contributed by Mr K. P. Jayaswal.'<sup>16</sup>

In the chapter on the election of kings, materials supplied by the articles in *The Modern Review* have been freely used and even the very theories and conclusions faithfully reproduced.

In *The Modern Review* for January 1912, Mr Jayaswal wrote —

"The Hindu kingship is an office of state which has to work in co-operation with other offices of state."

Dr Banerjee has it in the following way —  
'Kingship in India was a political office and not the sphere of power of a fortunate individual.'<sup>17</sup>

Mr Jayaswal wrote —

"The Hindu kingship is primarily national."<sup>18</sup>

Compare with this the sentence by which Dr Banerjee conveys the same idea —

"The King was the chief of the nation."<sup>19</sup>

Mr Jayaswal holds the opinion that "the Hindu kingship is a trust, the trust being the 'tending of the country, to its material and moral benefit and growth'."<sup>20</sup>

Place against this what Dr Banerjee writes on the same subject —

"The state existed for the well being of the people, and the king held his position as the head of the state only in so far as he was expected to further such well being" 33

The extracts given above are perhaps enough to illustrate the particular aspect of the work, to which I wanted to invite the attention of your readers

One remarkable feature of the book is the officiousness with which the learned Doctor acknowledges his indebtedness to English authors with and without cause. The notes at the bottom of the pages are quite full of such graciousness and the one at p 93 may be referred to as a specimen (q ~ ) The author has not been equally considerate in the case of Indian authors

In numerous cases of reference, no page chapter or verse is indicated, as for instance in pp 95, 96 111 &c., these are only a few examples of what prevails throughout the entire work. Often it is quite impossible to judge what authorities the author has consulted as statements unsupported by authorities are far too numerous.

There is another feature which is more remarkable than those to which I have already drawn your readers' attention. The Indian scholars who brought to light *Lukhikalpataru* remain unnamed although the work has been freely used as an original authority by the learned Doctor. A word of thanks or at least a bare mention in the foot note of his indebtedness to the Indian scholars, without whose interest and search the work would have still remained unknown was quite within the bounds of their legitimate claim. But in the economic system of Dr Banerjee Indians seem to have little value. It would not be also out of place here incidentally to ask the learned author of the *Public Administration* how he could use the data yielded by the work, of which the date of composition is considerably later than the period marked out by himself 34

It seems that Dr Banerjee has not consulted all the books mentioned in his notes. For instance, the works of Bhāṣa so frequently referred to have surely never been gone through. In Bhāṣa's *Pratimā nātaka* and *Śaṣṭha Vasa-pattāṭī*, says Dr Banerjee "the Prime Minister is described as a man ready to undertake any risks for the sake of the king" 33. Well, so it is in the *Pratimā Vāgandharīnī*, but not in the *Pratimā*. The author also speaks of the drama *Gāruḍa* as incomplete in the sense that the whole of it has not yet been found, 34 while the printed edition includes the whole work, a fact of which Dr Banerjee seems to be altogether unaware.

Both the nature of the thesis and the method followed therein have been sufficiently explained and analysed in the course of what I have said above. [In justice to the writer, we must remind the reader that the MS has not been printed in full Ed. M & R.] Such a method as has been followed by the learned author is sure to throw discredit on Indian scholarship, unless we discredit and disapprove it hence the necessity of laying it bare.

Yours faithfully  
APOLLONIUS BENGALENSIS.

1 *Hind Pol*, p 7  
2 *Pub Adm in Anc India*, p 47

- 3 *Hind Pol*, p 7
- 4 *Pub Adm in Anc India*, p 46, foot note
- 5 *Hind Pol*, p 7
- 6 *Fleet Corp Ins Ind*, Vol 3, pp 53 54
- 7 *Pub Adm in Anc Ind*, 1-46
- 8 *Ibid*, p 43
- 9 P 4
- 10 *Cal Week Notes*, 1911, cclxxv
- 11 *Pub Adm in Anc India*, p 37
- 12 *Hind Pol*, p 3
- 13 *Mahābh Sa pa cxi* South Ind Text
- 14 *Cal Week Notes*, p cclxxv
- 15 *Pub Adm in Anc Ind*, p 10
- 16 P cclxxv
- 17 P 2
- 18 *Pub Adm in Anc Ind*, p 18
- 19 *Hind Pol*, p 14
- 20 *Pub Adm in Anc Ind*, p 49
- 21 *Plutarch McCr Anc Ind*, p 310
- 22 *Hind Pol*, p 16
- 23 *Hind Pol* pp 17 18
- 24 *Ibid* p 11
- 25 *Pub Adm in Anc Ind*, p 50
- 26 *Pub Adm in Anc Ind*, p 75
- 27 *Pub Adm in Anc Ind*, p 72
- 28 *Mod Rev* Jan 1912,
- 29 *Pub Adm in Anc Ind*, p 72
- 30 *Mod Rev* Jan 1912
- 31 *Pub Adm in Anc Ind*, p 72
- 32 *Revue critique* L xxv 44
- 33 *Pub Adm in Anc Ind*, p 112
- 34 *Ibid* p 154

### Dr. Banerjee's Reply.

S S "Naldra  
May 18, 1921.

To The Editor

'The Modern Review.

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your courtesy in sending me a copy in proofs of the letter of A Bengalensis which reached me a few hours before my departure from Calcutta. I will not say anything about the motive or the taste of the writer of the letter. Nor will I take my notice of the reflections which he has thought fit to indulge in. The letter contains many mis-statements and half truths. There is however, one statement in it which is partly true. This relates to the incompleteness of the acknowledgments and references in my book on Public Administration in Ancient India. But even here the writer is unable to keep himself within the bonds of legitimate criticism. He asserts that I carefully avoided the mention of my indebtedness to Mr K P Jayaswal. This is not true. On p 75 (foot note) of my book I said "I am indebted for this suggestion to an article in the *Modern Review* of Calcutta (1913) contributed by Mr K P Jayaswal." Again on p 42, I referred to Mr Jayaswal's articles in the following words "In the *Aitareya Brahmana* occur the words 'Svarajya' and 'Vairajya' which Mr K P Jayaswal translates as 'self governing country' and 'kingless state'." There is thus no question of my avoiding the mention of Mr Jayaswal's name. I had read many of Mr Jayaswal's articles in the *Modern Review* some time before I wrote my book and my ideas

were in these and a few other places influenced by the views which had been expressed by Mr. Jayaswal. Everybody knows how difficult it is for an author to give references unless the books to which he refers are ready to hand. The writer also grossly exaggerates the question of indebtedness. The fact is that all writers on the administrative systems of Ancient India have to draw upon practically the same sources of information and they cannot help expressing similar views. The remark of Bengalees that while I was officious in my acknowledgments to European scholars I ignored the contributions of Indian scholars is incorrect. And anybody who knows me will acquit me of partiality of this sort. The truth is that while the works of European authors were easily available to me in London where the book was written the writings of Indian scholars were not. Besides the book had to be sent to the press on the eve of my

sudden departure from England in 1916, and the hurry was so great that I had not even the time to look over the proofs.

Yours faithfully,  
PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA

### Editor's Note.

Having heard that Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee, the author of 'Public Administration in Ancient India' was about to leave India for a visit to England we instructed our printer to send him an advance proof of the above criticism in order to give him an opportunity to answer it but unfortunately the press sent him the proof only a few hours before his departure. The reply he has sent, was written on board S. S. Naldra without the help of books. We shall therefore be prepared to print a more detailed reply, if he sends any.

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This Section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, intentional or unintentional misrepresentation, etc. in the original contributions and editorials published in this Review. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this Section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. We are unwilling to lay down any rigid limit, but four hundred words at the longest ought to suffice.—Editor, "The Modern Review"]

### Is Hunting a Legacy of the Mahomedan Rule?

In the "Modern Review" of the April last some extracts from the translation of a Bengali article on the legacies of the Mahomedan Rule by Prof. J. N. Sarkar were quoted. While reading them I was surprised to find that Hunting was alleged to have been introduced in our country during the Mahomedan Rule, in spite of the fact that we find numerous allusions to the stories of hunting in the Sanskrit works. I need not refer to any particular story.

UNAWAR MISRA

### "The Art of a Bengali Sculptor."

Agastya's criticism on Mr. Bose's Artism boldens me just to write a few lines about the same.

I was very much amused and astonished that a person like Mr. St. Nihal Singh, so well informed and well read should see in the figure 'To the well' an exceedingly fine Maharatta type. It may be an exceedingly fine Maharatta type to Mr. St. Nihal Singh or to Mr. Bose, who living so far away, stretch their imagination from across the seas to picture a Maharatta girl,—but to us living on this side of

India it is a most common type of a 'Ghat' woman in spite of her doing up the hair in old Brahmin style looking like the tail of a scorpion. The present day Brahmin girls do up their hair in a most artistic way decorating them with flowers as shown in Mr. Mhatre's famous "To the Temple". I know of no other Indian ladies who dress up their hair more beautifully than Bengali and Deccan Brahmin girls.

The coarse muscular arm without a bangle in Mr. Bose's exceedingly fine Maharatta type looks more a masculine than a feminine arm. The figure lacks the characteristic features of a Deccan Brahmin girl which are a well knit frame perfectly proportioned with fully developed bust and hips. In all ancient caves of Maharashtra and notably of Karli the female figures carved out bear testimony to my contention. The most prominent features of these figures are well rounded bust and hips.

A glaring mistake amounting to a blunder is the placing of the pitcher in the right hand lap. No Maharatta girl ever carries a pitcher in her right hand and, for the matter of that, I don't think any Indian woman does it as far as I know.

Again the treatment of drapery is anything but artistic. It looks more of a Dhoti than a Saree or 'Paddar'. The folds have been ar-

ranged in long lines wherever on the hips, where "Kauchta" is placed, they ought to come,—naturally, in tight round folds. The Saree falls too low on the left arm. A portion of *choli* is always visible and more especially when fetching water. The figure is too tall for a Maharatta girl.

No other woman of India walks with such perfect ease and grace as a Maharatta girl. Her movements are at once so very free and dignified and yet so very modest. Mr Bose a stiff and stark figure has no delicacy of a Maharatta girl.

A Hindu woman does not wear so defiant and haughty a look while going to worship as depicted in Mr Bose's "To the Temple". There is no touch of devotion in it. A Gujarati lady never throws her Saree so far back on the head and neither exposes her bust so much. It is a sign of ill manners. Hindu girls, as a rule, try to hide their physical charms more than to display them like western girls.

Mr Bose is hopelessly out of touch with things Indian and more so with Indian traditions and manners. M. CALY

### The Meaning of "Hindu".

In your review, June number I had the pleasure to read a contribution under the heading "Messages from France", by the distinguished scholar Mr Benoy Kumar Sarkar. The article is excellent, no doubt and to all its contents, ideas and statements, I have nothing to add or to oppose, so agreed am I with them entirely. Entirely, no Mr Sarkar translating into English the call to comradeship from Monsieur Paul Appell, addressed to "*savants et étudiants hindous*" says in a "N B" that "the term *hindou* is geographical and therefore includes Mussalmans as well as those who are Hindus by faith"—an idea that he again repeats, expressing the same more clearly at the end of the article in the following words: "The call is for the Hindus and Mussalmans a message of welcome into a life of expansion. Now, I would like to ask you as well as Mr Sarkar whether the Indian Christians the Indian Jews the Indian atheists the Indian freethinkers etc., are excluded from the call, whether they are not *Hindus*."

Really it is very painful to a true lover of India to come across such a statement in a time like this when every Indian is called upon to do his duty and all to show a united front for the political and economical uplift of Mother India and "the advancement of a human civilisation which will be directed henceforth to the service of Liberty and Justice."

OLEGARIO NAZARET

Editor's Note—"Hindou" certainly includes all natives of India of whatever race or religion

Hindus and Mussalmans alone have been named only for brevity's sake and because they are the largest elements of the population

### "The New Civil Marriage Bill."

Will you kindly allow me to point out a few inaccurate statements in Dr H S Gour's article on "The New Civil Marriage Bill," published in the June number of your paper?

(1) It is not right to say (p 745) that 'there is no means for the performance of such marriage' (i.e., between a Christian and a non-Christian). The Christian Marriage Act (Act XV of 1872, if I remember aright) provides for this and I know of at least three such marriages registered under this Act.

(2) Act III of 1872 does not require the parties to sign a declaration that they are non-Hindus (p 746). What they have to declare is this: I do not profess the Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Muhammadan, Parsi, Buddhist, Sikh or Jain religion.

(3) The statement (p 746 last paragraph) that Such marriages as have since (i.e., since the decision of the Privy Council that a Sikh or a Hindu by becoming a Brahmo does not cease to be a Hindu) taken place under the Act (i.e. Act III of 1872) must of necessity have ignored the view of the Privy Council and in doing so the contracting parties run a risk which might prove fatal to the enjoyment of matrimonial rights and the legitimacy of their issue—is quite unwarranted. No question can arise in regard to the validity of marriages registered under Act III of 1872, the decisions of the Privy Council (there have been two separate cases) have no reference whatever to that matter. What their Lordships of the Privy Council have held is that a Hindu or a Sikh by birth even when he becomes a Brahmo, is governed by the Hindu Law of Inheritance, because change of religion is no bar to inheritance. Everyone knows that Act III of 1872 has left the question of succession open.

BARADAKANTA BASU

### "Ramgita"

The Gujarati reviewer of the Modern Review says that, Ramgita is a part of the Ramayana and is a dialogue between Shri Krishna and Hanuman. This is not the fact. This Ramgita is a part of the Great Epic TATTVASARAYAN by GURU GNAN VASHISTHA and it is a dialogue between SHREE RAMA and HANUMAN. The other mistake is—he says 'It is not so well known as the Krishna Gita and hence very few translations of it exist in GUJARATI'. It is not so. This is THE ONLY GUJARATI TRANSLATION.

AMBASHANKAR BHATT

[Shri Krishna was probably a misprint or a slip of the pen for Shri Rama. Ed., M R.]



## "The Place of Urdu in the Indian Vernaculars"

There appeared an article in the Modern Review for March last wherein an attempt was made to give to Urdu the first place amongst Indian Vernaculars. The reasons given were (a) its linguistic adequacy (b) richness of its literature and (c) the phonetical perfection of its script. We have no quarrel with the learned writer either as to his reasonings or their soundness. What concerns us most is that somehow some incorrect statements have crept into the composition. For example one sentence runs: "It is worthy of note that the language we now call Hindi was the language of the aboriginals of India and not an offshoot of Sanskrit." With the latter part of this assertion we find no fault but to say that Hindi is not an Aryan language is not only an inadvertent inaccuracy but a downright blunder. The very structure of the language is essentially Aryan and no scholar has up to this time said anything against this self-evident truth. The rise of Hindi has been traced back to some old Aryan dialect (call it whatever you will) through Prakrits and Apabhramshas. When Sanskrit became the language of the learned the people still adhered to their natural dialect or the Pralrit. Some of these Prakrits in their turn became fixed and were employed for literary and learned purposes by the early Buddhist. The spoken language of the people however went on changing and acquired the name of Apabhramshas. These Apabhramshas "in the words of Mr F. F. Kenz," are the direct parents of the modern vernaculars of North India, namely Hindi, Punjabi, etc.

Other authorities for the same view are, Dr Grierson, Mr Fraser and Mr Rapson.

Another sentence runs: "The origins of Hindi are not definitely known to history. This again seems to be a linguistic error. Not only are the origins of Hindi definitely known to its scholars but the very stages through which the language has passed are well marked. In a criticism like this which must occupy a given printed space one cannot enter into details.

We mean to treat of the subject in a separate article. Briefly however it might be said that Hindi in its earliest phases is found in the writings of poets like Chanda Barua. Who has not heard of his famous Prithvi Ray Raso? This was roughly speaking the beginning of Hindi toward the close of the 12th century. The Bhakti Movement again was the cause of the direct growth of such famous poets as Sur Das, Tulsidas, Keshava Das, Bihari Lal, Vilaspati, and Mira Bai. They have filled the land with their songs and our hearts leap up at their simple and natural strains. This was the second stage of its development. Then we come to the third or the modern stage led by men such as

Lalla Tulu and his colleagues. They are the originators of Modern Hindi. What they actually did was that they took up the language of the people and freed it from all alien words. The result was the Modern or High Hindi. It was high time that this should have been done.

One passage in the article under consideration runs: "So the merits of an Alphabet are proportionate to the accuracy and exactness with which its letters can represent the articulate sounds. Unnecessary multiplication of letters and possession of diphthongs and compound consonants viewed phonetically are faults and hindrances rather than helps and advantages. Judged by these criteria Urdu Alphabet scores an easy victory over its rival. Is it so? The Takri or Mahajani form of Hindi in that case ought to be given the first place amongst scripts. Ease in writing very often means difficulty in reading but this in the writer's own words is a "singularly superficial objection." Practice removes all such difficulties. What will the partisans of Urdu script say to this?

No doubt Urdu has a vast literature. But what sort of literature is that? Mostly translations and all books as a rule suffer in their translation. The language has nearly no tradition to fall back upon and originality will have to be searched for in order to be found.

Of course there are genuine poets in Urdu but how many? You could count them on your fingers. Hindi is a vast literature vast in the real sense of the word and innumerable have been the poets of the language who had and still have wonderful influence on the public mind.

BARAKAT KAI NAYAR

## Raja Ram Mohun Roy and Non-Co-operation.

In the well written article headed Non Co-operation in Education published in the February number of the Modern Review the writer (the Editor) by way of introducing the subject referred to the public declaration by Ram Mohun that he would renounce his connection with England in case of the defeat of the Reform Bill of 1832. The reference was made with a view to prove that along with many other things he was also the originator of the idea of Non Co-operation and that its principle and practice have the high sanction of his name. I am not now concerned with the truth or otherwise of this claim. But this much I must say that to mistake the very natural desire for shunning undesirable men for Non Co-operation as a political method is to evince a sad ignorance of its very nature. Surely nobody would think of claiming the honour in question for Chankya because of his aphorism ending with *आनस्यार्थेन दुर्जन*. Ram Mohun simply gave vent to his feeling of indignation

at the narrowness of the British aristocracy. He had not and could not have, the faintest idea of bringing about the Reform by renouncing connection with England. This is, however, by the way. Now to the main issue. Mr Andrews has also made a reference to the same intention of Ram Mohun in the article 'Ram Mohun and English Education' in the current number of the review as follows —

'how he was ready to renounce Britain for ever if she did not follow in the same path of freedom

Now, to make so much of a passing noble impulse of Ram Mohun, I believe, shows a lack of the sense of proportion in the writers. An impulse is merely an impulse and should be treated as such. It should never be elevated to the rank of a fixed purpose or determination. To do so would be to blazon forth the strange inconsistencies of a great character which was in reality highly consistent. The generality of readers, of course, find nothing amiss in these references. They possess the happy habit of mind which skips over things it comes across. There are others again though not many—who cannot rest satisfied until they have dived deep into the core of things. They are sure to be pestered with some obstinate questions and I think very pertinently too. I give below a few which have perplexed me the most since I read of the fact in the collected works of Ram Mohun.

1. The Government of Britain before the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 was undoubtedly incomparably better than the Government of British India, and far more compatible with the liberty of the people. If then the mere prospect of the defeat of the Bill upset him so much as to make him resolve in that eventuality upon renouncing all connections both political and social (as his letter to his friend Mr William Rathbone shows), with England how it was possible for him to co-operate so intimately with the Government of India? It may, of course, be said that the British Rule of India was a great advancement upon the Moghul Rule (or unrule?) and so it was possible for Ram Mohun to help the British Government. If Ram Mohun were merely a time-server or, euphemistically speaking a practical politician, such temporising with the truth would have been, no doubt, intelligible. But for a man whose very breath of life was truth, light and liberty, in whom were blended in happy harmony the best result of the Vedic culture and the French Illumination, any compromise with untruth for a temporary benefit is simply inconceivable. I think this difficulty vaguely troubled Ramananda Babu when he wrote "The British Reform Act enfranchised a number of Britishers but it did not, as it was not meant to a single countryman of Ram Mohun. But he felt so keenly and so much for the cause of liberty all over the world that he had publicly declared that he would renounce his connection with

England, if her ruling class failed to broaden the basis of popular liberty."

But this also does not quite solve the difficulty, viz, how was it possible for him to co-operate with the Government of India which was far more arbitrary? The phrase "all over the world" surely includes his own country, and the 'basis of popular liberty' was much more narrow in India than in England of the time and ought to have given rise to a "keener" feeling for the "cause of liberty". Charity is no doubt a noble thing. But that charity which feels far more keenly for the want of butter of a neighbour than the want of the very bread of life of one's own kith and kin must be viewed with a little suspicion. There is a third alternative, viz Ram Mohun's sense of liberty did not fully develop until his visit to England. But this hypothesis is too puerile to deserve any notice.

2. From the letter written to Mr William Rathbone referred to before it appears that in case of the defeat of the Bill Ram Mohun's intention was not only to renounce connection with England and British Government but also with Englishmen, including his friends and the very persons who fought so hard for the Reform. The letter runs "As I publicly avowed that in the event of the Reform Bill being defeated I would renounce my connection with this country I refrained from writing to you or any other friend in Liverpool until I knew the result. Ram Mohun was nothing if not the very spirit of sanity and moderation. The indiscriminate condemnation of his friends and the partisans of the Reform implied in the above extract for the offence of the aristocratic class, is palpably incompatible with the mind and character of Ram Mohun."

3. In the event of the defeat of the Bill would it have been possible for Ram Mohun to keep any connection with the British Government and Englishmen in India? The objection would surely have been applied with a double force where Englishmen were the dominant race and wielded an arbitrary power.

4. In case of the event taking place a few years earlier would it have been possible for Ram Mohun to take such a prominent part in the introduction of English education in India with the help of the English Government?

Questions such as these are sure to trouble one if much importance be laid on Ram Mohun's public announcement alluded to before. Al though Ram Mohun's public announcement deserves a great respect from us, still in view of the difficulties mentioned above I think it will be better to treat it in the light of a passing impulse and not a serious determination. There is no other solution of this difficulty.

DWIJENDRA NARAYAN BAGCHI

whether all the Indian leaders including Mr Gandhi who co-operated with Government until the passing of the Congress non-co operation resolution temporised with truth and compromised with untruth on all the occasions when they co-operated? That is not my opinion. To make sly insinuations against Rammohun indirectly is a very unworthy method. If the writer wishes to wound—I hope he does not—he should strike boldly directly and openly, by pointing out in what respects and on what occasions Rammohun co-operated with Government by compromising with untruth. *He never did so.*

Mr Bagchi imagines that the Raja's letter to Mr Rathbone appears to show that he had resolved to renounce even social connections with all Englishmen including his friends and the very persons who fought so hard for the reform! A strange conclusion indeed! And it is drawn from the mere fact that he refrained from writing to his friends until he knew the result of the debate in the Lords! Would it not be a more natural and saner inference to draw from these words that his mind was in a state of suspense and anxiety and he wanted to write only when there was certainty instead of suspense and when therefore he could either positively rejoice or console with his friends? The reader will find in one of the passages quoted from Miss Collet's book that as a matter of fact the nation awaited the action of the Lords in a wild fever of excitement. *Rammohun shared in the general agony of suspense.*

As to the reasons why Rammohun's declaration should in Mr Bagchi's opinion be treated merely as an expression of indignation—the manifestation of a passing noble impulse—the writer mentions the fact that He (the Raja) had not and could not have the faintest idea of bringing about the Reform by renouncing connection with England. We do not know—there is no means of knowing—whether Rammohun Roy had the faintest idea of bringing about the Reform by renouncing connection with England. But even if he had no such idea, that would not make his declaration merely the insignificant manifestation of a momentary impulse. The Doukhobors of Russia emigrated to Canada in their thousands. Thereby they did not intend to bring about nor did they in fact succeed in bringing about any reform in Russia, but still nobody speaks slightly of their movement. No doubt Rammohun was only an individual. But even when the adoption of a particular line of conduct by any person may not produce any change in the conduct of

others he may owe it to himself to his people and to his God to act in a particular way. That was we presume how Rammohun looked at the matter.

Whatever importance Rammohun himself may or may not have attached to his intended severance of connection with England, it would be wrong to treat him as a mere individual. According to his English biographer 'Ministers of the Crown recognised his embassy and his title as the ennobled representative of the Emperor of Delhi. But the much more important fact was that the people of England in their own spontaneous way, acknowledged him as Ambassador from the people of India.' Miss Collet the English biographer whom we have quoted so often adds:

His public threat of renouncing British allegiance in case the peers triumphed might perhaps seem amusing to the lower type of Anglo-Indians mind the type that thought of him as only that black fellow! The spectacle of a solitary Hindu renouncing the British empire and all its works because of its refusing a wider franchise not to his Eastern countrymen but to the people of England might be so construed as to look positively funny.

When Miss Collet wrote these words little did she dream how a countryman of Rammohun not an Anglo-Indian of the lower type would construe his resolve in the year 1921 A.D. But says Miss Collet:

Rammohun was conscious of being virtually Ambassador from India and if the sympathies of the progressive Hindus whom he typified were estranged from an unreformed England and given say to a more democratic France the Oriental memories and aspirations of the French might find less difficulty in making trouble for us in India. In any case it was the most pronounced protest the Hindu reformer could make and at a time of world crisis as he conceived it he must strike his heaviest stroke. It was stated indeed that should the Bill be defeated he was resolved on leaving England and transferring himself and his allegiance to the United States. But we remember the intense enthusiasm he displayed for the tricolour when he first saw it at the Cape and a further proof of his French sympathies was supplied by his visit to Paris in the autumn of the year.

These observations of the Raja's English biographer show that she treated his public avowal not in the light of a passing impulse but as a serious determination and I think she was right.

## RABINDRANATH TAGORE AT STRASBOURG

**S**TRASBOURG had a very great honour and privilege of having the illustrious Indian Poet Rabindranath Tagore within its walls for a couple of days at the end of April. The poet accompanied by his son Rothindranath and Mr S. R. Bomanj arrived on the evening of the 27th from Paris and left for Geneva—where they stay for a few days—on the 30th in the morning. He was received and seen off at the station by Prof and Mrs Sylvain Levi and all the Indian students.

During his stay the poet was the chief guest at two tea parties given in his honour—one by Prof and Mrs S. Levi and the other

wonderful sight. The poet's voice with its rise and fall its rhythm and its music was heard and remembered. When he left some were so touched that they wiped the dust off the hem of his garment with their lips. It was the supreme homage which the West is prepared to pay to the Culture and Philosophy of the East.

The next morning saw his departure as has already been said for Geneva. The poet intends to visit practically all the countries of Europe by the end of June when he hopes to sail for India.

JEEVANLAL GAUBA

39 Foyer Universitaire Strasbourg

The following account of the visit of Rabindranath Tagore to the University of Strasbourg has been translated from the French daily *Alsace et Lorraine* of 30th April 1921—

Rabindranath Tagore spoke yesterday evening at Strasbourg. The festive hall of the University became veritably the hall of triumph in Alsace of the great Hindu poet in which the entire city had the pleasure of knowing the poet. Such was the esteem with which the thousands of the audience wished to testify to Tagore who passed on with religious silence at their repeated enthusiastic acclamations.

Tagore dressed in his national costume surrounded by his young compatriots with turbans on their heads advanced with a noble and serene bearing towards the amphitheatre where he was to deliver his address which was like a gust of embalmed and intoxicating breeze surcharged with the profoundness of those mysterious forests of which the poet brought the message to us.

Mon Sylvain Levi professor of the College de France the friend of Tagore and the Indological savant presented in these terms of an exquisite delicateness him whom the vast concourse had come to hear—

I should not have the bad taste of explaining to you as to who Rabindranath Tagore is his name and his works have received the consecration of worldwide



Rabindranath Tagore his son Mr S. R. Bomanj Prof and Mrs Sylvain Levi and Indian students—also most of the Tagore

by Mme Charlety the wife of the Rector of the University in the absence of her husband. At both parties the University and literary worlds were very well represented. Our guests also paid a visit to the historic Cathedral of Strasbourg on the morning of the 29th.

At 8.30 the same evening the magnificent hall of the University was full and more than full—Strasbourg had assembled in its numbers to hear 'The Message of the Forest'. Tagore entered and left preceded and followed by his compatriots in their turbans.

The audience was respectful—not a sound was heard during the lecture. It was a

## Editor's Note.

Mr Bagchi says that I wanted to prove that Rammohun Roy was the originator of the idea of non-co operation. What I wrote is the idea of Non-co-operating with England in a particular manner in certain circumstances had occurred to him independently long before it struck any one else in Europe or Asia. That is a fact Mr Bagchi may rest assured that I had no intention to dispute the patent right of any present-day Non-co-operator in the idea of Non-co operation. If any one referred to the historical fact that the idea of using steam as a mechanical source of power had first struck Hero of Alexandria (c 130 B C) that would not mean that Hero was the originator or inventor of the steam engine.

Mr Bagchi thinks that Rammohun's public declaration arose out of the very natural desire for shunning undesirable men—he thinks it was not of the nature of a political method and that it was a passing noble impulse of Rammohun not a fixed purpose or determination. But surely for shunning undesirable men—namely the British aristocracy in this case the drastic step of renouncing all connection with England was not needed! He could have thought of retiring to his village home in Bengal where the Lords would not have pursued him!

Mr C F Andrews has written to us to say it is a strange misjudgment of Raja Rammohun Roy to think that he could have written and acted in such a vital matter on impulse! But as Mr Andrews is a co-accused with us let us hear what the late Miss S D Collet Rammohun's biographer has to say on the subject.

About this time Rammohun's chief pre-occupation was political rather than social or ceremonial. The agitation for Reform was sweeping on to the final crisis—the nation awaited the action of the Lords in a wild fever of excitement. Rammohun shared in the general agony of suspense. He felt that it was no mere British business but that it vitally affected the fortunes of mankind and in no place more than in India. In a letter to Miss Kiddell of date 48 Bedford Square March 31 he says I had lately the pleasure of seeing the Rev Dr Carpenter and hearing from that truly venerable minister that Miss Castle and yourself were perfectly well and deeply interested in the cause of Reform on the success of which the welfare of England may of the world depends.

On the 27th of April following in a letter to Mrs Woodford the Raja wrote with reference to the Reform Bill. The struggles are not merely between the reformers but between liberty and oppression throughout the world and between justice and injustice and between right and wrong.

The passages quoted above would appear to show that Rammohun did not write and act on a *passing* noble impulse!

As in the life time of Rammohun the unformed Government of Britain was better than the then British Government of India Mr Bagchi asks how was it possible for him to co-operate so intimately with the Government of India? The writer makes many more remarks in a similar strain. It is not necessary to follow him point by point. I will make only a few general observations. To speak of Rammohun Roy as merely co-operating with the Government is surely to misrepresent him to a very great extent. Moreover, as in present-day politics 'co-operation' carries with it in the mind of the majority of politically minded Indians the association of subservience and even sycophancy Mr Bagchi's words may create prejudice against Rammohun. The fact is as all readers of his biography know Rammohun was much more of an opponent of Government than a co-operator with it. In Mr J Young's letter introducing Rammohun Roy to Jeremy Bentham occurs the following passage. It is no small compliment to such a man that even a Governor General like the present who knows that R M R greatly disapproves of many of the acts of the Government should have shown him so much respect as to furnish him with introductions to friends of rank and political influence in England.

Even in connection with the practice of suttee the abolition of which Rammohun did so much to bring about he kept up not only the spirit but also the form of independence. We read in Miss Collet's life of the Raja—'Lord William [Bentinck] took counsel of Rammohun Roy. There is an interesting story of the way their first interview was arranged which we transcribe from the Rev Principal Macdonald's lecture on the Hindu Reformer—

Lord William Bentinck the Governor General on hearing that he would likely receive considerable help from the Rajah in suppressing the pernicious custom of widow burning sent one of his aides-de-camp to him expressing his desire to see him. To this the Rajah replied I have now given up all worldly avocations and am engaged in religious culture and in the investigation of truth. Kindly express my humble respects to the Governor General and inform him that I have no inclination to appear before his august presence and therefore I hope that he will kindly pardon me. These words the aide-de-camp conveyed to the Governor General who enquired what did you say to Rammohun Roy? The aide-de-camp replied I told him that Lord William Bentinck the Governor General would be pleased to see him. The Governor General answered Go back and tell him again that Mr William Bentinck

will be highly obliged to him if he will kindly see him once. 'This the aide-de-camp did and Rammohun Roy could no longer refuse the urgent and polite request of his lordship.'

As Miss Collet observes, Rammohun Roy "might have been expected to welcome conference with a ruler so able and willing to accelerate reform," but he agreed to see Bentinck only "when he found it was the man and not the Court functionary who appealed to him" and then, "he straightway waived all scruple and agreed to come." As regards the actual advice which the Raja gave Lord Bentinck about *suttee*, 'another surprise awaits us,' says Miss Collet. Rammohun positively endeavoured to dissuade Lord Bentinck from this drastic project, viz. 'its prompt and forcible suppression by Government.'

We have gone into these details only to show that to dub Rammohun, in these days as only a 'co-operator' with Government, is to do him great injustice and create prejudice against him however unintentionally. Of course he gave Government help by advice and in other ways, when he thought it was necessary for the good of India. But, as indicated above he was not a *persona gratia* with officials high or low. Colonel Young wrote in a letter to Bentham that the reformer was subjected to "bitter and vindictive persecution by a conspiracy of his own bigoted countrymen protected and encouraged, not to say instigated, by some of our influential and official men who cannot endure that a presumptuous 'black' should tread so closely upon the heels of the dominant white class, or rather should pass them in the march of mind."

As to why he did not 'non-co-operate' with the British Government in India as he proposed to do with Britain in a certain contingency, the answer is quite plain. He did not think that the India of his day was ripe for a movement of self rule and for the method of "non-co-operation" as a means for furthering it and this is no matter for surprise, for the Swaraj movement dates back only to the day when Dadabhai Naorji delivered his presidential address at the Calcutta Congress of 1906 and the method of 'Non-co-operation' was publicly announced as the political weapon to be used for the winning of Swaraj only some time after the conclusion of the late war, during and before which even Mr Gandhi was a "co-operator."

It should be borne in mind that Rammohun resolved to renounce all connection with England if the Reform Bill did not pass just as the Congress leaders resolved to non-co-operate with the British Indian Government when they found that it did not do justice in the matters of the Khilafat and the Panjab affairs. The controlling circumstance was the same in both cases viz. the unwillingness or incapacity of England to promote the interests of justice

and liberty. It was Rammohun's belief that 'on the success of' the Reform Bill 'the welfare of England, nay of the world, depends.' The world included India, and, moreover, India's political destiny was interwoven with that of England. He hoped that if England became politically free, that might mean the political salvation of India, too. Therefore, if the hope of England's attainment of political freedom was dashed that might be a cause of political despondency for India, too, so far as British help was concerned, and would be a good ground for "non-co-operating" with England. So long as there was hope of freedom for England there was hope for India, too, and therefore 'non-co-operating' on the ground of India being a worse governed country than England was out of the question. Rammohun would have non-co-operated with England if a certain hope of his were not fulfilled, as our Congress leaders have non-co-operated on certain hopes of theirs not having been fulfilled. No doubt in our days, even a 'free' England has not helped really to free India. But as Rammohun did not live to return to India from a Reformed England to see what it would do for his country, it was not his good or bad fortune to be disappointed in the hope of winning liberty with England's help, as we have been. If he had been disillusioned as we have been we can only conjecture what he would have done—there was greater scope for action in his days than in ours as British influence was then far less both in India and the world outside it than now.

Mr Bagchi will excuse us if we do not seriously discuss his sneering observation that 'that charity which feels far more keenly for the want of butter of a neighbour than the want of the very bread of life of one's own kith and kin must be viewed with a little suspicion.' It pains and humiliates us to think that any Indian can even hypothesize that Rammohun's feeling for his country was of this description. Mr Bagchi rightly admits that the hypothesis that "Rammohun's sense of liberty did not fully develop until his visit to England," is too puerile to deserve notice.

Mr Bagchi's question in paragraph 3 of his letter has been indirectly answered in one of the extracts from Miss Collet's book. As regards his question in paragraph 4 we fail to understand why it has been asked. It is neither necessary nor possible to determine how Rammohun would have acted in various hypothetical circumstances. As for English education, it may have a value quite apart from any political dependence on or connection with England. The Japanese the Chinese, and several nations learn English for culture and commercial convenience.

I cannot understand why the questions of 'temporising with truth,' 'compromise with untruth' &c, have been raised, *May I ask*



Rabindranath Tagore and Prof. Sylvain Levy

Permit me as a passionate friend of India only to tell you that the genius of Tagore is the genius of India itself. That genius which manifests itself in Buddha, Vyasa, Valmiki, Astaghosa, Kalidasa, and which brings ever brilliant names from age to age, is incarnated today in the poet whom Bengal has given to India and India to the world. Everyone is free to accept or to reject according to his inclination, the Indian doctrine of individual transmigration. But I think no one will contest that the nations have a soul which manifests itself by turns in what is called their great men. India, since the very beginning of her history, is faithfully conserving the cult of kindness, of charity, and of

serenity. Noticing the illusory character of phenomena, India devoted her whole passion to search of the Transcendental, the Eternal, the One as idea and beatitude. Such is India, such is Tagore, and the poet adds the charm of a thought as melodious as the rhythm of an imagination which goes far to captivate the sentiments of the invisible and the unknowable.

In entertaining tonight Rabindranath Tagore, the University of Strassbourg do render homage not only to a poet of genius and a genius marking the millennium of a great nation, the French University of the Strassbourg entertains a sister university of India. For the last twenty years Tagore has been dreaming to dedicate a university to his country where India, long confined in her isolation, would enter into contact with the thought and civilisation of the whole world. The dream of a poet is in its essence a creation; does not the Greek name for a poet signify—the creator? The dream is about to be realised through his Shantiniketan, valued amongst others as a grand institution where India evolves a new future of glory. And Tagore, touched by the reception that he has received amongst us, thinks—again a beautiful dream of a poet—of establishing relationship between his University and ours. We wish ardently that he succeeds. We shall help him with all our forces and we have the right to hope for success. For the poet has for his pranam, the Protector of the Sun and the King of the Sky, while for his family name, The Sovereign. Those who read him, those who hear him, those who see him, find that never such audacious names were better justified.

Protector of the sun and the King of the heavens, may you protect for long and protect always the poet of India and her people.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### The Prussian Mind of To-day

From the Diary of an Indian Tourist  
Mr N Chatterjee published in the *Bulletin of the Indian Rationalistic Society*, one gets a glimpse into the mind of the Prussians of to-day. Says the writer—

price. None dare suggest it now even in half seriousness. They have been long ruled by their rulers and had remained quiescent and submissive to their guidance and sway with the loyalty and faith which is characteristic of Prussian nature. They had no voice in the Government of the country for they were never a political people. The Prussian was forced into the colossal battle to slaughter

and be slaughtered. He has had enough of the nauseating experience and looked round and glared fiercely at his leaders and with a long sweep of his arms sent them flying into the air. These flying Dutchmen in disgrace are still growling and gnashing their teeth from their miserable solitude and hiding place which the Prussian disdains to take notice of but the tremulous world outside listens and believes and exaggerates it as if it were the muffled voice of the nation. The cry of the nation at present is for its own emancipation and the emancipation of mankind. The Prussian has begun to detest the grand phrases or shibboleths or as he calls it *schlagwort* the fumes of which excited and intoxicated him in the past. *Nacht am Rhein* has been thrown into the limbus of old discarded ideas. He is regarding himself deeply and inwardly and consciously pondering over the new scheme of bringing true happiness to himself and the world outside. He thinks that in this war he has been a pawn in the capitalists' game and that he has been turned into a very machine for the glorification of the war party and for causing inhumanity to man. Herr Wolf knows all this and is distracted to discover means to appease him. The former rulers neglected agriculture and favoured industrialism which has denuded the country of its inhabitants and crowded them into the industrial cities with their innumerable gaieties and frivolities. The Germans fascinated by the discoveries in physics and chemistry rushed out naked like Archimedes from their laboratories and proclaimed to the world that they had found new heaven and earth and let the real earth the true nurse of man shrink and wither. Politics like scientific war has been the bane and curse of civilised man. Send the people back to the land or there will be terrific conflagration like the fire in a prairie burning everything into ashes.

### Woman Suffrage and the Kitchen

There is some fresh humour in the editorial note in the *New Review* on the women suffrage debate in the Bombay Council on Mr. G. B. Trivedi's resolution. We learn

The debate was an interesting one and some very funny arguments were brought forward by gentlemen who were opposed to the resolution. One Hon. Member asked what would happen in the kitchen if women went to the Councils? We may point out that nothing serious would happen either in the kitchen or anywhere else except in the brains of some over orthodox people. Either the cook will be in the kitchen supposing the Council always meets at the cooking time, or the husband

will be in the kitchen. We really do not know why the woman should always be in the kitchen. Many men have been very fine and capable cooks. In the Mahabharat no women can beat Nal and Bhishm in proficiency in the culinary art and we are sure that these men have left enough descendants in the male sex. Whenever there is a big dinner party we generally engage male cooks to manage it. That conclusively proves that one of the glorious roles of the male is that of a cook. Why men become so unjust to themselves and their sex in general and transfer all credit of the kitchen department to the other sex one fails to see. We think it was Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who recently said it was at the Social Reform Day that woman was not only equal of man but that she was his superior. She may be but we venture to contradict even Sir Narayan if he means that she is man's superior in the kitchen. She is not both in cooking and in eating. As a matter of fact we are all acquainted in Bombay with the name of a female book seller and we also know that all our sweets manufacturers are men. Does it not prove that the culinary art is as natural to man as intellectual pursuits are natural to woman? We know of a female who conducted a boarding house in Bombay but we are told on very good authority that all the cooks she engaged were men. That simply goes to strengthen our contention.

### Mothercraft

*Health and Happiness* reproduces from *National Health* an article on Mothercraft which should be adapted to Indian conditions and translated. It begins thus:

A child's health life and character depends mostly on the parents. They should spare themselves no pains whatever in keeping their bodies healthy and their blood pure. To do this they have a task before them which will need close attention but can easily be done by doing the following things—

The mother when she has conceived must not think that Nature alone will make the seed grow into a strong healthy baby. This is entirely wrong as every human body is composed of hundreds of little workers each having a separate part of baby's body to form. Among these workers the most wonderful are the teeth workers seven months before baby is born they take up their separate stations in the gums and start to work making the teeth from which they never rest until the teeth are finished. When baby is born if we could see inside the baby's gums a few months later we should see to little ivory and twenty very workers making tea.



domes on each jaw and the enamel workers enameilling the same. Now, to do this they have to be nourished and supplied with materials for building these different parts and it all has to be done by the mother eating good nourishing food and leading a healthy life as if the mother fails to do her part the little workers cannot carry out their work satisfactorily. If the teeth workers do not get sufficient nourishment and materials the teeth will suffer also the child in after years as the teeth will come in decayed causing the baby pain and the gums will become inflamed. This means that when the baby starts to eat solid food it will not be able to chew it as it should be causing indigestion and harm to the stomach. Also it will close the outlet where the other teeth should come through and they will force their way through anywhere and instead of baby having regular teeth they will be very uneven.

Then if there is any consumption or complaint that may be passed down to the baby in the family the mother must fight against it straightway from the beginning of pregnancy—it will be no good after baby is born as it will be in the system.

The mother when she has conceived should go to a doctor and be examined to see that she is in perfect health. She should also engage a suitable nurse who will look after her at the time of her confinement and a suitable doctor if one is needed as on this depends a great deal of the mother's and baby's life at the time of childbirth. A mother should always be happy and well during the carrying time.

### Physical Education for Indian Girls

Mr K S Abhyankar writes in *Indian Education*

The Calcutta University Commission allude in their report to the injurious effect of collegiate education on the health and the physique of women undergraduates. In fact the present system of education in India is believed to be detrimental to the health of the students. The existing state of affairs is thus described by a lady engaged in teaching in Bengal. The average student is very weak she needs good food, exercise and often remedial gymnastics she comes to college with an impaired appetite and an inherited dislike of eating anything save rice, vegetables and sweets. Principal Miss MacDougal of Madras however warns us that the remarks of the Sadler Commission though perhaps applicable to Bengal do not apply to Madras for example where the general level of the health and vigour of the students of the two residential colleges is far better than that of women of the same age who live at home. Still the general experience appears to be that

the girls at colleges and schools have their physical needs neglected. Miss Brooke of Bombay for example states 'Hardly one woman out of one hundred, I suppose ever breathes to the inflation of her lungs, and none of the girls I come across has any idea of attempting this except perhaps at drill time. It needs to be made habitual. It is no good preaching this counsel of perfection where correct methods can hardly be said to exist.' The years of school life are the time to build up the constitution and once physical education is neglected during this critical period, not only is there danger of physical breakdown but of mental and moral aberrations. The old Indian games are forgotten and no substitute is provided for them at school.

Physical education of girls is not opposed to the true ideal of 'feminity', nor is it a new fangled innovation in this country. Readers of Indian history and mythology will find numerous instances of valorous women, who could not have so distinguished themselves without a sound physical training. Swami Dayanand the founder of the Arya Samaj recommended the teaching of even the military art to girls of a Kshattriya disposition. Women whose physical powers are developed revivify national life. Says Prof William James in his 'Talks to Students', 'Fifteen years ago the Norwegian women were even more than the women of other lands votaries of the old fashioned ideal of femininity, the domestic angel, the gentle and refining influence' sort of thing. Now these sedentary fire side tabby-cats of Norway have been trained they say by the snow shoes into lithe and audacious creatures for whom no night is too dark or height too giddy and who are not only saying good bye to the traditional feminine pallor and delicacy of constitution, but actually taking the lead in every educational and social reform. I cannot but think that the tennis and tramping and slating habits and the bicycle craze which are so rapidly extending among our dear sisters and daughters in this country are going also to lead to a sounder and heartier moral tone which will send its tonic breath through all our American life.' The ideal of the well trained and vigorous body ought therefore to be maintained 'neck by neck with that of the well trained and vigorous mind as the two co-equal halves of the higher education' not only in the case of men but of women as well.

### Educational Institutions under Muslim Rulers

Mr Y D Khan has contributed an interesting article under the above heading to *Indian Education*. Says he —  
Systematic effort at spreading education

began in the year 143 A H and even within the 1st and 2nd centuries of its birth Islam began to boast of philosophers, theologians and educationists of no mean pretensions. It will be interesting to learn that when Islam was in its teens classes were held within the enclosures of hermitages in private buildings, or in the compounds of mosques. According to Chambers's *Encyclopaedia* large schools were founded in the time of Mansur Rashid at Bagdad Basra Kufa and Bokhara. On this point more light is thrown by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* according to which Mamun founded a college at Khorasan when he was the heir apparent where professors of admitted competence and solid worth were posted. It will not be irrelevant to observe here that one Meosa a Christian by birth was posted as the Principal of this Institution. The appointment of a Christian to such a responsible post brings in clearer relief the fair and equitable policy of the Caliphs. Another centre of educational activities was the city of Nishapoor. Amir Nasar the brother of Sultan Mahmood founded there a college called Sadia. In this connection it will be interesting to note that Sultan Mahmood of Ghazni spent the major portion of his booty in building a college at Ghazni as early as 410 A H. Another noteworthy institution which owes its origin chiefly to private enterprise was founded in Nishapoor in honour of the learned Abubakar Faruk who died in the year 106 A H. When Hakim Nasir-e-Khusrao who was a globe trotter arrived at Nishapoor he makes a pointed mention of a school which was under construction by the order of Tughril Beg Saljuqi. The number of schools and libraries in Nishapoor can be easily imagined from the fact that when in the year 566 A H internal warfare had dislocated the life of the city no less than 25 schools of different sects and 12 libraries were razed to the ground or reduced to ashes.

He next turns his attention to Persia.

Nizam-ul-mulk Tusi laid the foundation of that renowned institution The Nizamia College, named after him. This wonderful institution was the Oxford of Bagdad which supplied a constant and unbroken stream of intellectuals to the different parts of the Moslem Empire. Sadr Hafiz and Imam Gazzali and others the pontiffs of Islam quenched their educational thirst at this perennial fount of Nizamia. He budgeted the liberal grant of as many as a lac of dinars for the erection of this institution. He it was who inaugurated the policy of liberal education through the length and breadth of the Empire and also spread a network of schools and colleges. That he dedicated the one-tenth portion of his private estate to the upkeep and running of this institution shows the extent of his liberality and his altruistic nature. According to Gibbon 6000 students of different grades

received the benefit of liberal culture at this institution at different times in whom may be counted sons of noblemen and labourers alike. Liberal stipends were given to deserving students and the professorial staff was richly remunerated. A big library was also attached to this college.

About the Abbaside period we read —

In the year 625 A H Mustansar billah the Caliph laid the foundation of the institution called 'The Mustansaria' after him. The work of its construction extended over a period of 6 years. The mouldering ruins of this building stand to-day to tell the sad tale of the ravages of time and are a grim commentary on its days of pristine glory. It is interesting to learn that 160 camel loads of books were purchased for this institution. 246 students were admitted into its residential quarters which were fitted with hot baths and a hospital.

The sixth century was an era of uniform and rapid progress when vast schemes of education crystallised. The names of two Caliphs Nur-ud-din Mohammad and Salih-ud-din loom large on the horizon. The reign of Caliph Salih-ud-din, better known in history as Saladin who distinguished himself in the Crusades was ushered in with renewed efforts at the propagation of education. He opened schools at Alexandria Cairo Jerusalem Damascus etc. and liberally financed them. Allama Ibn Jabir observes that in the Boarding House of Alexandria food lodging medicine etc. were supplied free of charge. The expenditure on the professorial and teaching staff ran to three lacs of dinars or 15 lacs of rupees roughly.

The Ommyad Abbaside Arian and Salihite dynasties have left behind them brilliant records of educational activities.

It will surprise many to read that the educational activities of the Turkish kings 'eclipsed all others'.

The Turks covered the country with a network of schools and colleges all of which were under a uniform and efficient system of control. These latter institutions were also seminaries of political instruction—a fact which was conspicuous by its absence in former periods. According to Mr Edward Casy M.A. late Chief Justice of Ceylon the author of the History of the Ottoman Turks 'all the Turkish kings who preceded Mohammad II were excessively fond of establishing schools and colleges but before Mohammad II they paid into insignificance. In his time the problem of education loomed large before the public mind and merit and learning did not remain unrecognized or uncompensated. The conqueror of Constantinople knew that the essentials of stabilising and widening the state lay not so much in rude militarism as in liberal culture. He made unceasing efforts at facilitating educa-

tion for the mosque of Muhammad II besides establishing primary schools known as *madrasas* in almost every town and village, and the foundation of large institutions where students were instructed in as many as ten different subjects—Grammar, Logic, History, Literature, Composition, Poetry, Eloquence, Euclid, Astronomy, etc. This system of education was undoubtedly equal to that obtaining at Paris or Cambridge in the 15th century. Only men of high intellectual attainments and admitted competence were raised to the professorial chair or were eligible for the judicial or ecclesiastical branches. In 1492 A.D. Muhammad the Victor laid the foundation of a university to which were affiliated as many as 8 colleges provided with residential quarters. The palatial building of the university was completed in the year 1502 A.D.

About the Moors the writer observes—

The history of the Moors is sufficiently well known to all readers of European history. I shall only remind the reader of Cordova and Grenada in Spain which to this day are reminiscent of past Islamic glory. That Bagdad and Grenada were two very renowned educational centres is common knowledge.

The article concludes with the following paragraph—

Clarendon's *Encyclopedia* writing about the progress of education under the Caliphs observes: The dominion of the Arabs from the time of Mahammad to the fall of the Khalifate of Bagdad in 1258 or even to the expulsion of the Moors from Spain in 1492 is an important period of civilization. In Spain the High School of Cordova rivalled the literary fame of Bagdad and generally in the 10th century the Arabs appeared everywhere as the preservers and distributors of knowledge for this period of Arab glory corresponds exactly to that of Europe's deepest darkness. Pulpis from France and other countries then began to repair to Spain in great numbers to study Mathematics and Medicine under the Arabs. There were 14 academies with many Preparatory and Upper schools in Spain and very considerable libraries. When 300 volumes were a great library for a rich monastery the library of Caliph Hakim II of Spain contained more than 600,000 volumes. This state of culture when compared with that prevalent before Mahammad shows a rapidity of progress in knowledge almost as remarkable as the career of Arab conquest.

### Essentials of Success in a Co-operative Store

Mr J. T. Donovan writes in the *Bengal Behar and Orissa Co-operative Journal*

The first essential of success even in a co-operative store is a lively faith in co-operation. There must be hope to sustain that faith and it is a vain hope if there be not charity, the love of our brother. How does this faith manifest itself in the material aspects of the co-operative store?

The most obvious manifestation of it is in loyalty to the society. And in the co-operative stores which have failed and in those which are failing in Bengal what is that quality which is most conspicuously absent? It is the loyalty of members. How many of you have consented or known people in Bengal to consent to pay a little higher price for goods of a certain quality in the co-operative store if the tradesman round the corner is selling the commodity at a slightly lower rate?

Now you will say to me: The co-operative store should give things to us at cheaper rates than the trader. How then, can we ever be expected to pay more to the store for its goods and of what advantage is the store to us if we have to pay more for its goods on any occasion? A very pertinent question and one which must be answered.

You cannot adulterate goods in a co-operative store. You would be only deceiving your selves. The very conception of a co-operative store is opposed to adulteration. What is more you know when you are a member of a store that the goods are not adulterated. If then you know that the store buys a commodity from a wholesale dealer in Calcutta at the market rate and the trader next door to the store buys the same commodity in the same place at the same rate and if the trader is retailing his commodity at less than the store then in 99 cases out of 100 you may be sure that either he has adulterated that commodity or he is selling it at a loss. As he is not merely a philanthropist but a businessman first he is not selling it at a loss without a reason. But first let us consider the possibility of adulteration. Supposing he is adulterating it should you not place your faith in the honest parity of the store and support the store? That is one of the cases in which the store may ask you to pay a higher price for goods than the trader does for as one of the chief objects of the store is to provide pure goods you may have to pay more to accomplish this object. There is no other way. You must not be misled by the trader into perpetuating the habit of adulteration.

Mr Donovan then turns to the other case when the trader is deliberately selling at a loss.

The selfish man will say: Why should I not take advantage of the opportunity of getting my good cheaper? Like most selfish people he will be shortsighted. It is true he will immediately save a few pice or a few rupees by going to the trader but he will ultimately

lose ten times that amount. For why do traders undercut rivals in trade? Only to break them and leave the field clear for monopoly. A trader with capital can well afford to lose ten thousand rupees or twice ten thousand rupees if he knows that the loss will leave him a field free from all competition. When all competitors are gone, then from the necessities of the public by putting up prices according to his own sweet will, he will easily and rapidly recoup his loss with excellent interest on his money for the time it has been out of his pocket. The co-operative store cannot do that because it generally has not a great deal of capital. In such a fight the store must go down if its members are not loyal. The loyalty of its members is its only substitute for large capital. If the trader sees that his deliberate undercutting of prices has not detached a single customer from the store he will soon change his tactics and fight fair.

### The Black-headed Oriole

In the May number of the *Agricultural Journal of India* there is a fine coloured picture of the black headed oriole but it is a pity that no Indian name of the bird is given. As the journal is published in India, for India (we presume) and with Indian money, it is probable that its contents are meant for the good of Indian agriculturists. It is certainly advantageous for agriculturists to be able to distinguish bird friends from bird enemies. And provided he knows which bird is meant, the following piece of information is likely to be useful—

The Black headed Oriole feeds chiefly on fruit and small insects. The late C. W. Mason examined the stomachs of twenty three birds at Pusa and found that seventeen of these had fed on wild fig fruits and five of these contained nothing else, the eighteen which had fed on insects contained 9 insects of which four were classed as beneficial, 73 as injurious and 14 as neutral. Five birds had eaten insects only. In the Central Provinces Mr. F. A. D. Abreu found a Lyralid caterpillar and *Ficus* fruit in the stomach of one bird examined on 24th January, 1911. At Pusa also we have watched this bird feeding on masses of a weedy bug clustered on the stem of a wild vine growing on a *Sisun* tree. So far as agriculture is concerned therefore this bird may be considered beneficial. It has not been noted to attack cultivated fruit.

### Tagore on the Education of Indian Princes

*The Young Men of India* reproduces from *Liberty* an article on Tagore by St. Nihal Singh. We learn from it that Rabindranath is opposed to the idea of sending Indian princes to Britain or to any other country for that matter for the whole of their education.

To do so was to take them away from their natural environment during their most impressionable years and turn them into foreigners out of touch with their own people, traditions, customs and culture. He thought princes should by all means be taken on a tour to foreign countries before their ideas became set and after they were old enough to observe and understand what they saw and heard abroad. They should be taken to see all sorts of things so as to be able to know how other peoples lived and wrought. Such learning by seeing should however not extend beyond the fourteenth year. After that the young princes should go back to India for education to fit them for life.

Dr. Tagore felt that it was most dangerous to send princes to Britain and other countries to be educated because of the evil effect it almost invariably had upon their morals. He said that he had seen many of the princes in Britain and elsewhere and where he had not seen for himself he had heard accounts of their escapades from reliable sources. Knowing what he did he considered it was almost impossible for a young prince to live and study abroad for any length of time without losing his soul. He was surrounded by fawning sycophants who chose to humour his whims and pander to his desires rather than lose their favour with a Maharaja to be or son or brother of a Maharaja. Restraint was lax and in consequence they grew to manhood without any respect for discipline. A man could not demand discipline from others if he had not been taught to observe it himself.

Rabindranath's idea of educating a prince who would some day be an Indian ruler was to form a class at home in some suitable spot in India. This class should be composed of boys of the same age as the prince who should be chosen not from the families of aristocrats or fawning courtiers but from all classes of society and all creeds and races. They should be chosen perhaps by means of a competitive examination which should be stiff enough to ensure that only boys of undoubted genius should be the prince's companions during his study years. All should be placed upon exactly the same footing without fear or favour. The teachers should be of the very highest calibre and should be men capable of maintaining

strict discipline and willing to do so. They should make the prince and his school mates work hard, and direct their studies and play so as to develop them into men in every sense of the word. The boys in the class should progress side by side with the prince, and should even be sent along with him for higher education to the university. If any of them had special talent, it should be brought out and developed with a view to using them as future ministers when the prince becomes ruler.

The poet also thought that princes should be made to do real work, such as attending technical classes and learning to make articles with their own hands perhaps doing laboratory work, etc. Their education should be such as to make it possible for them to understand the psychology of every grade of their subjects. They should be made to get along without servants, to do things for themselves, to live and dress simply and eat plain food. In this way a new type of Indian ruler could be developed, worthy in every way to hold in trust the destinies of his people.

### Partial Starvation in India.

Mr. Daya Shankar Dubey has contributed to the *Indian Journal of Economics* a very careful and elaborate article on 'The Indian Food Problem'. His conclusion is quoted below—

From the above study we are forced to the conclusion that even in the best year from an agricultural point of view (i.e., 1916-17), and even with restricted exports of food grains to foreign countries due to the war, so many as 160 millions of people in that year were in a position to get only 79 per cent of the coarsest kind of food grains to maintain them in health and strength, and in a famine year (1913-14) the percentage fell to such a low figure as 62. Taking an average of all the seven years, it will be seen that 61.6 per cent of the population lives always on insufficient food, getting only about only about 73 per cent of the minimum requirement for maintaining efficiency. In other words, it clearly shows that two thirds of the population always get only three fourths of the amount of food grains they should have.

It is just possible that one-third of the above number (two thirds of the population) may be getting a little less than 90 per cent of their requirements and the rest of the two thirds or 100 million in spite of hard labour, may be getting for a greater part of the year less than 60 per cent of food grains that are given to the worst sort of criminals in the jails of the United Provinces and the Central Provinces. This clearly shows the gravity of the situation in which we find ourselves.

The country cannot make progress in any way while such a state of affairs continues.

The above conclusions are in full accord with the experience of those who have carefully observed the conditions of living of the Indian masses in their own villages, and they unmistakably show, as nothing else can, the urgent necessity of taking in hand immediately and in right earnest the problem of agricultural improvements along right lines, to help the Indian cultivator to raise two blades of corn where one grows now.

### Vernacular Literatures and Universal Education.

Dr. J. N. Farquhar observes in the *Young Men of India* :

There are several reasons why India must have universal education at the earliest possible moment. First it is clear that the general economic advance so seriously required among the humblest and poorest of this land cannot be fully successful until every boy and every girl receives at least an elementary education. Secondly the movement towards full self government will depend for its success very largely on the intelligence and good judgment of the common people and that in turn cannot be satisfactorily attained without universal education. Thirdly we ought not to forget that universal education is spreading among the nations here in Asia we have the notable example of Japan. Is it not then abundantly clear that India simply cannot attain her rightful place among the nations until her children all receive a healthy modern school education?

Now mark carefully how closely this great matter is connected with the vernaculars and their literature. It is clear that universal elementary education, and also certain forms of middle school training, can be given only in the vernaculars.

Several conditions have to be fulfilled if the vernaculars are to be used for the purposes of Universal education.

(a) A language is not a suitable vehicle for modern education until it has developed a *standard form of speech* that is until educated men are agreed, in the main at least, as to the vocabulary, the spelling and the grammar which they recognize as correct.

(b) A good modern education is impossible until a considerable number of *educational books*, written in prose in the standard form of the language, have been produced.

(c) The settlement of a standard form of speech and the preparation of satisfactory educational literature can be successfully undertaken only by men who are saturated with the older literature. The new must grow out of the old must draw its strength variety and beauty from the poets who sang and the teachers who taught in the old mother tongue before modern education was thought of in India. Otherwise the new educational literature will be an exotic lacking both grace and vitality.

Dr. Farquhar then asks : How far can the Indian Vernaculars be satisfactorily used for High School and University education ?

I trust you have all begun at least to realize the truth of Sir Rabindranath Tagore's contention that the higher education cannot be altogether healthy until it is given in the vernacular. If University training is to produce its maximum effect on the mind and the character, there must be no breach between the mother tongue and University speech. The loftiest things of the mind and of the spirit ought to be intertwined in the closest possible way in the language of the home and with the ballad and lyrics of the home land. We therefore ask in all earnestness. How far can the Indian vernaculars be satisfactorily used for High School and University education ?

The answer is that, in the case of a language in which there is already a standard form of speech, fully recognized by all and well adapted to all the uses of prose, the educational use of the language is limited only by the limitations of its educational literature. The crucial question thus is, "How far does its prose literature, dealing with the subjects indispensable to a modern education, go ? You cannot have satisfactory University education in the vernacular, unless satisfactory books dealing with all the subjects to be taught in the University exist in the vernacular. If you attempt to give a University education in the vernacular before good books on the standard subjects have been written, the only result can be that students will receive a very poor education, and will be quite unfit to compete with men who have been trained in English.

As to the writing of University text books in the vernacular, I wonder whether you all realize how hard the task is. If any one thinks it an easy matter just let him try to translate an advanced text book on electricity or osteology, psychology or philology into his own vernacular. He will find that there is a whole new vocabulary to be created, and that, unless it be wisely and patiently formed, it will prove almost useless.

Yet, clearly, the task can be undertaken and can be successfully accomplished. Europe in the seventeenth century adapted the vernaculars to University education and displaced Latin. The task is now much more vast and complicated than it was in the seventeenth century, for science and thought have made tremendous strides since then. Yet it is of the same general type as it was at that time. But you have also an example nearer home. The Japanese have been able for a good many years now to use their language effectively for the chief purposes of the most advanced education. So we may be sure the same process can be successfully carried through in the case of each of the greatest Indian vernaculars. But mark the gigantic nature of the task. Even if we drop all the minor vernaculars out of sight, there are at least ten vernaculars so great and so strong that each will want to live its own life, and to fit itself for the highest University culture, and the preparation of the language and the literature will in each case be a very big undertaking.

The following words of caution of the writer should be heeded.—

If it is desired to adopt any one of the vernaculars to all the stages of education, clearly the only wise way to go about it is to take one step at a time, making quite sure in each case that sufficient books are already in existence before you make the change. Presumably elementary and middle school education in the vernacular is already satisfactorily provided with books. Make sure next that there are text-books of the right standard already in existence sufficient for all the subjects required for a good High School education and do not give the order that the vernacular shall be used in all the work of the High School until you have assured yourselves of the fact. University education is a still more serious matter and most careful steps would require to be taken to provide the necessary literature before the vernacular could be successfully introduced into the college.

### But English would still be needed

In present circumstances, a knowledge of at least one European language would be quite indispensable for a thorough University training. The reason for this stipulation is that it will be a long time before any Indian vernacular can overtake the wealth of English, French and German in such subjects as science, history, mathematics and economics, and so render European tongues superfluous in India. Thus, even if a full modern education could be given in each of the great vernaculars, no Indian could have access to the literature necessary to enable him to keep in touch with modern thought, research and invention unless he knew at least one of the chief languages of modern Europe.

Now which shall it be ? From the point of view of a plentiful literature covering all the subjects of modern life, I hardly think it would matter much to India whether English, French or German were selected as the language with which to keep close touch with Europe, but as soon as the question of choosing one of the three comes up, certain other considerations come into the foreground. There is first the fact that English is already largely naturalized in India, and it would thus be much easier to continue the use of English than to introduce either French or German. Secondly, English is now spoken by a far larger number of people than either French or German for it is the language of the United States, of Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand as well as of Great Britain and Ireland, and thirdly, it is now rapidly becoming the international language of commerce and consequently in such countries as Japan and China, where a few years ago French and German were as much studied as English, or even more, English is now taken by practically every student who learns a foreign tongue.

Thus if India looks to her own interests in the matter of general information and commerce, I believe the study of English will be retained in every University in the country, so that it may be the channel of communication through which Indians may keep in touch with European knowledge, invention, organization, culture and business.

"Personally," Dr. Farquhar feels, "very strongly the attraction of the idea of making each vernacular the medium of

all education within its domain, and I am convinced it would in many ways be very healthy."

Yet I cannot hide from myself the difficulties in the way and the objections which are likely to be raised against such a course. There is first, the objection that will be raised by those who have felt very distinctly the great intellectual illumination wrought in them by the English education they will be afraid that their sons may miss that which to them has proved most precious. Other will say, 'Our sons will not be able freely to read every type of English book if English be dethroned in the University. Others will fear lest the educational and intellectual unity of India may be endangered, if the leading vernaculars take the place of English in the classroom.

"Can any one of the Vernaculars become the language of all education throughout India?"

The attraction of this idea from the point of view of nationalism and the unity of India can be well understood. If it were possible it would go a long way to secure the real unity of India.

All the reasons which made the use of the vernaculars necessary for primary and middle school education at once rise up in rebellion against the idea of imposing one vernacular as the language of education throughout India. How can we compel every little child all over India (with the exception of one province) to begin his or her education by learning a foreign tongue? The thing is unthinkable. The fact is education in India can become unilingual only if you can make the whole population speak one language. How can that be done? Western and Central Europe taken together form a very fair analogy to India in each case you have two main groups of vernaculars in Europe the Romance and the Teutonic, in India the Aryan and the Dravidian, and in Europe it has turned out that the chief languages of both groups are far too virile and too deeply rooted to be supplanted by any neighbouring language. In India one would be inclined to expect that the same would prove true. It seems hopeless to dream that families or villages will give up their own language and adopt Hindi or Bengali, and similarly hopeless to expect the Marathi or the Bengali to give up his own tongue and speak Tamil or Kanarese.

The truth is that a cultured vernacular, which has produced a noble literature and has been entwined with the life of a great province for many centuries is a powerful organism full of life and vigour, which even the most powerful tyrants find it impossible to kill.

"Can one Vernacular become the language of communication and literature for all India?"

Here we seem to be on firmer ground. If Sankardeva for two thousand years the language of communication and literature for all India there would seem to be no insuperable difficulty in the way of making Hind, which is already spoken by almost one-third of the whole population the medium of

communication and literature for the whole country. Yet I hardly think this attractive dream is likely to be realised.

As we have already seen, it will be necessary for every Indian University to make one European language an essential element of its work, whatever vernacular may be used for teaching purposes. Communication with the West is of such vital importance that it will be impossible to do without a medium of communication. Now, if every University student is compelled to learn English, or some other European language, it is likely that the law of parsimony will lead men to use this language as the medium of communication between the Provinces of India also. This is what seems likely but it would be rash to prophecy with too much confidence.

### Ancient Hindu Mathematics.

Mr A. A. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, writing on "Ancient Indian Mathematics" in the *Educational Review of Madras*, observes

There is one good feature in our ancient mathematical treatises which our modern text books lack. The old treatises give us a good deal of information regarding the social and economic condition of the country and the times in which they were written. For example Sridhara says with regard to living beings, that their price is inversely proportional to the age. Mahavira says regarding the means of communication and the wages of carriers that 20 men have to carry a pilanquin, two *yojanas* and 720 *dinaras* are their wages. Bhaskara makes us understand that 5 per cent or 6 per cent per month is the usual rate of interest at which money was borrowed or lent, for all his questions on finding interest, rate per cent, etc., deal with a constant 5 per cent per month rate. There is also reference to payment of heavy octroi duty on goods imported in the recently discovered *Bakhshali Arithmetic*.

In the writer's opinion,

The greatest contribution that India has ever made to the world in mathematics is its *place value notation*. The number symbols we use to day are derived from the Devanagiri symbols and it is no boast to say that the importance of the Hindu notation can never be over-estimated. Our Mathematics would not have advanced beyond addition and subtraction but for the happy discovery of the place value system and the decimal scale. The miraculous powers of modern calculation are due to three inventions—the Hindu notation, the decimal fractions and logarithms.

The other contributions of India to mathematics are in algebra and cyclometry. India is the birth place of algebra. The science of algebra was brought among the Arabs by Muhammad Ben Musa better known as Alkharismi in a work of about 830 A.D. and as P. E. B. Jourdain remarks was certainly derived from the Hindus. It was this algebra that the Indian notation and symbol in algebra were introduced into the West. Regarding the researches of the Hindus in cyclometry, Hermann Schubert remarks that the merit belongs to the Hindus of having carried

the Archimedean method of computing several stages further, and of having obtained in this way a much more exact value for it—a circumstance that is explainable when we consider that the Hindus were the inventors of our present system of numeral notation, possessing which they easily outdid Archimedes, who employed the awkward Greek system.

### Betterment of the Human Race.

Mr. S. Jackson Coleman thinks :

Moved, sustained and vivified by the progressive elements which are now at work amongst us there is every reason to hope for the betterment of the human race. Now, in fact, is the time to combine forces, to treat each other as fellow-men on a plane of intellectual equality. For the world is at present linked together in a common life and interest such as humanity has never seen before. It is realised on all hands, that no nation has a monopoly of virtue, and that it is possible in every land to discern something which is good. There is a universal desire, too, that the good which each land possesses should remain no longer hidden.—*The Indian Review*

### World-peace.

Writing in the *Indian Review*, Mr. V. B. Metta expresses the opinion

The peace of the world is not possible unless the present order of life is destroyed altogether. You cannot expect capitalism and peace to exist side by side. Capitalism means exploitation of other peoples. It manufactures too much and when it cannot sell off what it has produced in its own country it forces weaker peoples to buy it at the point of the bayonet. Therefore, unless nations take to manufacturing goods sufficient for their own needs only, there will be constant wars. Militarism of the modern type is only an ally of industrialism. So, unless industrialism disappears militarism will not disappear. It is also absurd to talk of the Golden Age if Labour comes into power. Labour is the product of industrialism. Without industrialism, it cannot exist. Therefore to expect Labour to kill industrialism is ridiculous, because it would mean its suicide. Labour pretends at present to be 'international,' but at heart it is strongly national. It talks of high things, because it has no power to-day. But will it do so if it comes into power? If by means of hand looms or by the increase of cotton mills in India, we become self sufficient, will Lancashire labourers like it? Will it not deprive them of their means of livelihood? And with starvation staring them in the face, do you expect them to continue to preach the doctrine of self-government for all?

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Maternity Legislation in U. S. A.

*The New Republic* of April 27, 1921 wrote :

In the United States, which all of us loyally declare to be the most enlightened and the most humane country in the world, 25,000 women die in childbirth every year. Many of these, no doubt, were fated to die, but fully half of them die in consequence of defective care during labor or in a brief period preceding or following labor. When we say defective care we do not contrast it with such care as is received by the women of the prosperous classes but with such care as could, with proper organization be given to all. In one district in New York City through intensive voluntary effort extended to all classes the death rate of mothers was kept down to nine for 4196 confinements, or two per thousand as contrasted with eight or more per thousand, the normal rate for the country at large, a rate, which places the United States seventeenth in the list of enlightened nations in respect to protection of childbearing women.

There is another vital loss more imposing because the numbers run into greater figures. That is the loss of children in the first year of life, mostly in the first months, running to 250,000 a year for the

whole nation. Here again it must be said that many of these children were destined to perish. No human care can save all babies' lives. But at least 125,000 of those babies perish needlessly.

This is "the state of affairs which the maternity bill is designed to improve," says the same paper. The state of affairs in India is very much the worse. But what are we doing?

### Charity Takes a New Turn.

We read in the *Living Age* :

A wealthy Australian squatter Peter Mitchell, of the Upper Murray district, has left five hundred thousand pounds for various public purposes. One-third of his estate is to be devoted to providing annual prizes to seven unmarried females not exceeding thirty years of age, British subjects, and bona fide residents of the Commonwealth, of a white race, and not the offspring of first cousins. They are to be selected on a basis of physical excellence, cheerfulness of disposition, knowledge of the elementary branches, appreciative knowledge of the Protestant Bible, and skill in



housekeeping and domestic economy. The donor agrees that gifts for the weak, and sick, and failing are commendable but believes that more lasting good is accomplished by encouraging the healthy and the strong.

### Against an Anglo-Japanese Alliance

*The Herald of Asia* urges the following reasons among others, against an Anglo-Japanese alliance —

To be perfectly frank, we are in serious doubt as to the wisdom of continuing the special political engagements existing between the two countries. The Alliance lost its vitality when the fortunes of war swept from the political horizon of Asia, as, indeed from the world stage the menace of Germany which, after the disappearance of the Russian peril, constituted its chief objective. Where is now a Power that threatens the common interests of Japan and Great Britain in Eastern Asia? None so far as we can see. Soviet Russia, it is true, is pointed at by some as a possible danger to its Asiatic neighbours. It is of course not impossible that Soviet Russia, already militarized to a remarkable extent, may be forced by circumstances to launch on a career of conquest. But such a contingency seems remote, and even if it does come about, its immediate effect will probably be felt in Europe and not in Asia. As for the menace of Bolshevik propaganda which is sometimes adduced by militarists as a reason for a hostile policy against Soviet Russia and which has been mentioned to us by more than one Britisher as a reason for the continuance of the Alliance the matter is hardly worth serious consideration. We fail to see how a danger of this kind supposing it actually existed, could be effectively fought by a political alliance however powerful that may be.

The United States is regarded in some quarters in the light of a possible disturber of the political equilibrium in these waters. We feel no hesitation in characterizing this view as born of unfounded suspicion and gross ignorance. In the commercial and industrial development of China we must be prepared to find in Americans keen and formidable competitors. It cannot of course be lost sight of that economic competition under certain circumstances is quite capable of jeopardizing peaceful relations between nations. But the Chinese market is large enough to provide fair opportunity to all comers.

### Telekinesis and Materialization.

Telekinesis is the movement of objects in the vicinity of a spiritualistic medium at the will of a medium without the latter's touching those objects. Schrenck Notzing, the distinguished Munich neurologist, has published a full account of his experiments in this kind of phenomena with Stanislava Tomczyk.

This medium manifested, when in a trance ability to move small objects at will without physical contact

She could raise them in the air without support, and move them about in other ways. These were merely long familiar forms of telekinesis. The only novelty in Schrenck Notzing's experiments, is the method by which he succeeded in ascertaining the way the objects were moved, and in some instances in obtaining photographic evidence. The objects were moved and lifted by thin threadlike organic emanations from the fingers of the medium which touched the articles moved. The objects were actually lifted and shifted about with the help of these fibrous emanations in accordance with ordinary mechanical laws. This agrees precisely with the observations of Ochorowicz and Crawford. The projections sent forth from the medium's body resemble in some respects the threads of a spider's web and in other respects the pseudopodia of primitive organisms. They differ from each, however, in appearing to be perfectly rigid. The significant thing shown by these experiments in my opinion, is that telekinesis is not due to the direct influence of the medium's mind or 'psyche' upon the object to be moved, but is performed by something material issuing from the medium's body—or at least something very similar to material—in accordance with recognized mechanical laws. This transfers the problem of telekinesis to the field of biology. The question is no longer this: How can the soul directly move physical objects? But: How are the physical emanations produced, by the help of which the medium takes hold of the object, and how do they disappear? Naturally we do not know yet whether the latter are tissues possessing an organic cell structure.

Crawford's experiments with an Irish medium must be studied in connection with the experiments of Schrenck Notzing and Ochorowicz with Stanislava Tomczyk. This Irish medium, who was a man, could produce much more powerful telekinetic effects, and his pseudopodia were much more highly developed. Crawford described them as not 'threads' but 'rods'—he even compares them to snakelike secondary limbs of the medium. Unfortunately, these projections, which as a rule can neither be seen nor exposed to light, can usually be discerned only by the sense of touch. However, some earlier and several more recent observations with Eusapia Palladino afford us surprising confirmation of this evidence. From back in the '90's up to the latest American tests certain observers have always insisted that they could see peculiar limblike emanations from her body. Those observations have hitherto been unexplained or ascribed to optical illusions, or regarded as evidence of deception on Eusapia's part. Now these emanations seem temporary visible pseudopodia by the aid of which she performed feats of telekinesis and touched persons present at the seances. This fact of being touched had been confirmed by many observers holding the most diverse opinions regarding the phenomena themselves although the hands and feet of the medium were kept under strict control.

Schrenck-Notzing, however, goes still farther. He believes the pseudopodia will give us eventually an explanation for materialization. He considers materializations merely the same plastic material as the pseudopod shaped in a different form. In one case, the medium moves an object by projecting a pseudopodium from her body to it and in the other case, she shapes the material into a hand or a face or a person,

in response to some influence of her will. Not only Schrenck-Notzing, but also Geley and the other observers of Eva C., claim to have observed these materialization processes in all their stages, from the emanation of a shapeless organic cloud issuing out of the medium, to the appearance of a human form.—Translated in the *Living Age* from *Vossische Zeitung*.

### "The Poet's Religion."

The *Century Magazine* has a beautiful article entitled "The Poet's Religion" by Rabindranath Tagore. "Truth reveals itself in beauty," writes the Poet.

Beauty is no fantasy, it has the everlasting meaning of reality. The facts that cause despondence and gloom are mere mist, and when through it breaks out beauty in momentary gleams, we realize that peace is true and not conflict, love is true and not hatred, and true is the one, and not the disjointed multitude, we realize that creation is the perpetual process of harmony between the infinite ideal of perfection and the eternal continuity of its realization, and that so long as there is no absolute separation between the positive ideal and the negative obstacles to its attainment, we need not be afraid of suffering and loss. This is the poet's religion.

Those who are habituated to the rigid framework of sectarian creeds will find such religion too indefinite and elastic. No doubt it is so, but only because its ambition is not to shackle the infinite in order to tame it for domestic uses, but to help our consciousness to emancipate itself from materialism. It is as indefinite as the morning and yet as luminous; it calls out thoughts, feelings, and actions into freedom and feeds them with light. In the poet's religion we find no doctrine or injunction, but the attitude of our entire being toward a truth which is ever to be revealed in its own endless creation, in gospel of beauty and love.

In dogmatic religion all questions are definitely answered, all doubts are finally laid to rest. But the poet's religion is fluid, like the atmosphere round the earth, where lights and shadows play hide and seek, and the wind, like a shepherd boy, plays upon its reeds among flocks of clouds. It never undertakes to lead anybody anywhere to any solid conclusion, yet reveals the endless spheres of light, because it has no walls round itself. It acknowledges the facts of evil, it openly admits "the weariness, the fever and the fret" in this world, "where men sit and hear each other groan." But despite all, there is the song of the nightingale, and "haply the Queen moon is on her throne."

But all this has not the definiteness of an answer; it only has the music that teases us out of thought and yet fills our being.

In Shelley we clearly see the growth of his religion through periods of vagueness and doubt, struggle and searching. But he *did* come to a positive utterance of his faith, though he died young. Its final expression is in his "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty."

This hymn rang out of his heart when he came to the end of his pilgrimage and stood face to face with the Divine, glimpses of Whom had already filled

his soul with restlessness. All his experiences of beauty had ever teased him with the question as to what was its truth.

The Poet speaks eloquently of the end and aim of society and civilization.

The one question before all others that has to be answered by all civilizations is not what they have and in what quantity, but what they express and how. In a society, production and circulation of materials, amassment and expenditure of money, may go on in an interminable prolongation of a straight line if they forget to follow some spiritual design of life which curbs them and turns them into an organic wholeness. For growth is not that enlargement which is merely adding to the dimensions of incompleteness. Growth is the movement of wholeness toward a fuller wholeness. Living things start with this wholeness from the beginning of their career. A child has its own perfection as a child; it would be ugly if it appeared as an unfinished man. Life is a continual process of synthesis and not of additions. Our activities of production and enjoyment of wealth attain that spirit of wholeness when they are blended with a creative ideal. Otherwise they have the insane aspect of the eternally unfinished; they become like locomotive-engines that have railway lines but no stations, which rush on toward a collision of fiery passions or to a sudden breakdown of the overstrained machinery.

Through creation man expresses his truth, through that expression he gains his truth in fullness. Our society is for the best expression of man, and this expression, according to its perfection, leads us to our realization of the divine in humanity. When this expression is obscure then our faith in the infinite in man is weak, then our aspiration cannot go beyond the idea of success. Our faith in the infinite is creative, our desire for success is constructive; the one is our home and the other is our office. With the overwhelming growth of necessity civilization becomes a gigantic office to which home is a mere appendix. The predominance of the pursuit of success gives our society the character of what we call *shudra* in India. In fighting a battle the *Kshatriya*, the noble knight, had his honor for his ideal, which was greater than victory itself; but the mercenary *shudra* had success for his object. The name *shudra* symbolizes a man who has no margin round him beyond his bare utility. The word denotes classification, which includes all naked machines that have lost their completeness of humanity, be their work manual or intellectual. They are like walking stomachs or brains, and we feel, in pity, urged to call on God and cry, "Cover them up, for mercy's sake, with some veil of beauty and life."

This great world, where it is a creation, an expression of the infinite, where its morning sings of joy to the newly awakened life, and its evening stars sing to the traveler, weary and worn, of triumph of life in a new birth across death has its call for us. This call has ever roused the creator in man and urged him to reveal truth, to reveal the infinite in him. It is ever claiming from us, in our own creation, cooperation with God, reminding us of our divine nature, which finds itself in freedom of spirit. Our society is to remind us through its various voices that

ultimate truth a man is not in his intellect or in his possessions it is in his illumination of mind, in his extension of sympathy across all barriers of caste and color in his recognizing this world not merely as a storehouse of power, but as a habitation of man's spirit, with its eternal music of beauty and inner light of divine presence.

## Are Mandates a Sacred Trust?

No Says Herbert Adams Gibbons  
in the *Century Magazine*

During the peace conference I wrote to *The Century* from Paris that the mandatory scheme for the disposition of the German colonies was adopted in order to disguise under a cloak of virtuous self abnegation the intention of the conquerors of Germany to divide among themselves Germany's overseas possessions. A number of Wilsonians complained that I was questioning the President's good faith. I never questioned Mr. Wilson's good faith at Paris, but I did question his judgment and statesmanship. The mandatory scheme was undoubtedly proposed with a high ideal and an altruistic end in view. It was adopted, however, only after the statesmen against whom Mr. Wilson was pitted had agreed that they would not have to observe either the spirit or the letter of the mandatory clauses in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Mr. Lansing believes that 'a sufficient and very practical reason' for the willingness of Clemenceau and Lloyd George to acquiesce in the mandatory plan was that in this way 'Germany lost her territorial assets, which might have greatly reduced her financial debt to the Allies, while the latter obtained the German colonial possessions without the loss of any of their claims for indemnity.'

An additional and equally compelling reason might have been adduced by Mr. Lansing had he been aware of the embarrassment and alarm of the French and British premiers over Italy's insistence upon the fulfilment of a clearly worded article in the secret treaty of 1915. One of the promises exacted by Italy as the price of her intervention in the war was 'adequate territorial compensation in case the war should bring 'an increase in the colonial possessions of France and Great Britain in Africa. President Wilson was the *deus ex machina*, Togo Kamerun, German East Africa, German Southwest Africa belonged to the League of Nations. The Treaty of Versailles did not give them to France and Great Britain as colonies. How could Italy argue that her allies had increased their African possessions? The former German colonies were simply a sacred trust.

## How an American School News-paper is Published,

There is money in the printing business, and in journalism, too, when money is the main object. As there is a desire for vocation education, why should not our boys learn printing and journalism at school? This is how they do it in an

American school, as described in the *Manual Training Magazine*.

It is my belief that a school paper is a great advantage to any school, and it may be printed without serious disturbance to the other school work. On the other hand, it is a stimulus to good spelling, syllabication, correct English, and a general business ability conducive to good American citizenship. This is how we do it at the Chicago Latin School, a private preparatory school with a grade enrollment of about two hundred.

The eighth grade, consisting of twenty-five to thirty boys, without any previous experience in printing, is given entire charge of the paper under the supervision of the manual training department and their own grade teacher. The first week, in two groups, they are called into the shop for about an hour and actual type setting explained and demonstrated. Papers of the previous year are examined and criticized. Each boy takes a stick in his hand and begins a few words of an article. Reference books are kept handy and they are shown how to look up things for themselves. After this demonstration lesson, a half hour is given to the entire class in their own room, the business matters explained and these officers elected: editor-in-chief, assistant in chief, business manager, assistant business manager and four to six reporters.

With this preliminary business organization, a general canvass for news of the school begins the very first week. Each teacher is notified that news is expected each Wednesday, if hers is not a dead room, and reporters call for it. If not ready, like all reporters, they make life miserable for teachers until news is forthcoming. Our paper is published the first and third Tuesdays of each month and is due at 12:30 P. M. when school is dismissed for noon. It is a pride with the boys that the paper is on time. In fact it has only been late once and then but two hours due to a break down of the press.

News items are handed to the editor in chief, corrected and sent to the respective grade teachers for O. K. They are then brought to the shop and placed on a spindle ready to be set up.

Each boy gets one half hour per week for type setting and he may come in extra after school or when his work is done, if he wishes. Our paper requires about one hundred and fifty lines for each page; consequently each boy is responsible for six lines per week. One page is printed each Monday, thus distributing the work.

The boys come into the shop at any time their regular work is done and set up their lines without supervision other than can be given by the instructor while supervising another class in woodwork. We find they are responsible and take pride in making their work as near perfect as possible.

The editor in chief has entire charge, over all news and is responsible for it being in correct form, the assistant has charge of the make up of the paper, proofing and printing, the business manager takes care of all money thru a bank, writes checks, keeps accounts, etc. the assistant has charge of the subscriptions and the selling of the papers, and the reporters get the news.

Our equipment consists of a 10" x 15" press type cases, two double stands, stone, type, lead, rules, furni-

ture, etc. We are self supporting and last year gave one hundred dollars to our School Ambulance Fund. Our subscription price is fifty cents per year or five cents for copy. We have a subscription list of two hundred and usually sell sixty to seventy two additional copies at school.

This is strictly a newspaper of the school, both grades and high school. No poems or stories are printed as these may appear in the high school paper. In most instances the pupils write the items themselves at some time, such as for a writing lesson or as an English exercise, and anxiously wait to see them in print. We are deriving great benefits from our "Latin School News" and intend to make it better each year.

### Imitative and Creative Nations

Dr. Toshio Nogami discusses in the *Japan Magazine* how far and why the Japanese are imitative. Says he —

It is generally said that the Japanese people are skillful in imitation and lack originality and there are many who consider it a great national defect. There are others who think it is attributable to the fact that education has hitherto inclined to the cramming method, that memory is overburdened, and that the habit of reflection is neglected. From this point of view many endeavour to enhance creative or spontaneous effort in school education. There are also a number of men who entertain the pessimistic idea that the Japanese are a second rate nation that will remain merely an imitator of foreign civilisation for ever. Which is true?

As a matter of fact, Japan has done her best these forty or fifty years to imitate Western civilisation.

These facts clearly bespeak that the Japanese have an ample talent for imitation, but they do not testify that the Japanese lack creative talent. These two points are often mistaken for each other, but it is necessary to distinguish them clearly. If, for instance, we see a man drinking wine we must not conclude that he has an aversion to cake. The Japanese have imitated Western civilisation these hundred years with might and main, it is true, but it is not because they cannot create. It is rather proper to say that imitation has been more profitable to them than creation.

He then tells us how imitation has been more profitable to them than creation.

Japan is situated in a corner of the East and far from the West. Shutting herself up for three hundred years, she had had little or no intercourse with foreign countries. During that period a number of countries rose up in the comparatively small continent of Europe and vied with one another to promote civilisation. In the period of Kaei (1848-53) when Japan was awakened from a long dream by the stimulus of America, Japanese civilisation (at least from a material point of view) was far behind that of the West. What method should Japan take in such a case? Was she too proud to imitate the West? And would she create a civilisation of her own? Or would she modestly adopt the foreign strong points? The wisest way at that time, it is needless to say, was not the former, but the latter. Accordingly, she first of all imitated the Western military system, built men-of-war, cast cannons, and defended herself from their attack. In the second place, she learned medicine and other branches of learning, and thus contributed to the public weal. Furthermore, she studied law and economy with the intention of establishing her nation in the world and of organising the institutions necessary for it. On account of this she could be an independent country amidst her national difficulties without being disdained by any of the foreign countries. On account of this, moreover, she has been able to be considered one of the Powers. If on the contrary, Japan had been too proud to imitate the West if she had attempted to improve the bow and arrow instead of imitating the cannon, or if she had been contented with the *kago* (a sort of palanquin) instead of the train, she would not have been able to maintain her existence.

Of course her imitation of the West went to an extreme, she admired everything Western, while things Japanese, though excellent, were apt to be ignored. There was a time when her noble works of art and her good customs were indifferently disregarded and thrown off and even now this bad custom remains. But it is prevailing in some limited circles. Generally speaking, Japan's imitation of Western civilisation has been the right thing and this has rescued her from the brink of ruin and brought her to the present prosperity.

To the question, was not Japanese civilisation always a mere transplantation of foreign civilisation, e.g., Korean and Chinese, the writer replies:—

'Is this argument applicable to Japan alone? Does it not hold good equally in British, French and German civilisation? Do you think that England, France, Germany and the other civilised countries have a civilisation of their own? And that Japan alone has no civilisation peculiar to her and that is merely an imitated civilisation?' If they think so, I am afraid they have not studied Western civilisation enough.

It is needless to say that Western civilisation of to-day is traceable to Greece and Rome, and from there to Phoenicia, Babylon, Assyria and Egypt, or originally to India or China. Asian and African civilisation entered Greece and Rome, where it found a great reservoir called European civilisation. From Rome it was introduced to the Teutons and Gauls, who were then savages, and it has formed civilisation after the medieval ages. If we come from afar, English, French and German civilisation each seems to have some remarkable specialities of its own. But if we trace the sources of these civilisations, we shall see that they have once been influenced by the civilisations of many other countries. In respect Japanese civilisation is quite similar to English, French, and German civilisation. If there is any difference, it may be that which is derived from their geographical and historical situation. It may only be a matter of degree. Of course, English civilisation has its own specialities, and German civilisation has its own specialities, and so has Japanese civilisation.

Japan has adopted Chinese and Western civilisation and has always Japanised it

Dr Nogami than gives some remarkable instances of Japanese originality, and moralises as follows—

If we consider more radically, imitation itself is not always inferior to creation. Considered from the merit of spiritual activity creation is a step superior to imitation it is true but an imitator is not actually inferior to an inventor or a creator. Let us compare Germany and France. France chiefly surpasses Germany in creation. Germany excels in imitating foreign things and improving them. German learning is a wonder in the world, but no German has ever made such great inventions or discoveries as Newton's universal gravitation or Darwin's evolution theory. The flying machine and the submarine boat were invented by Frenchmen, but it is Germans that have improved them, built ingenious aeroplanes and submarines, and embarrassed the enemies in the late World's War. German imitations often surpass their originals.

### Migration of Students in the World

Dr. S. Motoda states many interesting facts relating to the migration of students in the *Japan Magazine*

It is said that there are three great streams of movement among the students of the world, the first of which is the stream of Oriental students, moving to Japan, America, England, and France. There are today nearly 9000 Chinese students abroad, of whom 4000 are in Japan, 2000 in France, 1400 in United States, 400 in England and the others distributed throughout the rest of Europe. There are about 2500 Japanese students abroad including Renshusei (training student), most of whom are in the United States. Before the war, there were about 500 in England and other European countries, but at the end of the war there were only 44. Now the number has begun to increase again. In Switzerland alone there are about 50, and in England about 300. The Filipino students have two streams of movement, one to Japan and the other to the United States. In Japan there are probably 30 in all while in the United States 300. The Indian students, too, are moving in opposite directions, few of them are now in Japan, and 1,000 in England. The second great stream is the moving of Slavic students from Russia and Poland to Germany, Switzerland, Austria, France and Belgium. The third is the movement from Latin America to North America and some European countries. Besides these main streams there are smaller movements constantly going on between the European countries and also between America and Europe. These students are free citizens of the world. They move from one country to another and stay where they can get the best of what they want.

He is wrong in stating that "the earliest university was the medical school of Salerno in Italy, founded in the 9th

Century A. D. The Indian University of Takshashila (Taxilla) was a millennium older. In his opinion, "America" has made, or is going to make her system of higher education the very best in the world." It is to be hoped that Indian students abroad will constantly bear in mind the writer's observation that "Foreign students are generally considered to afford a fair index of their national characteristics," and that they will behave accordingly.

### Relative Responsibility of Home and School for the Child

In India, speaking generally, neither the school nor the home seems to think seriously of its responsibility for the welfare of the child. In some countries, there is perhaps a tendency to think that the school is mainly responsible. We read in *Child-Welfare Magazine* that, in America,

The Parent-Teacher Association represents a reaction. Such movements as the Father and Son Banquets, the Mother and Daughter Clubs, and the Parent-Teacher Associations, all are intended fundamentally to emphasize the fact that the home must not neglect its responsibilities.

During the early period in American education this responsibility was much more definite than at present. The time was in this nation just as in Rome when the family was completely responsible for the welfare of the child, and that period in America just as the corresponding period in Rome was one that we look back to with pride.

Shortly after the American Revolution a movement was initiated which took its cue from a country across the Atlantic. The fundamental postulate in this new philosophy was that people exist for the state. We must therefore make citizens, which was in marked contrast with the older concept, that we should develop men and women. The distinction is clear. In one the emphasis is upon the individual, in the other upon the group. So we moved from the concept that the home is the foundation stone of American liberty and progressed toward the concept that all individuals exist for the welfare of the state.

To the careful student of educational progress the steps of such a movement are quite clearly marked. The first big step in this direction was the organization of public schools. When the fight for public elementary education was being waged in New York and Pennsylvania in the early part of the nineteenth century the argument was frequently made that the home should be responsible for the child's education. But the majority opinion decided that the United States must have men trained for citizenship and the sentiment for public education in all the states gained the ascendancy. The result everywhere was proclaimed as good.

The succeeding steps were easier. If the state should furnish free tuition, why should it not also furnish other necessities for the welfare of the children? The argument followed a logical course and has been winning out along almost every line of development. Why should the state not furnish free textbooks? Why should the state not furnish free medical service? Why should the state not furnish free dental service? Why should the state not furnish free food? Why should the state not furnish free clothes? Why should the state not furnish free housing facilities? You know what the general tendency has been in regard to all of these questions.

The end of this movement does not appear to have as yet been reached. One inclined to speculate may well ask toward what goal are we striving? Will we continue moving in this direction until Plato's dreams are realized and we have a perfect communism in which the family as an administrative force ceases to exist? One hundred years ago for one to have even suggested the possibility of the varieties of government control that we now see functioning would have been enough to make him the target for ridicule. Only the future can tell where such a movement will stop.

The writer thinks that if any educational reform is desired the first thing to do is to get a strong public sentiment back of it.

I have heard educators mention with pride, when expressing their resentment at the interference of some American parent with school affairs, that in Germany the teacher was the complete overlord of the school. He was the servant of the state and the parents would not enter the schools without the teacher's consent. From one point of view that may sound well but that is monarchy, that is not democracy.

We want the parents to come to the schools. We want them to be interested in the schools. We want them to see the needs of the schools. We want them to desire the best education for their children that is possible. We want them to aspire to the best school building in the state, to the best equipment of any school in the state, to the best teachers of any school in the state. Given such an educational sentiment and the problems of educational improvement will be easy of solution.

It was along this line that Horace Mann worked to accomplish his wonderful educational reforms in Massachusetts. He had no money to distribute, he had no subsidies to grant, he had no authority to command, yet the reforms he accomplished simply by the appeal to the people through the wonderful power of his splendid leadership were a source of surprise and amazement not only to the people of this country but to the people across the Atlantic.

You will not find complaint about poor educational sentiment in communities or cities where there is strong educational leadership where there are personalities to develop educational sentiment among the people. There the schools flourish.

### "A Renewed Sense of Right"

A letter, signed by some leading minis-

ters of religion, heads of colleges, and other leaders of thought, recently appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*, calling attention to the danger to civilization arising from mutual national mistrust and antipathy, antagonism between class and class, the frankly selfish relation of individual, and the breakdown of international, national and private morality. The signatories concluded

So long as each nation, through its statesmen, consider exclusively its own interests, and refuses to consider the common welfare of all nations, the dangers cannot be overcome. Nor can they be overcome while everyone is seeking to benefit himself at the expense of the community, instead of rendering to the community the best service he is capable of performing.

Many, no doubt, are conscious of the truth, and the air is full of recriminations but a renewed sense of right is needed, as well as a renewed determination both to do what is right and to maintain what is right internationally as well as nationally and individually. When statesmen and citizens, employers and employed acknowledge joint responsibility and decide to stand for the right even when it is apparently against their interests as well as when it favours them, only then can the spiritual and moral health of the nations be renewed, progress be resumed, and the general economic wellbeing be once more re-established.

### Art in Every Home

*The Playground* tells its readers:

The American Federation of Arts has assembled for circulation throughout the country, an exhibition of faithful reproductions of good pictures, at reasonable prices, which is intended to serve two purposes. "The first purpose is to give people an opportunity to learn, what most of us do not know, the good quality and large variety of prints already available for American homes. The prints exhibited represent a careful selection from several thousand subjects, including the lines of the more important print publishers in America. The second purpose is to encourage the print makers of the United States to make good reproductions of suitable subjects at moderate prices. The Federation wishes to encourage our artists to design and our print makers to produce prints similar in quality and relative in price to some of the excellent home and schoolroom pictures of Europe."

### "The World at Play."

We seldom think how much bodily, intellectual and moral welfare depend on play, particularly in the case of children and youth. The American magazine *The Playground* devotes itself month after month to all sorts of recreation sun,

up in the word **PLAY** From its opening section, entitled 'The World at Play' we reproduce a few paragraphs

From Dr Elliot

At the Conference of New England Educators in Boston January 22 1921 Dr Charles W Elliot said physical training was the most important movement of the day

We are leading hasty busy—too busy—lives he continued It is a great threatening blight It threatens not only the mental health of the people but the physical health as well More and more we see men in active business breaking down and we see the reduced capacity of women for child bearing all due to this hurrying bustling life to which we are subjected

#### Makes a Difference to the Employer

The following questions appear on the form of application for the professional staff of the Bureau of Municipal Research Philadelphia

'What leisure time have you?'

What use have you made of your leisure time and what results have been accomplished hereby?

#### The Need Apparent

Honorable E C Stokes Chairman of the Republican Committee for New Jersey formerly Governor of New Jersey in an address before the New Jersey Women's Club at Newark, spoke as follows

There is one field that needs supervision which has never been touched upon by reformers however zealous It is a field which needs attention of both church and state Let us drop a word of praise for what has been accomplished in passing child labor laws laws regulating employment for women laws for proper sanitary conditions and other legislation for the working hours of our people

But the field which has never been touched is the leisure hours of the people the most important hours of life so far as education and morals are concerned Few people have temptations in the hours of toil They come in hours of idleness and play It is when we go to the seashore on Sunday that we are apt to remain away from church It is the hours when they are not working or not at school in the social hours that the young people are apt to fall into temptation

Here is a field that legislation has practically never touched It is a wonderful opportunity for those interested in the welfare of the race and an opportunity to provide for sane healthful and educational amusement an opportunity to provide proper entertainment and instruction for the leisure hours of the nation

Our forms of amusement could be wonderfully improved and our people could be taught to love the right thing as well as the wrong

#### Court Holds That Boys Must Climb

A boy saw a pigeon's nest on a girder of a railroad bridge in the Bronx and the bird sitting on the wire nearby The temptation was alluring The boy climbed to the girder and reached out to seize the bird The wire was charged with electricity and when he touched it he was thrown to the ground and so badly burned that his arm had to be amputated

The boy and his father sued the railroad a jury in the federal district court awarding the boy \$10 000 and the father \$1000 The jury was instructed to find for the boy and his father if it believed the railroad had erected trestlework which might entice children to climb it and had not taken measures to prevent the climbing

The railroad appealed but the higher court ruled in favour of the boy and his father

#### Judges Seek Causes

Judge Wadhams of New York says

Lack of play facilities for the youths who make up the largest percentage of first offenders causes much of the crime that surrounds us

And another judge charging a grand jury ordered it to inquire most specifically into the cause that deteriorate youths He mentioned the bad living and recreational conditions as chief sources of crime which the grand jury should handle in presentments to the legislature calling for new laws and possible constitutional amendments

#### New York State League of Women Voters

##### Studies children's play

The New York State League of Women Voters through its Child Welfare Committee is making a general study of conditions affecting children throughout the state in order that the members of the League may be informed concerning the enforcement of existing laws affecting the welfare of children and of the need for their legislation

A part of the questionnaire which is sent out in an effort to secure information regarding the health of school children has to do with recreation The questions asked are as follows

##### Use and Supervision of Play Time

1 Is there a playground connected with the school? a Is it well equipped? b Large enough for baseball? c Is it much used? d Are games taught? (1) By whom?

2 Are school entertainments encouraged? a Dances? b Plays? c Clubs? (1) Boy Scouts? (2) Girl Scouts? (3) Camp Fire Girls? (4) Any others? d Who supervises the entertainments?

## NOTES

Migration of Coolies from  
Tea Gardens

The migration of coolies from some tea gardens in Assam has resulted in a great tragedy. The planters and the Assam Government have tried to persuade the public to believe that the coolies left these gardens, not mainly on account of economic distress, but chiefly because they were misled by mischievous "non-co-operating" agitators who wanted to destroy the tea industry. But, though most probably the wave of the prevailing unrest had reached these coolies, the main cause of the migration was certainly the miserable condition of the labourers. To the accuracy of this diagnosis the Bishop of Assam has borne testimony. Mr. C. F. Andrews and the local leaders of Chandpur, who have seen the coolies, are of the same opinion. The opinion of Mr. Andrews in particular must carry great weight, as he has seen at close quarters and mixed with coolies of all sorts in different parts of India and in Fiji, Ceylon, the Malay States and South Africa. A few days' railway journey or journey on foot, with the attendant privations, could not, in his opinion, have reduced the labourers to the miserable physical condition and the utter economic destitution in which he found them at Chandpur. But the best proof of the miserable condition of the coolies is to be found in the *apologia* of the Assam Government itself. That document states that the coolies, that is to say, the workers among them, earned 4 or 5 annas daily, not a few pice, as they themselves have alleged. Supposing that is true, are such wages sufficient in these days of high prices to maintain even a worker himself—not to speak of his dependants, in a state of good health and physical efficiency? But there is no reason why the workers themselves are to be disbelieved when they say with one accord that their daily income amounted to a few pice per head.

There is another passage in the Assam Government's defence of itself which admits that the wages of the labourers must be increased. It runs as follows :—

"The Government and the tea industry have for some time past recognised that in view of the rise in prices some adjustment of wages is called for throughout the province, and special inquiries, which are nearly complete, have already been made. The only reason why a commission had not been appointed to go into the matter is the depressed state of the industry, which makes it impossible for most gardens to contemplate any increase in expenditure [Does not this plainly mean that the wages of the coolies ought to be increased but have not been increased, no matter for what reason? Ed, M R], but the Government repudiate altogether the allegation that the wages given in the case of the striking coolies [They have not struck, they have left the gardens for good Ed, M R] were starvation wages [Their emaciated and destitute condition is a sufficient proof Ed, M R], and they are fully prepared to examine further the whole question of wages when the present excitement has subsided (!) and they consider the time to be opportune [for whom? Ed, M R] Meanwhile as regards the Chargola Valley, increased [to what extent? Ed, M R] rates were, as already stated, granted by some [not all, but how many? Ed, M R.] of the local managers on their own authority."

If, as alleged by the planters and the Assam Government, the coolies were in good condition in the gardens and were led to migrate therefrom by the machinations of the non-co-operators, why—when they were undeceived at Chandpur, Nuhati, and Asansole and in great misery and in the grip of cholera, dysentery, &c., some dying thereof, why did not they agree to go back to the gardens, why would they not touch the food provided by the officials, and why did they refuse to take any from Kiran De's Fund? Why have they not become angry with the leaders of the movement, but continue to trust them?

When at first the coolies arrived at Chandpur, the officials tried their best to repatriate them. But this attitude



changed ere long into one of veiled opposition or at the best passivity so far as repatriation was concerned. An observant correspondent of the *Jyotih* of Chittagong in ably conducted Bengal weekly points out that this change of attitude synchronised with the arrival at Chandpur of Mr Macpherson the representative of the tea planters. He even asks who can say that Mr Macpherson did not bring a message from the highest authorities to the officials at Chandpur telling them not to help in the repatriation of the coolies? That Mr Macpherson collaborated with Mr Sinha the S D O of Chandpur in preventing the coolies from boarding a steamer is adduced by this correspondent as supporting such a suspicion. He is right in pointing out that the British Government in India has throughout followed the policy underlying Lord Curzon's notorious words addressed to the Anglo Indian exploiters of India —

Your business and mine are one and the same. Yours is exploitation and mine is administration. Both are part and parcel of the same government. He is also right in suggesting that (?) Indian leaders should forget their mutual squabbles and try to put an end to this unholy combination between the official administrators and the non official exploiters of India otherwise the happiness and welfare of the masses of India would continue to be sacrificed to the greed of the Anglo Indian exploiters.

But to return. The official reasons for refusing to repatriate the coolies wholly or partly at Government expense were that that was not the duty of Government. Government could not take sides in a quarrel between labourers and capitalists etc. It is difficult to decide in detail what is and what is not the duty of Government. But it may be said in general terms that it is the duty of Government to do that which is good for the country. We find that Government continued to repatriate those who had some how reached Nishati or Aransole. What made them decide that those who had come only as far as Chandi were not to have the benefit of that arrangement?

As regards expense we find that Government has spent considerable amounts for sanitation and the medical treatment of sick coolies at Chandpur and was prepared even to feed the coolies if they would partake of food supplied by the officials. The expense was meant for saving the lives of the coolies. Repatriation was also meant for the preservation of lives. Moreover it is found that in spite of official and non official endeavours hundreds of coolies have died of cholera etc. If repatriation had gone on without break from the beginning it is certain that the majority of these deaths could have been prevented and thus the real object of all this expenditure could have been achieved to a far greater extent than has been the case. Repatriation may or not have cost more than sanitation medication etc. but supposing it would have cost more would not that extra cost have been rightly incurred for the saving of hundreds of lives? The break in repatriation has caused untold misery and many deaths not only among coolies but has resulted in the spread of the infection among the general population causing some deaths among them too. These lives also could have been saved if repatriation had been continued. There would have been other advantages too. The inhumanity of Gurkhas beating the coolies at dead of night would not have taken place the consequent hatred and contempt of Government and excitement among the people would not have resulted. The steamer and railway strikes would not have occurred delaying the repatriation and causing the death of many coolies and involving both the people and the Government in much loss and inconvenience. No doubt the strikes made Government obstinate but if repatriation had gone on without break from the beginning there would have been no beating of coolies by Gurkhas no strikes and no obstinacy on the part of Government — in one word no vicious circle.

There is a suspicion in the public mind that the reason why the Bengal Government was prepared to spend the people's money in sanitation medication dietary, etc., but not in repatriation from Chaud

pur, was that thereby Government wanted indirectly to afford facilities to the planters to induce the coolies at Chandpur to return to their gardens.

The Bengal Government's plea that it wanted to remain neutral in a dispute between capital and labour would not stand examination. The movement of the coolies was not a strike; it was not that they wanted better terms for themselves on obtaining which they would be prepared to go back to the gardens. They had left the gardens for good and would not go back there on any conditions or terms whatsoever. Where then did the question of Government neutrality in a labour dispute arise? The question was really one of humanity to stranded and destitute ignorant men, women and children. The question was also one of public safety inasmuch as the congestion at Chandpur was considered likely to cause disease as it actually did. The Bengal Government failed to show humanity and anxiety for public safety in a proper way at the proper time. It practically gave indirect help to the planters to try to take advantage of the misery of the coolies to induce them to return to the tea plantations though the planters could not actually benefit by this indirect help.

It has been stated by the *Charu Mihir* of Mymensingh that when the tea planters import coolies from outside Assam they are allowed to do so at concession fares granted by State Railways etc. The paper contends that if the owners of the gardens who are rich are given such concessions when they import coolies, real neutrality or impartiality would have been observed if the same concessions had been given throughout by the State Railways etc. to the coolies who are poor at the time of returning home from the gardens. If the fact be as stated there is great force in the argument.

By using Gurkhas to beat the coolies the heads of the Division and of the District have covered themselves with infamy and Sir Henry Wheeler's whitewashing report on the incident has not converted the blackness of the infamy into the resplendent whiteness of glory. There was in the

first place no necessity, no justification for importing the Gurkhas. The coolies were not turbulent; were physically incapable of being turbulent. It is admitted that even when they were rushing in crowds to the steamer and it is said a few were in their eagerness ready to use their sticks upon Messrs Macpherson and Sinha who tried to stem the tide of their advance, the constables there managed to keep the coolies back; therefore, there is nothing to show that the local police could not have dispersed the coolies assembled at night at the Railway Station taking it for granted that it was necessary as officially alleged to disperse them by force in the interests of sanitation. Persuasion had not been tried by the officials in their own persons or through the non-official leaders. Even when the Gurkhas were ordered to use force the order was given immediately after telling the coolies to disperse; there was no waiting to see whether the coolies would of their own accord obey the order to leave the station. It has been reported in the papers that Mr Kiran De Commissioner of the Chittagong Division said in a talk he had with Mr Akhil Chandra Dutta at the beating of the coolies was meant to produce an impression. Was it in the nature of the moral effect which Dyer wanted to produce at Jallianwala Bagh? An impression has been produced no doubt. But whereas after Jallianwala Bagh there was at least some temporary terror produced because of Dyer's savage butchery, the sordid Chandpur affair has frightened nobody but has earned for the officials concerned a reputation for stupidity amounting to idiocy, cowardice, inhumanity and cruelty. Sir Henry Wheeler admits the beating but says that no more force was used than was necessary. Necessary indeed! Force necessary to disperse famished babies, children, old men and women and other starvelings. What heroism! Everyone concerned from Mr Kiran De downwards should be decorated with the Victoria Cross.

The people of Chandpur, both leaders and followers, young and old men and

women, and the volunteers from outside, have to their credit a splendid record of loving and self-sacrificing service of the labourers at great personal risk of catching the infection of cholera. Englishmen and women like the Bishop of Assam and his wife, Mr C F Andrews, and a few others have shown that they are real followers of the ideal Christ. Those from outside, particularly the people of Chittagong town, who have helped with money, are worthy of great praise.

The strikes cannot however be defended. No doubt, a feeling of righteous indignation at the savage conduct of the Gurkhas and those at whose order they acted, was one of the causes of the strikes, and it was intended to force Government to recall the Gurkhas and repatriate the coolies. But what has been the result? Government have not yielded, the repatriation of coolies has been so long delayed as to cause the death of a large number of the labourers from cholera and of some others who caught the infection, and much loss, inconvenience and suffering has been caused to the general public. It should have been foreseen that after the easy victory at Chittagong, where the officials and the non-official Europeans were unprepared for such an united front on the part of the people, Government would not yield at Chandpur. It is quite true that in a national struggle, we should all be ready for the greatest sacrifice. But in the present case, it was not a national struggle, as even if Government had yielded in the minor issues involved, Swaraj could not have been won and the greatest sufferers—sufferers unto death a great many of them, have been the coolies. But they had not asked that there should be any strikes, they were not even consenting parties after the event they were only too eager to get back home. If it could be shown that the strikes were calculated to directly benefit the coolies then alone could they be defended. When the strikes were already a few weeks old, a list of the grievances of the employees of the steamers was published in the papers. The question may be asked as to why these grievances were not mentioned at the very beginning of

the strikes as being their main causes. But let us take it for granted that they were the main causes. In that case the leaders and the strikers being admittedly in sincere sympathy with the suffering coolies and eager to relieve their distress and misery, they ought to have laid aside these grievances for the time being and plied the steamers and the railway trains in order to make repatriation quick and easy, for that was the most effective relief that could be administered. Repatriation over, the strikes could be commenced for obtaining redress of grievances.

There has been an unseemly and sordid squabble in the press as to the share of the credit for the repatriation of the coolies already accomplished which ought to fall to "Extremists" and to "Moderates" respectively. We do not see why Mr S R Das or Mr Krishna Kumar Mitra or any other "Moderate" should not be praised for their philanthropy, because they are "Moderates", or are unwilling to scramble for praise. It would take some decades of earnest work for many celebrities of the day to rival Mr Mitra's life long record of service rendered to tea garden coolies.

This is no time for squabbles. There is much strenuous work ahead, waiting to be done. The repatriated coolies have to be started in life again, re-established in village life and village society. It is a relief to read Mr C F Andrews telegram, dated Gorakhpur the 25th June, contradicting Swami Darshananda's alarming account of the condition of the tea garden labourers from Assam with regard to the largest centre at Gorakhpur. Says Mr Andrews—

I am at Gorakhpur while writing and can positively assert that with regard to more than two thirds of the returned labourers who have been sent to their respective homes from this centre numbering in all 621 (?) persons Swami Darshananda's statement in the press is entirely misleading. The labourers are well cared for. Zamindars are prepared to give land and houses for any destitute cases. The greatest readiness to help the refugees has been manifested everywhere by Hindus and Muslims co-operators and non-co operators alike.

I shall make a full report later of which a brief abstract has already been sent to the Asso-

ciated Press for circulation. I have received also this morning a deputation from Basti District, to which one thousand refugees returned. Land and houses have been offered by local Zamindars but the labourers preferred to go to their own homes. No distress has hitherto been reported.

Still, it is probable that there are many coolies born in the gardens who have no house and home in their ancestral villages, and some who have gone through inter-caste marriages in the gardens will not find a place in any caste *biradari* (fraternity). The cases of these latter will require particularly careful handling.

### Endeavours for Fundamental Reconstruction

In addition to relieving the misery resulting from the migration, steady and prolonged work of a different description will have to be done. One kind of work is akin to permanent social reform work. When large numbers of mateless men and women from different districts and villages are thrown together at centres of industry, one of two things is sure to happen. Either there will be many illicit connections, or there will be intercaste marriages. There have, in fact, been both kinds of connections, one or the other being inevitable, human instincts being what they are. Connections of the latter sort are to be preferred. In any case the social conditions and atmosphere should not be such as to produce, in the minds of any persons who are victims of circumstance or "reformers by choice, the feeling of being outcasts. Either a place should be found for them in the old social organisation or there should be a new social unit reconstructed for them.

We have heard from a very trustworthy person that many labourers believe in their simplicity that British rule is at an end and the reign of Gandhi Maharaj has begun, and that therefore, they have only to go back to their villages to find a life of ease and plenty waiting for them. For this reason they have refused offers of employment away from their villages. Such simple and strong faith in Mahatma Gandhi is pathetic in the extreme and his its redeeming feature.

But as these childlike believers are sure to be disillusioned so far as their worldly hopes are concerned, it is best that people should not interpret or understand Mr. Mahatma Gandhi's spiritual ascendancy to mean any political and worldly ascendancy. To prevent such misinterpretation and misunderstanding, it is of the utmost importance that knowledge and education should be in the widest commonality spread.

### Economic Enquiry

We have said before that the people of Chandpur and elsewhere have so far risen to the height of the occasion. In fact the cry of widespread distress has seldom found our people cold and unresponsive. Temporary help unremitting has generally been given. What we have been lacking in to tide over the difficulty or distress is sufficient watchfulness as regards the material and moral condition of all the classes and strata of our people. Were we aware beforehand, had we any inkling in advance of the conditions leading to the tragedy that has been enacted before our eyes for weeks and months? Did we know in what misery our sisters and brethren were living in the tea gardens? There may be other classes of workers in similar misery. It is the duty of all who possess information of such description to make it public. And it is the urgent duty of all our leaders to make a careful and organised enquiry into the economic condition of all classes of our workers. Those who believe in co-operation with Government should press for such an official enquiry by means of committees or commissions consisting of members without any bias in favour of the exploiters.

### Paucity of Leading Workers

It must have struck many that in and outside India Mr. C. F. Andrews has undertaken many philanthropic missions in behalf of India's oppressed and exploited labourers which Indians themselves have not done. This he has done in a spirit of loving self-sacrifice, undergoing privations and running risks of no or

duary and India's debt of gratitude to him is immense and unrepayable. While it is a fortunate circumstance that we have such a friend, it cannot but be regretted that among our own countrymen there are few who possess the love, the spirit of sacrifice, the strength of character, the breadth of outlook and far sightedness, the intellectual power and the ability to negotiate which are necessary for carrying out such missions successfully. The claim to Swaraj is above all a claim put up before God and He judges by what we are and not what we say. We must be able to produce men who are able to do all kinds of good and necessary work. How can we prefer a claim to Swaraj whilst at heart we feel a secret sense of shame at the paucity of leading workers? There are thank God many now able and willing to fight the good fight in the ranks but there are not generals and ambassadors enough. The examples of the late Mr G. K. Gokhale and of Mahatma Gandhi show that we can have such men.

### Attack on Mr C. F. Andrews

The mischievous though fatuous and contemptible, attack on Mr Andrews in the British House of Commons is significant. It shows that his labours of love have begun to tell and alarmed the high priests of racial arrogance and superiority and of exploitation of the non-whites by the whites. Mr Andrews does not require any defender. God is his shield.

### Gandhi-Reading Interview

It is not yet quite clear in every detail how the Gandhi-Reading interview originated. We do not yet know whether it was Lord Reading who wanted to see Mr Gandhi to ascertain his views on some subject or other or whether it was Mr Gandhi who wanted to see Lord Reading to tell him something which he wanted to say. Nor is it quite clear what part exactly Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya played in the affair.

Two Associated Press messages from Simla gave the public the following information —

Simla, May 11

It is officially announced that H. P. the Viceroy granted an interview to Mr Gandhi yesterday afternoon and again this morning.

Simla May 15

This afternoon addressing an overflow meeting at the Idgah (Muhammadan prayer ground) Mr Gandhi replying to an appeal made through a recitation asking him to divulge the secret of his visit to Simla and the result of his interview with H. P. the Viceroy, said that he came up at the request of Pandit Malaviya to see Lord Reading with a view to put the non-co operation case before him. He said that he saw nothing wrong in presenting his case to an official and accordingly on reaching Simla he wrote a letter to H. P. the Viceroy asking for an interview, which was at once granted.

Lord Reading gave the following information in his Chelmsford Club speech —

Unless it should be thought that there was any concealment about it I will tell you what happened. Mr Malaviya came to see me and we had several interviews to my profit and I hope also to his (laughter) because I think two men cannot exchange ideas and discuss problems without deriving some benefit to either side. He left me with the impression that he would like me to see Mr Gandhi. Well it did occur to me that my address was not altogether unknown (prolonged laughter) but I informed Mr Malaviya that if Mr Gandhi applied to me for an interview I would readily grant it and I should be glad to hear his views. The consequence was that in due course Mr Gandhi did apply and there was not only one interview but several interviews between us. There was no fessée or manoeuvre about it; it seemed to be a plain and straightforward arrangement for an interview.

In *Young India* of May 25, Mr Gandhi wrote as follows —

The world is now curious to know what ails us. The Viceroy represents a big world. His Excellency wanted to know why I with whom co-operation was an article of faith had non-co-operated. There must be something wrong with the Government or me.

And so His Excellency mentioned to Pandit Malaviya and to Mr Andrews that he would like to see me and hear my views. I went to see the Pandit because he was anxious to meet me. I hold him in such high regard that I would not think even if he was well and I could help it of letting him come to me. As it was he was too weak to travel to me. It was my duty to go to him. And when I heard the purport of his conversation with His Excellency I did not require any persuasion to prompt me to ask for an appointment. If His Excellency wished to hear my views I have devoted so much space to the reason for my seeking an appointment for I wanted to make clear the limits and the meaning of non-co operation.

The three extracts do not clear the doubt as to who wanted to see whom. The *Young India* account says that Lord Reading "mentioned to Pandit Malaviya and to Mr. Andrews that he would like to see me and hear my views." Did he do so of his own accord? Or did the Pandit suggest to or implore Lord Reading that his lordship should hear the humble submissions of Mr. Gandhi? We put the thing thus because Lord Reading in his speech plainly though pompously and with small minded banter, suggests that either Mr. Gandhi himself or Mr. Malaviya for Mr. Gandhi was a suppliant for an interview. We quote Lord Reading's words again: "He (Pandit Malaviya) left me with the impression that he would like me to see Mr. Gandhi. Well it did occur to me that my address was not altogether unknown (prolonged laughter) but I informed Mr. Malaviya that if Mr. Gandhi applied to me for an interview I would readily grant it" &c, &c. If Lord Reading was the seeker of information it would be nonsense for him to speak like the above. His office is no doubt high, but even he, if he wanted information from any person if he sought to know any person's views he would not, we presume, tell that person to *apply* to him for the honour of an interview with the Viceroy, his lordship would simply ask that person, through his lordship's private secretary or other official subordinate, to come and see him. Official practice and etiquette and common sense and common courtesy have not perhaps changed radically since the days of Lord William Bentinck and Rammohun Roy. When that governor general sought to know Rammohun's views on a certain subject, what did his lordship do? Did his lordship remind Rammohun that Government House was not an unknown place, and that the reformer should pray for an interview &c? Nothing of the sort. Let us hear what the late Principal K. S. Macdonald said in a public lecture about the incident:—

Lord William Bentinck the Governor General on hearing that he would likely receive considerable help from the Rajah in suppressing the pernicious custom of widow burning, sent

one of his aides-de-camp to him expressing his desire to see him. To this the Rajah replied: "I have now given up all worldly avocations and am engaged in religious culture and in the investigation of truth. Kindly express my humble respects to the Governor General and inform him that I have no inclination to appear before his august presence and therefore I hope that he will kindly pardon me." These words the aide-de-camp conveyed to the Governor General who enquired: "What did you say to Rammohun Roy?" The aide-de-camp replied: "I told him that Lord William Bentinck the Governor General would be pleased to see him." The Governor General answered: "Go back and tell him again that Mr. William Bentinck will be highly obliged to him if he will kindly see him once." Thus the aide-de-camp did and Rammohun Roy could no longer refuse the urgent and polite request of his lordship.

In commenting on this incident Miss S. D. Collet Rammohun's biographer, observes: "Rammohun did no more than decline an invitation to Court, when he found it was the man and not the Court functionary who appealed to him, he straightway waived all scruple and agreed to come."

We wonder what prevented Lord Reading from doing what Lord William Bentinck did if he (Lord Reading) was the seeker of information. We wonder, too, why Mr. Gandhi consented to act *apparently* as an applicant if in *reality* it was not he who wanted anything but it was Lord Reading who wanted to know his views.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and possibly, Mr. Andrews to some extent can throw some light upon the origin of the interview. But, "Mum" is the word.

So we continue to hold that Mr. Gandhi made a mistake in applying for an interview with Lord Reading. It was not one man seeing another man for then the question of *applying for an interview and granting* it would not have arisen. It was the leader of the Indian people who had declared soul war against the British Bureaucratic Government, who applied for an interview with the head of that Government. The use of the word "war" is not unwarranted or unjustifiable. When students were asked by Non-co operation leaders to give up their studies the argument was used that just as British stu-

dents left their colleges during the late war in defence of liberty, so must our students give up their studies in the fight for freedom. After the Simla interview the *Mussalman* wrote —

Personally we are however of opinion that the great leader of the non-co operation movement ought not to have interviewed the Viceroy without being invited to do so. It is we people of India who have waged the war of non violent non co operation on the bureaucratic system of government prevailing in the country. The war is raging and all of a sudden one commander in chief voluntarily approaches the head of the army on the other side presents to him his case for waging the war and holds a discussion with him on the subject. The adoption of such a course without any hint or suggestion from the opposite side may not very wrongly be construed as admission of an impending defeat and Mahatma Gandhi whose faith in the movement is no doubt beyond all questions may have unwittingly done a thing for which we may have to repent afterwards.

We know our contemporary subsequently saw nothing wrong in Mr Gandhi's action but we quote him simply to show that the idea that there is a state of war between the [non co operating] people and the Government is not an invention of ours. Even so late as June 5, the *Independent* of Allahabad wrote 'We are fighting the Government to a finish and it is surprising that the Government is not inclined to give us any quarter.' So there is war, and there was war at the time of the Simla interview. Mr Gandhi, no doubt, has argued thus —

It [Non-co operation] is directed not against men but against measures it is not directed against the Governors but against the system they administer

But then why was Non Co operation directed against the Duke of Connaught? He was not the personification of the bureaucratic system he was only a man. It was, no doubt, correctly argued that as he had been brought out to indirectly restore its lost popularity to the bureaucratic government, the people should have nothing to do with his visit and his reception. But is not Lord Reading trying directly to rehabilitate the same bureaucratic system? Has he not cleverly turned the interview itself to his and the

system's great advantage? The distinction made between the Governors and the systems they administer may pass muster in logic, but practically it does not amount to much. For Mr. Gandhi and Lord Reading met not to discuss their domestic or personal affairs, but public matters affecting the interests of the country.

"His Excellency wanted to know why I, with whom co operation was an article of faith, had non co operated." Humble individuals like ourselves have long known the reasons from Mr Gandhi's speeches and writings, published in the papers and in book form. His Excellency had both the money and the men to buy these things for him, wherein he could have found out the reasons. We do not, therefore, understand why it was necessary for him to humiliate Mr Gandhi by making him apply for an interview. Nor do we understand why Mr Gandhi could not or did not send His Excellency presentation copies of those speeches and writings of his which explained why he "had non co operated."

We use the word "humiliated" deliberately. Lord Reading's Chelmsford Club speech has left a painful impression on our minds which we cannot forget. He pompously said therein in effect "If you Mr Gandhi want to have the great privilege and honour of being ushered into my august presence, you must apply for it. You ought to know where to apply. I am not an ordinary person. I am the Governor General of British India and Viceroy of His Majesty King George V. my address is well known."

The democratic view is—and the Non co operators are all democrats—that the power of the State is derived from the people, and, therefore when the State is a monarchy and the head of the State is a King, the King's power is derived from the people. The people are, therefore, not an entity inferior to the King or to the King's representative. If a servant and representative of the King—be he the highest—be jealous of his dignity, why should not the people be jealous of the dignity of their leader? For, we must

remember, the people and the state in India are now, according to Non-co operators at war. The head to neither party can be an applicant or suppliant without giving cause for a surmise or a suspicion that the applicant has humbled himself or has been humbled or that his cause is weakening.

"The Viceroy represents a big world." That is true. It is therefore to be expected that after hearing Mr. Gandhi's reasons from him he would tell his big world all about them. But has the Viceroy told that 'big world' what he learnt from Mr. Gandhi during the interview? He has only given the world to understand that one result of the interview was the Ali brother's apology and undertaking which has nothing to do with Mr. Gandhi's reasons for non-co-operating. But even this appears to be a wrong statement on the part of the Viceroy. For Mr. Gandhi has written in *Young India* —

The apology of the Brothers is not made to the Government. It is addressed and tendered to friends who drew their attention to their speeches. It was certainly not given at the bidding of the Viceroy. I betray no confidence when I say that it was not even suggested by him. As soon as I saw the speeches I stated in order to prove the bona fide of the Brothers and the entirely non-violent character of the movement, that I would invite them to make a statement.

Has the viceroy, then, deliberately misled the big world? Or did the two parties to the interview misunderstand each other? In any case we do not know whether the main object of the interview has been gained or not. That main object may bear repetition. It was to enable Mr. Gandhi to tell the Viceroy his reasons for non-co-operating in order presumably that the latter might afterwards tell the big world which he represented those reasons.

### The Ali Brother's Apology

We use the word apology, as it has been used by Mr. Gandhi. We think the Ali brothers have acted rightly in making the statement that they have done. We do not at all believe that they have done it because of fear of a threatened prosecution and consequent punishment. If the

statement had been made before the Gandhi Reading interview took place, even their enemies could not have said that it was dictated by fear, or made at the bidding of the Viceroy. So public workers should bear in mind that if they discover that they have made a mistake, — *Shubhasya Shighram*, they should make haste to publicly express regret at once, otherwise events may lend support to misunderstanding and misinterpretation.

Government has also done right to refrain from prosecuting the brothers. But the unseemly display that it has made of what it evidently considers its triumph has not added to the people's respect for it.

### Bangalore Festival of Fine Arts and Drama

The Festival of Fine Arts and Drama held last month at Bangalore was a unique and important function. An Art Exhibition had been arranged by Mr. N. K. Dewal and Mr. J. H. Cousins and a handsome explanatory booklet published. An historical play was enacted by the Amateur Dramatic Association and prizes were distributed to the winners of a competition for plays for the Association. There was reading of papers and discussion on them. The papers read were —

The Motifs and Methods of Indian Drama.  
The Sanskrit Drama from a Western point of view.  
The Dravidian Drama.  
The Traditions and Status of the Hindu Stage.  
Indian Dramatic Tradition and how it helps Japanese Drama and its lessons for India.  
The Kerala Theatre.  
The History of Kannara Drama.  
The Evolution of the Hindi Stage.  
The Modern Indian Drama.  
Scene Effects in Indian Drama.  
The Responsibilities of the Amateur Theatre.  
Women and the Stage.  
The Stage as a Potent Factor.  
Music on the Stage.

In opening the festival Mrs. Sarojini Naidu delivered an important address which has been thus reported in part by *New India's* Bangalore correspondent.

The occasion called her aside from the present path of her activity to that for which she felt most affinity and need. While she at present took share in political life she knew that the history of the future would take little account of the politicians but would enshrine the names of those who made the thought of India immortal and universal the writers of songs the painters of pictures the interpreters of drama.



The world was not concerned with the internal and domestic problems of India. It did not turn towards India for strife but for the eternal lesson of peace as it had come down from the past in legends and songs of sacrifice and achievement. The world to day was in ruins and the weary eyes of Europe were looking to the East for a message of hope and regeneration. Their forefathers had achieved the victory of thought in battle and India should be true to the traditions which unfortunately she had betrayed for some time past. She thought the name the Festival of Arts was very klutinous and very true to the spirit of India for it was the arts which were the abiding treasure of India that brought true joy into life. Unfortunately cultured Indians for some time had become more familiar with the art treasures of other countries than their own. They had learned more about the beauty of a fresco on the walls of a Florentine cell by Fra Angelico than of the glories of Ajanta. They knew of the music of Mozart and Wagner but were little aware of the musical treasure that was waiting for them all over India. They were familiar with the writing of Russian novelists but did not know the names of the writers of their own tongues. They knew nothing of the glories of Tagore's genius until it received western appreciation. They must not hand this ignorance down to their children.

They talked largely of the ancient stage and literature of India yet measured by their present they fell far short of their ancient tradition. Audiences went to plays not to think seriously what the dramatist meant but to listen for the joke with a double meaning. There should be Mrs. Naidu declared national art of every kind in India so that when men two thousand years hence sought for signs of the civilisation and culture of India of to day, they might find it in play or poem or fabric woven with imagination and love. Such things were the everlasting signs of civilisation. It was the fashion to-day in India to say that politics alone would bring freedom to India. Sprung from the thick of the political battle she asked the young men of the country to believe her when she said that it was not politics that would bring Swaraj but the genius of the nation finding expression through beauty in arts and crafts. Politics could bring revolution and destruction as in Russia.

It is undoubtedly true that politics alone cannot make India free, but that the other things said of politics above do not present the whole truth. Continuing, Mrs. Naidu said

The key word of Indian civilisation and culture was not power nor material splendor. She had those things, and she despised them. Not her kings but her seers not her soldiers but her singers had been the glory of Indian civilisation. She stood before them she said as a poet

and a politician, and she asked them not to choose the path she alas, was treading to-day, but the nobler the higher, the lovelier and more fruitful path of achievement through peace and thought and leisure that came from the heart, born of their vision and their hope. India needed the visionary that lay hidden in the heart of every man and woman. She needed those who were ready to sacrifice themselves for the sake of a dream. The stage was the university of the people. India sent her poets and dramatists as ambassadors across the seas. It was not politicians who bore the message of India's genius across the world, but Tagore and Bose and Ray. One man who read 'Chitra' became a slave to India's culture, while many who heard the quarrels of the politicians got alienated from India. She appealed to those concerned with the stage not to make it a matter of pastime but to make it the people's university, to present on the stage thought and beauty, hope and freedom. Let the measure of their freedom be the measure of beauty, nobility and glory that the dramatist created for the world, and that the actors interpreted as a message to the civilisation of to-morrow.

### Our Frontispiece.

Hitherto Plants and the "Non living" were not wont to speak. But Professor Bose has made them answer his queries. Having found a voice, they now speak even when the professor has not put them any questions. The Professor was lost in scientific contemplation on the heights of the Himalayas—little dreaming that the Living and the Non living had become extraordinarily responsive to their environments, perfectly imitating all the prevailing human cries and methods—when he was awakened by the sound of the Thunderbolt (the emblem or symbol adopted by him) coming down from a cloudless sky to tell him of the agitation in the world of the Living and Non living. What was his surprise to find that the Bamboo was shouting 'Strike', 'Strike', the Mimosa (in Sanskrit, *Lajavati* or the Shamefaced one) had raised her head, and throwing off her bashfulness, was crying "Shame", "Shame", the Telegraph Plant (in Bengali, *Bou Chandra*), which spontaneously moves its leaves up and down, was shouting, 'Agitate', 'Agitate', the Lotus, on whom neither Lakshmi (the Goddess of Wealth) nor Saraswati (the Goddess of Knowledge) was any longer enthroned, was ruefully crying 'Bande Mātaram',



### The Poet's Latest Flight

By the courtesy of the artist Mr Gaganendranath Tagore

the Praying Palm of Haridpur disturbed in its devotions had opened its eyes Mr Frog had begun to harangue in the latest approved demagogic style Chānd (the Moon) had begun to ask for Chāndā or subscriptions whilst the Himalayan

peaks were looking on in placid and amused wonder

Mr Gaganendranath Tagore, the artist, saw and heard all this in imagination and transferred his vision to paper

### Other Cartoons

In an article entitled "An Evening with Rabinadrath Tagore," contributed to *Liberty*, Mr St Nihal Singh writes —

After dinner, when we adjourned to a small room to wait until the time arrived for Rabinadrath to ascend the platform to deliver his address I learned that he and his party were to go to the Continent by air. I asked him if that would be his first flight. Quick as a flash he replied that he had been flying all his life, but this would be his first of that sort. The latter part of his sentence was drowned in laughter.

It is curious that Mr Gaganendranath Tagore should have independently pictured the poet with his Ek tara (one stringed musical instrument) as flying, the Ek-tara looking on with wondering eyes, his fountain pen flying away with his piece nez thus depriving him of the means of discerning the gross Facts of the earth below, his manuscript book in flight, and *Young India*, the *Servant*, the *Englishman*, the *Patrika*, the *New Empire*, the *Statesman*, the *Indian Daily News*, the *Modern Review*, &c., perched on the nib of a fountain pen, trying with their telescopes to discover whether the poet was flying towards the region of co-operation or that of non-co-operation—all oblivious of the fact that he is a Poet who "had been flying all his life" and must not be pinned down to the prose of earthly politics!

In another cartoon, the same artist humorously characterizes the extravagant hopes entertained by some persons, of the power of the charka (the spinning wheel), which is pictured as soaring heavenwards, whilst everything else has neglected below. Art, Music, Poetry, Science, Hospitals, Colleges, Shipping, Telegraphs, Railways, Research, Radium, &c.,—all lie covered up with spider's webs.

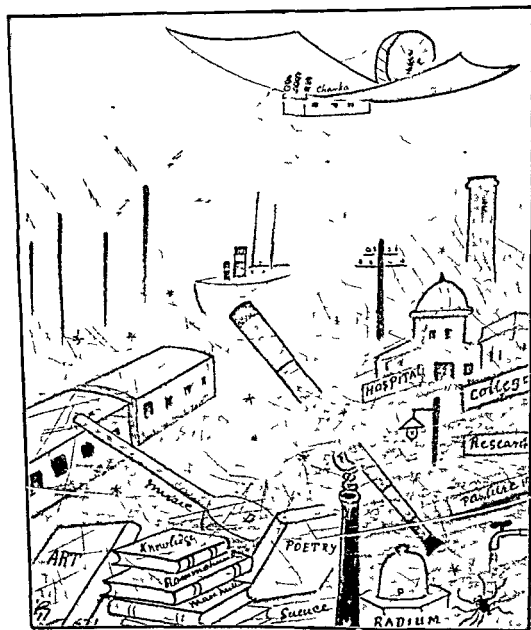
### Racial Inequality in India

On the topics of racial inequality and

racial humiliation in India Lord Reading delivered himself as follows in his Chelmsford Club speech —

I am minded to night to speak to you very briefly on certain propositions which I think are established beyond the possibility of doubt. The first is the fundamental principle of the British Rule in India. I suppose there is no one (there is no section of the British community, I am sure), who would dispute the proposition that here in India there can be no trace and must be no trace of racial inequality (Loud applause). No one can study the problems of India without realising at the outset that there is some suspicion and perhaps at the present moment some misunderstanding between us. Well, I am convinced that what ever may be thought by our Indian friends not present in this room (I do not refer to those present because they are conscious of the contrary) I say we do not for a moment indulge in any notions of racial superiority or predominance (Hear, hear). I think this is axiomatic of the British Rule, although I am perfectly prepared to admit that there may be undoubtedly certain questions with which I am striving to make myself familiar in which there will be an opportunity for putting this equality on a firmer basis than at present exists (Loud applause), and as a corollary scientifically considered, it is not a separate proposition and I am sure that it will command from you as whole-hearted a support as the proposition which I have just enunciated. I say that there cannot be and must never be humiliation under the British Rule of any Indian because he is an Indian (Hear, hear).

This passage is wanting in straight forwardness and frankness. Circumlocution does not make for the utterance of the plain truth. "Here in India there can be no trace and must be no trace of racial inequality." What a funny and supremely absurd thing to say! There can be and there must be no trace of racial inequality—thanks for the "can" and the "must" but what has his lordship to say about the indisputable historical fact that during British rule there has always been and there still is a huge amount of racial inequality? And, supposing he has the desire to put an end to racial inequality, does he possess the power to make the words "can" and "must" correspond to the reality? We throw not. Racial inequality exists in the "constitution" and the statute laws of India and in the rules of appointment to



The Charka Versus Everything Else

By the courtesy of the artist Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.

the services. The Reformed constitution" provides that the times and measures of India's advance towards responsible government is to be determined by the British Parliament. Is that racial equa-

lity? Racial inequality exists in the rules and practices, fares and freight, of the railways and steamer services of India. Does Lord Reading possess both the will and the power to change the "constitu-

tion" and all these laws, rules, etc ? What is still more difficult is to insure equal treatment in the administration and application of laws and rules. It is entirely beyond Lord Reading's power to ensure equal administration of laws. The Indian Penal Code does not lay down that European murderers must not be hanged, or that other European criminals are not to be punished. But how many European murderers in India have been hanged ? And how many other European offenders against Indians are punished at all or adequately punished ? As for racial humiliation, Lord Reading must be superhumanly sanguine if he thinks that by his fiat or even by the fiat of his master His Majesty King George V, a state of things can be brought about corresponding in fact to the mere words, "there can not be and must never be humiliation under the British Rule of any Indian because he is an Indian." What is the use of indulging in pompous unrealities ? Every day, every hour of the day, there is and there has always been humiliation of Indians under the British Rule, because they are Indians.

The very words "equality in India under British rule" are a contradiction in terms. If we were equal to the Britishers, there would be no British rule in India, there would be only Indian rule in India. Or supposing there is to be a commonwealth comprising both India and Britain, there can be equality if there be Indian and British rule in India and British and Indian rule in Britain on perfectly equal terms. Has Lord Reading the power to abolish British rule in India and establish Indian rule here instead ? Or has he the power to establish a commonwealth, comprising both India and Britain, in which there is to be Indian and British rule in India and British and Indian rule in Britain on perfectly equal terms ? We can think of no other way of bringing about equality.

Lord Reading's speech itself contradicts his so-called fundamental principle of equality. Had Mr Gandhi been an Englishman, would Lord Reading have dared to refer to the origin of the interview with

Gandhi in the sneering and contemptuous way in which his lordship has chosen to refer to it ? During the last few years there have been many labour disputes and many interviews between labour leaders and members of the cabinet in England. There has sometimes been talk of conferences with Sinn Feiners, too, who are in actual revolt. Has any minister ever referred to such interviews or conferences in the way Lord Reading has done in his speech ? No. And that for the plain reason that an English navy or an English costermonger is known and felt to have equal status as a free man with any other free man, whereas, say what he will, Lord Reading's subliminal consciousness was full of the notion that even the greatest of Indians was not equal to the least of Englishmen and could be spoken of with scant courtesy.

"There cannot be and must never be humiliation under the British Rule of any Indian because he is an Indian." Apart from countless instances of humiliation of individual Indians, can there be a greater humiliation for the whole Indian nation and therefore of every individual Indian than that India is under *an Indian* rule ? And we deserve this humiliation. So long as we are unmanly, selfish, weak, unbrotherly, without love of freedom, pleasure seeking, undutiful, unmethodical, and disorganized, no earthly or unearthly power can prevent our humiliation. Our honour and our self respect can be in our keeping alone. So long as we put up with individual or national insult or humiliation we shall continue to be humiliated.

Even political independence cannot make us the equals of the Western peoples and the Japanese in certain respects. We must make adequate progress in the acquisition of knowledge, we must make adequate progress in literature and the fine arts, in mechanical invention and application, in science, philosophy and history, before we can claim equality with them.

Mr. Gandhi's recent programme  
Mr Gandhi's recent programme has our hearty support

It is clearly, as follows (1) removal of untouchability, (2) removal of the drink curse (3) ceaseless introduction of the spinning wheel and the ceaseless production of khaddar leading to an almost complete boycott of foreign cloth, (4) registration of Congress members and (5) collection of Tilak Swaraj Fund

"No fierce propaganda is necessary," says Mr Gandhi, "for solidifying Hindu Muslim unity and producing a still more non violent atmosphere." No propaganda of a political character, fierce or mild, can produce Hindu Muslim unity. It can result only with the gradual and increased spiritualizing and liberalizing of the religious sentiment and the dying out of social prejudice and notions of ceremonial purity and untouchability.

We are perfectly at one with Mr Gandhi when he says

I have put untouchability in the forefront because I observe a certain remissness about it. Hindu non-co-operators may not be indifferent about it. We may be able to right the khilafat wrong but we can never reach Swaraj with the poison of untouchability corroding the Hindu part of the national body. Swaraj is a meaningless term, if we desire to keep a fifth of India under perpetual subjection and deliberately deny to them the fruits of national culture. We are seeking the aid of God in this great purification movement, but we deny to the most deserving among His creatures the rights of humanity. Inhuman ourselves we may not plead before the Throne for deliverance from the inhumanity of others.

Non-co operators should understand that the abolition of untouchability can not be brought about by occasionally embracing one or more sweepers. There must be a thorough change of heart in us. There is no untouchability in the Hindu sense in any Western country, so far as we are aware, and that should be the case in India, too. If Mr Gandhi would kindly mention in detail in what respects he would expect non-co-operators to accord brotherly and equal treatment to the untouchables where at present it is unbromtherly and humiliating, it would be of great help to willing non-co-operators.

I put drink second as I feel that God has sent the movement to us unsought. The greatest storm rages round it. The drink movement is fraught with the greatest danger of violence. But so long as this Government persists in keeping the drink shops open, so long must we per-

sist in sleeplessly warning our erring countrymen against polluting their lips with drink.

Here also we agree. Only we would add other intoxicants, like ganja, opium, etc., as things to be shunned.

The third place is assigned to the spinning wheel, though for me it is equally important with the first two. If we produce an effective boycott of foreign cloth during this year, we shall have shown cohesion, effort, concentration, earnestness, a spirit of nationality that must enable us to establish Swaraj.

We agree that the spinning wheel should be introduced throughout India. But we do not think that the introduction of the spinning wheel is a moral or spiritual obligation like the disregard of the inhuman practice of untouchability or even like total abstinence. If there is to be effective boycott of foreign cloth, handlooms should also be multiplied and used along with spinning wheels.

Membership of the Congress should also be increased and contributions made to and collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

### "Producing" Martyrs.

Young India of April 13, 1921, contained the report of a reply which Mr Gandhi gave to a question put to him in a public meeting at Orissa, in which is to be found the following question alleged to have been asked by Mr Gandhi: "Has Ram Mohan produced a single martyr of the type of Dulip Singh?" We have been informed that the Dulip Singh referred to here died at the Nankana Sahib temple massacre. Leaving aside this solitary and exceptional case and not discussing the sense in which he has undergone martyrdom, we shall proceed to discuss the general question of possibility of religious martyrdom in British India.

"Martyr" is defined in Webster's Dictionary primarily as "one who voluntarily suffered death as the penalty of refusing to renounce his religion or a tenet, principle, or practice belonging to it, one who is put to death for his religion," as Stephen was the first Christian martyr—a title of honor among the early Christians. Rammohan's life was comprised within the limits of the Indian history, and his

have lived under British rule. During this period it has not been the rule or the practice to ask any body to renounce his religion or a tenet principle or practice belonging to it on penalty of death, during the British period men are not put to death for their religion. Therefore religious martyrdom in the sense given in Webster is out of the question in India during the British period.

In the report from which we have quoted above Chaitanya Sankar, Kabir and Nanak are spoken of as grunts. The question asked about Rammohun was probably meant to indicate one of the things in which he was inferior to Nanak. It is to be noted that among the followers of Chaitanya Sankar and Kabir there have not been such martyrs as among the followers of Nanak,—history tells us why. Moreover during the British period, we are not aware that there have been even among the Sikhs any glorious martyrs like those who were in previous centuries put to death for their religion or who voluntarily suffered death as the penalty of refusing to renounce their religion. Rammohun then is not the only Indian religious reformer who has failed to produce martyrs in this sense.

### Influence on the masses

*Young India* of April 13 contains the following sentence. Rammohun and Tilak (leave aside my case) were so many pygmies who had no hold upon the people compared with Chaitanya Sankar, Kabir and Nanak. Again in *Young India* of the 27th April we find the following 'the effect of Rammohun and Tilak on the masses is not so permanent and far reaching as that of the others more fortunately born.

We may be permitted to point out that in estimating the worth of a man's personality, thought and career, his influence on leading men as well as on the masses should be considered. If that be conceded it may be found that Rammohun's influence on many of the greatest of modern Indians having been great his influence on the age may be considered somewhat

higher than Mr. Gandhi's dicta would lead one to suppose.

Moreover in the spread of a man's influence time is a great factor, and Rammohun's influence has not had as much time to spread as that of the great Indians named by Mr. Gandhi. Gustave Le Bon writes in his standard work on 'The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind'—

A long time is necessary for ideas to establish themselves in the minds of crowds. For this reason crowds as far as ideas are concerned are always several generations behind learned men and philosophers.—P. 72-73

Even when an idea has undergone the transformations which render it accessible to crowds it only exerts influence when by various processes which we shall examine hereafter it has entered the domain of the unconscious when indeed it has become a sentiment for which much time is required.—P. 71

The author has told us, what kind of transformation an idea requires to undergo to render it accessible to the multitude, in the following passage—

Ideas being only accessible to crowds after having assumed a very simple shape must often undergo the most thoroughgoing transformation to become popular. It is especially when we are dealing with somewhat lofty philosophic or scientific ideas that we see how far-reaching are the modifications they require in order to lower them to the level of the intelligence of crowds. These modifications are dependent on the nature of the crowds or of the race to which the crowds belong. But their tendency is always belittling and in the direction of simplification. However great or true an idea may have been to begin with it is deprived of almost all that which constituted its elevation and greatness by the mere fact that it has come within the intellectual range of crowds and exerts an influence upon them.—Pp. 70-71

Another observation of the author may help us to understand why certain opinions obtain general acceptance whilst others may not so easily do so.

The ease with which certain opinions obtain general acceptance results more especially from the impossibility experienced by the majority of men of forming an opinion peculiar to themselves and based on reasoning of their own.—P. 75

We quote in conclusion the following passage from Gustave Le Bon's book to show that some great men may be so much in advance of their age as to be

without influence upon it, though whether Rammohun was such a great man may be left to be decided by each reader for himself.

'At every period there exists a small number of individualities which react upon the remainder and are imitated by the unconscious mass. It is needful, however, that these individualities should not be in too pronounced disagreement with received ideas. Were they so to imitate them would be too difficult and their influence would be nil. For this very reason men who are too superior to their epoch are generally without influence upon it.' Pp 144-5

### Rammohun's Education.

*Young India* of April 13, 1921, contains the following sentences with regard to the system of English education, introduced and maintained by Government in India and the education received by "Tilak and Rammohun" —

*The system of education is an unmitigated evil. I put my best energy to destroy that system. I don't say that we have got as yet any advantage from the system. The advantages we have so far got, are in spite of the system not because of the system. Supposing the English were not here, India would have marched with other parts of the world, and even if it continued to be under Moghal rule, many people would learn English as a language and a literature. The present system enslaves us without allowing a discriminating use of English literature.*

Tilak and Ram Mohan would have been far greater men if they had not had the contagion of English learning (clapping). I am opposed to make a fetish of English education. I don't hate English education. When I want to destroy the Government I don't want to destroy the English language but read English as an Indian nationalist would do.

It is my conviction that if Ram Mohan and Tilak had not received this education but had their natural training they would have done greater things like Chaitanya.

*Young India* of April 27th contained the following sentences —

It is my considered opinion that English education in the manner it has been given has emasculated the English-educated Indian. It has put a severe strain upon the Indian students' nervous energy, and has made of us imitators. The process of displacing the vernacular has been one of the saddest chapters in the British connection. Rammohun Rai would have been a greater reformer and Lokmanya Tilak would have been a greater scholar if they had not to start with the handicap of

having to think in English and transmit their thoughts chiefly in English. Their effect on their own people, marvelous as it was, would have been greater if they had been brought up under a less unnatural system. No doubt they both gained from their knowledge of the riches of English literature. But these should have been accessible to them through their own vernaculars. No country can become a nation by producing a race of translators. Think of what would have happened to the English if they had no authorized version of the Bible.

Judged by the obstacles they had to surmount they were giants, and both would have been greater in achieving results if they had not been handicapped by the system under which they received their training. The system of education is its (Government's) most defective part.

From the extracts given above, and particularly from the words we have italicised it will be clear that Mr. Gandhi is not opposed to learning English and acquiring 'knowledge of the rich treasures of English literature' so much as he is opposed to the prevalent system of English education. He reads English as an Indian nationalist would do.

His mistake has been to think and speak as if Rammohun and Tilak received the same kind of education according to the same system. That is not so. When Rammohun received his education, the official system of education now prevalent in India did not exist, whereas Tilak received his education under this system. Rammohun and Tilak, therefore, were not brought up under the same "unnatural system." Though Rammohun was not a product of the modern system, some, not Mr. Gandhi, blame him on the supposition that he was one of the originators of the system. That also is not true. He founded and maintained a Sanskrit seminary known as the Vedanta College and at the same time advocated the learning and teaching of English and modern science, &c. For the present day system he was not responsible.

Mr. Gandhi says that Rammohun and Tilak had 'to start with the handicap of having to think in English and transmit their thoughts chiefly in English.' We are not sufficiently acquainted with the early life of Tilak to be able



to say whether this is true of him; but of Rammohun it is not true. He had not to start with the handicap of having to think in English. He commenced, of his own accord, the study of English at the age of 24, "which not pursuing with application", he, "five years afterwards", "could merely speak it well enough to be understood upon the most common topics of discourse." It was later that he mastered the English language. His early education has been thus described by his biographer Miss S. D. Collet —

"After completing his school course of Bengali education, he took up the study of Persian (then the Court language throughout India), and soon became fascinated by the mystic poetry and philosophy of the Persian Sôfis, for which he retained an ardent attachment throughout his life. He was next sent to Patna to learn Arabic, and (it is said, by his mother's desire) to Benares to learn Sanskrit. At Patna his masters set him to study Arabic translations from Euclid and Aristotle, and he then also made acquaintance with the Koran."

So he had not to start with the handicap of having to think in English. It is stated in his autobiographical letter: "When about the age of sixteen, I composed a manuscript calling in question the validity of the idolatrous system of the Hindoos." As this was done eight years before he began to learn English, it is clear that he did not begin his thinking in English. This manuscript must have been composed either in Bengali or in Persian, most probably by former. Of his extant works, the earliest is in Persian with an Arabic preface; therein is mentioned another earlier work in Persian. The next work now available is *Translation into Bengali of the Vedanta Sutra*.

Mr. Gandhi says that Rammohun and Tilak had to "transmit their thoughts chiefly in English." Regarding Rammohun the facts are these: His collected Bengali works run to 817 pages crown octavo, and his collected English works run to 939 pages of the same size in smaller type, both published by the Panim Office, Allahabad. With regard to the English works, it is to be noted that his *Exposition of the Judicial*

*and Revenue Systems of India*, and his *Remarks on Settlement in India by Europeans*, occupy 92 pages; *Petitions against the Press Regulations* occupy 33 pages, *A Letter on English Education*, and *Anti-Suttee Petition* occupy 12 pages, *The Precepts of Jesus* (a compilation from the Bible) 63 pages, *Appeals to the Christian Public* 330 pages, *A Letter to Rev. H. Ware on the Prospects of Christianity* 12 pages, *Tytler Controversy* 22 pages; &c. All these were necessarily in English, just as many of Mr. Gandhi's writings and speeches, "meant for" non-Gujratis-speaking persons, are in English. When these English works of Rammohun are excepted, what remain, viz., 375 pages, are less in bulk than his Bengali works, and are in great part English translations meant for non-Bengalis, of what had already appeared in Bengali, just as most of Rabindranath Tagore's English works are translations from Bengali meant for non-Bengalis. Therefore, it is not a fact that Rammohun transmitted his thoughts chiefly in English.

Mr. Gandhi says that he reads English as a Nationalist should do. Rammohun read English, after attaining manhood, as a Nationalist and a cosmopolitan lover of humanity should do, voluntarily, not as a juvenile victim of an unnatural system is forced by circumstances to do.

Mr. Gandhi says that "the rich treasures of English literature" "should have been available to them (Rammohun and Tilak) through their own vernaculars." It was not Rammohun's fault that they were not so available to him. Moreover, he was the first Bengali, or at least one of the first Bengalis, to write Bengali text-books for students.

We do not understand what Mr. Gandhi drives at by saying, "I think of what would have happened to the English if they had not an authorized version of the Bible," immediately after observing: "No country can become a nation by producing a race of translators;" for the authorized version of the Bible is itself a translation, the work of many translators.

## Another, Indirect, Criticism of Rammohun

In Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar's article "Messages from France" in our last issue, 'the world' is made to say to Indians "Your Rammohun Roys had no alternative before them but to found English colleges and thus adopt the ways and means of making a foreign domination over you easy and perhaps permanent." That the foundation of English Colleges was a necessity, is admitted. But it is not stated or suggested what better step for the modernization of India to an adequate extent could have been taken in those days by a practical idealist and statesman like Rammohun than the advocacy of western learning along with the cultivation of the vernacular Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. Moreover things should not be mixed up. Rammohun was no doubt, in favour of founding English Colleges but it was no part of his idea to adopt the ways and means of making a foreign domination easy and perhaps permanent. On the contrary he was the first Indian in modern times who saw in his mind's eye the vision of an India politically independent and the *Enlightener of Asia*. Miss Collet writes "Nor is the Rajah in the slightest degree indisposed to contemplate the prospect of India as a nation politically independent. In any case he evidently desires to accept as her destiny the sublime role of the *Enlightener of Asia*." The italics are hers.

## The Coming Visit of the Prince of Wales

We do not contemplate with pleasure the coming visit of the Prince of Wales. There is no personal enmity between him and the people of India. But as a public man he can do us no good. Plenty of such platitudes as are uttered on such occasions can only serve to hide the reality. The visit is sure to impoverish the princes, people and public treasury of India to the extent of millions without any corresponding good accruing to us. The Ruling Princes have no moral right to waste their wealth, which is derived from their subjects and ought to be spent for their welfare

alone, which requires immense expenditure. Moreover, the Prince will be everywhere so surrounded by officials and such non-officials as will be allowed to approach him and the whole environment will be made so gorgeous that he will carry away a very unreal impression of India.

The recently published *Life and Letters of Toru Dutt* contains a letter written by her in which there is a reference to the lavish expenditure incurred on the occasion of the visit of the late King Edward VII when he was the Prince of Wales.

He [the Maharajah of Cashmere] has given a great many very valuable presents to the Prince amongst which are a hundred and one Cashmere shawls of the best material and the most cunning workmanship, a hooka of gold set with diamonds and precious stones, a gold tea service, a gold dinner service, a silver bedstead, a tent of Cashmere workmanship with silver posts, and I do not remember the others besides presents for the Princess. The Prince is now in Lucknow at Benares a rich Zemindar presented to him a crown worth six lakhs of rupees. —Letter dated January 13 1876 to Miss Mary Martin page 1-1 *Life and Letters of Toru Dutt* (Humphrey Milford Oxford 1921).

## Greek Atrocities

There is nothing unusual in the two following Reuter's telegrams —

London June 8

In the House of Commons replying to Commander Kenworthy Mr. Ramsworth stated that the report of the Allied Commission of Enquiry into the alleged Greek excesses against Moslems in the district of Yalova in Asia Minor had substantiated the fact that grave excesses had occurred and that representations had been made to the Greek Government in this connection — Reuter.

London June 9

In the House of Commons Mr. Chamberlain said that the Government was not convinced of the advisability of publishing the report of the International Commission of Investigation into Greek atrocities against the Turkish population of Yalova until it consulted the other Governments represented on the Commission — Reuter.

The atrocities are admitted but the report of the Commission may be buried. What would have been done if the Turks had committed these atrocities?

## For the Higher Education of Women

The following paragraph, taken from the *Indian Witness*, should prove interesting —

Our Union Christian Colleges for women in India, China and Japan were represented in the Christmas asking of \$1,000,000. The amount actually needed to place them on an efficient basis was \$2,800,000 of which sum \$700,000 have been pledged. Now comes the gratifying news that the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund will contribute one dollar for every two dollars subscribed toward the total goal and that \$350,000 have been added to the \$700,000 already pledged while the offer remains open until January 1st 1923. The Women's Christian College Madras, the Isabella Thoburn College Lucknow and the Union Missionary Medical School for Women Vellore India should each receive the sum of \$200,000. The other institutions sharing in this group are the Women's Christian College Tokio, Japan, the Ching College Nanking and the Women's College of Peking University Peking, China. We rejoice in this splendid impetus to the work of these institutions.

No doubt, the main object of Christian educational agencies is proselytization, which Christian missionaries themselves rightly enough openly avow. This object non-Christians, rightly again, do not like. But the question is what are the non-Christians doing to provide their girls and women with the education, the provision of which gives the missionaries opportunities for converting them?

## The Imperial Conference

Before the commencement of the sittings of the Conference Reuter informed us —

The utterances of Messrs Massey and Hughes indicate that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in which Canada is much interested will be one of the chief topics at the Conference involving as it does the whole question of Imperial defence, Anglo-American relations and the whole Empire policy. On the other hand Indian representatives profess their indifference to the Alliance except as it affects India's defence and this was emphasised by the Maharao of Cutch yesterday and by Mr. Sastri who in an interview to-day declared that the question which affected India was not the Empire defence, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance nor foreign policy, but equal rights of Indians within the Empire on an equitable settlement of which the future of India might depend.

We are of the same opinion.

In the British House of Commons there was a long debate on the agenda of the Conference.

Sir John Lees said he rejoiced at the prospects of justice being done to India's natural aspirations for equal rights at the Conference.

But when would that justice be actually done?

Mr. Bennett declared that India did not like the idea of a treaty in which Japan had to be depended upon to come to the help or to the defence of India. He recognised the delicacy of the problem concerning Indian settlement in other parts of the world.

India would like still less a stipulation that Japan would help Britain to put down an Indian rebellion, if and when it happened. We find that was also the view of Col. Wedgwood.

During the course of the debate Col. Wedgwood said there was strong objection in India to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in the present form and he hoped that they would delete from the Treaty all reference to Japan assisting us in the event of a rebellion in India. Col. Wedgwood hoped that the Conference would grant equal status to all Indians so that all British citizens should have equal rights.

Passing on we read —

Commander Bellairs (reviewing Japan's wonderful progress) said that she was deserving of the world's greatest respect, but Britons were very averse to an alliance with a nation pursuing militarist ambitions.

But do not the British themselves pursue militarist ambitions? Have they not done so in the past more than any other modern nation? If at present they do not to the same extent it is because they have "mandates" to fall back upon, or because they have occupied so much territory already that there is no more territory left to occupy without rousing the anger of some other powerful nation.

Mr. Ben Spoor attributed the more composed state of affairs in India to the presence of Lord Reading and he expressed the hope that Lord Reading was going to win the confidence of Indians. Nevertheless Mr. Ben Spoor expressed the opinion that the disturbed state of India was partly due to the position of the Asiatics in other parts of the world.

He described the widely conflicting opinion in the evidence before the Committee which was considering the question of Indians in East Africa regarding the Indian's presence or status.

He declared the position in East Africa was having a serious effect in India. He, like other speakers, referred to the distinguished character of India's representatives at the Conference and he concluded by expressing the hope that the Conference would be swayed by considerations of principle and not of expediency.

So the state of India is both "more composed" and "disturbed!"

We do not see how Lord Reading has helped to produce a "more composed state of affairs in India," and we do not find any signs of his "going to win the confidence of Indians."

Mr. Ben Spoor was right in attributing the disturbed state of India partly to the position of the Asiatics in other parts of the world. He was also right as regards the question of Indians in East Africa. As for "India's representatives," the Rt. Hon. C. F. G. Masterman more correctly observes:—

The sensational new advance in this particular conference is the admission of representatives from India. It is nothing like so great as it appears, for the real delegation is the Secretary for India, with certain assessors, and the Secretary of India has no more real voice in the opinion of India than he has in the other side of the moon. There is no more real representation than if the heads of the various Departments in the Colonial Office assembled together with various obscure individuals behind them, and were called the Colonial Conference. Nevertheless, it is a very real advance and in the right direction, for it means that sooner or later India, as an integral part of the British Empire, will be choosing her own representative in the future.

Mr. Masterman has spoiled his plain speaking, by adding a "Nevertheless." There will be "a very real advance" only when India does choose her own representatives, not before. We have no desire to congratulate ourselves upon a fiction having been foisted upon us as a reality on the assumption that the reality is sure to arrive some day or other.

Mr. Cockerill insisted that equality of status within the empire, which he and others did not challenge, carried equality in the burden of responsibilities.

If this remark has any reference to India, we are prepared to bear our share of naval and military expenditure on the equitable conditions that the

number of naval and military officers of Indian race should be proportionate to that share, that Indians should be trained and allowed to manufacture munitions in their own factories in India proportionate to that share, and that Indians should be trained and allowed to build a number of war vessels in their yards in India proportionate to that share and to man them themselves.

Mr. Chamberlain said in the course of his reply:—

Imperial gatherings were no longer a rare accident. We found all members absolutely equally recognised and India sitting on terms of equality, which, in itself, was no small an achievement.

What is the meaning of "absolutely equally recognised," when Indians have not got the right to choose their representatives, and therefore there are no real representatives of Indians? It was only a piece of political hypocrisy to say that India was sitting on terms of equality.

### The Imperial Cabinet

In his speech at the opening of the Imperial Conference Mr. Lloyd George said:—

No greater calamity could overtake the world than a further accentuation of the world's divisions upon racial lines. The British Empire had done signal service to humanity in bridging these divisions in the past. Failure in that duty would not merely greatly increase the dangers of an International War but it would divide the British Empire against itself. Our Foreign policy could never range itself upon differences of race, civilisation or between the East and the West. It would be fatal to the Empire. We looked confidently to the Government and the people of the United States for sympathy and understanding in this respect.

Has the British Empire bridged divisions upon racial lines within its own boundaries? No. We Indians know that we are still treated as outcasts by the self-governing dominions,—in Canada, Australia, Africa, &c. Why then all this hypocritical hyperbole? British "Foreign policy" may not "range itself upon differences of race, civilisation or between the East and the West"; but what is the Domestic policy within the Empire? Foreign

kingdom but to every self governing domain on earth

### Big Donation to Tilak Swaraj Fund

By contributing the sum of two lakhs of rupees to the Tilak Swaraj Fund, Srijut Anandilal Poddar of Marwari Bazar Bombay has set a noble patriotic example which other rich men should follow.

### Dante's Influence

The six hundredth anniversary of Dante's death falls this year. According to *Current Opinion*

His influence upon the world and its whole mass of thought and taste has been and is distinct and immense.

His *Divine Comedy* is now archaic since the kind of hell, purgatory and heaven he depicted are interesting only for the picturesqueness and not because anybody is frightened or lured thereby.

But his weight upon us is felt not so much in his fancies of a future life as in his attitude toward woman.

He is perhaps the first great exponent of romantic affection. His extravagant dedication of his early love for Beatrice as depicted in his major poem but more especially in his *Vita Nuova* gave vogue to letters to the power of romance to deal with life.

The world to-day is full of love stories and we do not realize how comparatively modern the theme is.

The first awakening of the sexual instinct is the period of life's keenest susceptibility to ideals. Our first love is usually the highest peak of chivalry and nobility.

Dante glorified this and had much to do with setting the fashion followed by the poets and tale-tellers of the era of knighthood and on down even to the latest popular novel or movie which interests us by the adventures of the boy and girl blooming into mutual affection.

The only sanctness in sex is to devalue it to touch and lift the passions so that out of the mud of materialism shall spring the life of spiritual aspiration and loyalty.

Dante is the greatest of prophets in this realm. He has done more than any other to make in Christendom this powerful emotion beautiful and helpful which in other lands and other days has tended to become sensualizing and a source of weakness.

### The Press Committee

We have been told by a former student of ours that a few persons wish to know why the editor of this Review did not appear before the Press Committee at Simla as a witness. We did not think that the reasons why a private individual unconnected with any public movement did not give evidence before

an official committee were a matter of sufficient public importance to be stated publicly. However, as a few gentlemen want to know we have no objection to tell them. The first reason is we are morally afraid of appearing as a witness anywhere whether before officials or before camouflaged non-officials. The second reason is our principle of Non-cooperation with Government stood in the way. What added to our disinclination to appear as a witness before the Committee was that if in addition to the general invitation to all and sundry to give evidence it was thought necessary to invite some witnesses particularly by name all such should have been invited at the same time without some being invited first and others afterwards. Courtesy should have suggested the simultaneous invitation of all such persons.

Our opinion on the press laws has been publicly stated more than once. They are a personal insult to all journalists and printers. No special punitive or restrictive legislation affecting the public press is necessary. The ordinary penal law is quite sufficient for all civilised purposes. Ordinary registration before a Registrar of all printing presses and publications is quite sufficient for the purposes of identification and keeping watch.

### For the Famished and the Naked

Not a year passes when we have not to publish appeals for the relief of the famished and the naked in some province or district or other. It is now our painful duty to call attention to the appeal published in the papers by Professor Sir P. C. Ray for help to relieve the distress in his native district of Khulna. In some parts people are suffering from great scarcity or even absolute want of even the coarsest kinds of food. Some deaths from starvation have been reported and many women cannot come out of their houses because of want of clothing. Help is urgently needed and should be sent to Sir P. C. Ray, 92 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

### Vocational Education

We are greatly interested in the success

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## THE OPPRESSION OF THE POOR

WHEN I was asked the question a short time ago—'What is the central problem of India to-day?' the answer that came to my lips without a moment's hesitation was this—

The oppression of the poor

I have just come out of the furnace of affliction at Chandpur where in a cholera encampment we were forced to see day after day the misery of our brothers and sisters and their little children the refugees from Assam. If this article bears upon its surface the marks of the fire that burnt within us I know that I shall be pardoned by all those who read my words with understanding hearts. For I cannot at such a time keep a judicial aloofness from my subject. I must put down just that which is in my mind. This article is written soon after the occurrence with the vision of the scene itself still in front of me and with all the recent suffering still vividly present before me. I can picture it while I am writing. What we have just been through cannot be forgotten easily and lightly. I am giving hot memories not cold calculated thoughts—memories that still burn even while I put them down in this Shantiniketan Ashram where all around me is smiling with peace in the pure joy of the fresh monsoon rains and where nature herself is rejoicing in the beauty of new life.

The story has been already told how the refugees came down from the tea gardens of Assam emaciated beyond description, with stark hunger looking out of their eyes, with scarcely sufficient rags to cover their own nakedness, with little children who could hardly stand their

legs were so thin with babies pinched by hunger seeking in vain to draw nourishment from their mothers' breasts. I have seen in my sights of misery and destitution before—in a sense my life has been full of such sights for I have lived and worked among the poor. But I have never seen such utter misery as I saw among these refugees when I met them on the railway platform at Naihati first of all and then afterwards at Chandpur itself. What was the actual origin of their exodus has still to be investigated. But one thing at least was evident from first to last as we went in and out among them. In their destitution they were miserable beyond description. Misery was the spur which had goaded them forward on their journey. They had one hope left to which they clung with a pathos that was as great as their suffering itself. It was the hope that through Mahatma Gandhi deliverance would come from all their burden of sorrow and affliction.

We watched each day these poor refugees from Assam in the cholera encampments on both sides of the river channel. We saw the courage that sustained them. We noticed how their spirits were kept up during those long-drawn days of disappointment by this hope which I have mentioned. To the men who were refugees it gave patience and endurance. To the women it was like a passion of the soul and they were able to enkindle something of their enthusiasm even in their little children. The national volunteers who worked among them used to talk to one another with wonder about this. It was a true faith that raised the

scene above the commonplace, and touched it with spiritual beauty.

It is true, indeed, that Mahatma Gandhi himself has set his face firmly against any religious cult being originated in his name. He has repeatedly stated, that he is an ordinary man with no claim to supernatural powers, beyond those to which ordinary men may attain by trust in the supreme. But this devotion which we all witnessed at Chandpur, among these poor refugees, was rather the devotion to an idea than to a person. Mahatma Gandhi represented to them that idea, tinged with his own personality, and it filled their minds to the full. His name was the concrete symbol which expressed it. He was the embodiment to them of their ultimate deliverance from oppression.

I must tell, at some length, one story which touched my heart most deeply. As we made our voyage with the last contingent of refugees from Chandpur to Goalundo, I had been walking to and fro along the decks of the crowded steamer. We had left behind us for good, oh! how thankfully, the cholera camp with all its misery. There was a busy eagerness among the refugees and a hum of expectation. One slender figure on the upper deck had stirred my compassion each time I had lingered near him. He was a little boy, about twelve years old, who had recovered (so I was told) from cholera, but was still so weak and thin, that he had to be carried on board and to lie on the deck during the voyage. While I stood beside him, we happened to pass out of the midstream of the great river. The steamer came round a bend of the river quite close to the shore. Bright, healthy children on the bank were running along and shouting,—“Gandhi Maharaj ki jai! Gandhi Maharaj ki jai!”

I looked at the invalid child on deck. His face shone with excitement and he raised his head with great difficulty. Then he waved his hand to the children running along the bank, and cried in a voice that was pitifully weak,—“Gandhi Maharaj ki jai!”

Out of all the suffering and misery, which we have been through, the haunt-

ing face of that child still stands out before my mind. There was something in it, through all the weakness, that seemed to have conquered death. It carried a light within the soul, which the Upanishads have called, ‘the joy that is deathless.’ As I stood watching him, lying there on the deck and waving his hand, the tears came streaming from my eyes. I remembered the words of the great prayer,—

Asato ma sad gamaya,  
Tamaso ma jyotir gamaya,  
Mrityor mamritam gamaya, ....  
Avir, Avir, ma edhi.

“Lead me from untruth to truth; lead me from darkness to light; lead me from death to immortality. O thou Manifest One, be thou Manifest in me.”

The thought came like a flash to me, that here, in this child's faith, God himself was being revealed. Through all this suffering and pain, the words were finding their fulfilment,—“God manifests himself in forms of deathless joy.”

In the midst of all these scenes, the question was borne in upon my mind with great insistence,—“Is this that I have seen one of the signs of a new religious awakening throughout the length and breadth of India?” It has seemed to me, that there is much to day which points to a positive answer. The poor of India, who have been so terribly oppressed by governments and priestcrafts, by landowners and profiteers, have cried to God for deliverance. They are becoming more and more certain, that the hour of their freedom is at hand. During the past few months, it has been my own lot in life to travel over almost every part of the North of India, from East to West and from West to East,—to places as far distant from one another as Sindh and East Bengal. On these journeys, I have seen strange happenings and witnessed a new spirit. This new spirit, I am convinced, goes far deeper than the political movement of our times. It has its own initial impulse from the poor. Again and again, it has appeared to me to bear striking analogy to what we read in history concerning the fateful days before the French Revolution, when the

oppressed peasantry of France awoke to the new idea of the equality and brotherhood of Man

Let me try to put my thought more concretely, even at the risk of repetition. The one thing that has impressed itself upon my mind and heart lately more than any other is this. The countless millions of the poor in India are all astir. They are coming forth out of their long dark night of ignorance and oppression. They have symbolised their yearning for deliverance in the person of Mahatma Gandhi. Pitifully, eagerly, pathetically and sometimes almost tragically they have placed their all—their destiny, their hopes, their aims, their very life itself—in his keeping. They are quite firm in their faith that he alone can bring deliverance. This is not happening in one place only. Time after time recently, I have been in the company of the poor and the outcast and the destitute, I have been to gatherings where the untouchables and others have flocked together in crowds to meet me and I have listened with intense pain to the story of their afflictions. They appear now everywhere to be taking their courage in both hands as they have never done before. The incidents with regard to oppression which they relate—with reference to forced labour and forced supplies and forced impositions by the police and subordinate officers and with reference also to the forced impositions of caste customs and caste restrictions equally tyrannical—have made my blood boil to hear. They have often exhibited an emotion which was almost violent in its urge upwards towards the surface. I have seen in it something of that *elan vital* of which Henri Bergson writes and have thanked God for it, even though it has not seldom startled me by its explosive energy. I do not think there can be any question that a flame has been kindled within and the fire has begun to burn. Again I would make reference to the days before the French Revolution as perhaps the closest analogy to what is happening before our very eyes in India to-day.

There is one picture which I may give by way of illustration. I was in Patna

Junction Railway Station on my way back from Gorakhpur late in the day, as the sun was setting behind a ridge of dark monsoon clouds with streaks of gold piercing through the gathering darkness. I was waiting quietly on the platform trying as best as I could to collect my thoughts while the evening was drawing to its close. Many persons had come to see me, and quiet was difficult at such a time and place. The porters and sweepers and others—whom the railway authorities call the menial staff—having heard of my arrival gathered round me in a body. They knew that I was a friend of Mahatma Gandhi and they welcomed me on that account.

At first they greeted me in silence with their uplifted hands placed together in an attitude of prayer. Then one of them who was in the forefront as their leader, cried out—Gandhi Mahary ki jai! It was not a conventional and joyal shout such as is often heard from processions that pass along the street. It was rather the solemn call of religion. A light came into the eyes and their hands continued to be uplifted in prayer to the end. It was like an act of evening worship.

After this they went back to their various duties on the railway. It was only a momentary flash that I had seen—a look, a gaze, a gesture—but it spoke to me at once of the same emotion which I had witnessed so many times before. It told me what depth of religious idealism there is in the hearts of the simple poor and that evening scene in Patna Station with the setting sun and the gathering darkness brought back with a strange power the memory of sunsets at Chandpur. For there at Chandpur again and again just as the sun was setting I had passed along the road and mingled with the groups of the Assam refugees sitting in dejection, and had seen the look of hope return to their eyes as they had raised the cry—

Gandhi Mahary ki jai!

The darkness of that despair at Chandpur had been broken with a golden light of hope even as those monsoon clouds which formed the background of the scene at Patna Station. However great might



be the sufferings of the poor, whether as the menial staff of a railway, or on the plantations, or elsewhere, life to them with a hidden emancipation, as they were now enthusiastically grasping, was at least a nobler thing than the dull monotony that went before with no hope, no faith to cheer them. The crust of the surface of their poverty-stricken existence had been broken. The waters of life from beneath the hard rock had gushed forth, and even if all should end in outward failure, who should say that it had been in vain?

How wonderful is this spring of freshness that ever wells up from the hearts of the poor! And withal, how tragic is their suffering! People have often spoken slightly of the poor, and called them the 'lower classes',—as though the uneducated were also the unrefined; as though the illiterate were also the unlearned. But it is not so in truth. There is a wisdom and a refinement, which come from the very suffering itself, which the poor have constantly to bear. Who are we to despise them? It was Christ himself who turned away from the luxurious cities of Capernaum and Bethsaida, and went directly to the oppressed peasants of Galilee and pronounced blessing upon them, rather than upon the rich. "Blessed," he said, "are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of heaven." Nay, further, Christ preferred even the company of the publicans and sinners, with their open vices, to the society of the wealthy Scribes and Pharisees, with their cloak of self-righteousness. For the very vices of those who are the outcast of society are on the surface, and they suffer punishment often beyond their deserving. But the vices of the wealthy are glozed over with all kinds of soothing palliatives, and therefore in this life they rarely suffer for their vices to the full.

Thus, there is always a fertile soil in the heart of the poor, which is ready to receive the good seed and to make it fruitful. A religious faith, that is able to strike its roots deep in this soil, is far more likely to flourish than some respectable and artificial creed, which owes its

origin to conventionally-educated mankind. It is Mahatma Gandhi's fellow-suffering with the suffering poor; his fellow-poverty with the poverty-stricken poor; his fellow-hardship with the hardship-bearing poor, which has endeared him to their hearts. It is this which has won from them an instinctive reverence for his goodness. It is this, which has made them flock to him from every country-side wherever he goes. It is this, which has made them follow his simple precepts, so that, in a few short months, intoxicating drink and drugs have marvellously decreased. It is this, which has caused a new hope to be born in millions of hearts, where before reigned only the blank apathy of despair.

What does this all mean? What will happen, if the signs which I have been trying to read are true?

There is a grim story about the French Revolution, which, if my memory serves, is told by Carlyle,—how the encyclopedists and the state record-keepers were busily absorbed in their files, when the Revolution burst upon them. They were told by the revolutionaries that, if they did not side with the poor, their "skins should form the parchments for the next records"—I do not believe, that the religious and social revolution in India, which is now so close upon us, will be violent in its character like the French Revolution. There is an innate love of peace in India which is not present in any other country. It is not in vain that the teaching of the Buddha permeated India for more than a thousand years. But, while there may be no ultimate appeal to force and force alone, yet the misery of the conflict will be terrible indeed, if the present almost complete aloofness of the officials from the common people continues, and if these same officials set themselves in final opposition to those whose lives are lived among the people and who suffer with the people.

I can well remember the year 1907, in the Punjab, and the popular disturbances of that year. At a most critical time, I implored an official to do some very simple thing in order to come in touch with the people. He turned to me sharply and said,

—"Look at those files" I told him Carlyle's story about the French Revolution that I have just mentioned

There has been no sign of any change for the better from that time to this. Rather, the heap of official files has grown greater. The mountain tops are still regarded as necessary for health and comfort. The foreign character of the Government is becoming still more foreign, in spite of the reforms and the added Indian members. This, at least, has been my own experience at Chandpur, where a crucial test was applied and the failure of Government to meet the test was manifest.

But I would go still further in recalling the bitterness of my experience. The English education which the country has been receiving, has created a gulf between the 'classes' and the 'masses', which is almost as wide as that between the Government and the poor. If Government's recent action, when tried in the balance, has been found wanting, there has been much also that has been found wanting among those who have received to the full their English education, but, while obtaining it, have shamefully neglected the poor. The truth is, and it cannot be too clearly stated, the English mode of life, with its motor car comforts, continually prevents the educated Indian, just as much as it does the educated Englishman, from coming into close and intimate contact with the poor of India.

Mahatma Gandhi has written in 'Young India' the following words—"The fact is that it is impossible for any Viceroy to see the truth, living as he does on the mountain tops seven months in the year and in complete isolation. Even when he lives on the plains. ... with the big 'business house' of Government in Simla and the growing millions on the plains, there is a solid dead rock; and even the piercing cry of the feeble millions is broken into nothingness, as it heaves up to the mountain top from the plains." That is true of Darjeeling as well as Simla.

In the same copy of 'Young India,' we have a letter from Mr. Abbas Tyabji showing how the abandonment of the life-long habits formed by an almost

purely English education and the taking to 'khaddar' had brought Mr. Abbas Tyabji himself close to the heart of the poor.

"I assure you," he writes, "you need not have the slightest anxiety about my health. The 'khaddar,' adopted at Berwada, has made me twenty years younger. What an experience I am having! Everywhere I am received most cordially and affectionately, even by the women of the villages. ... Some of our workers are lacking in 'go'. I suppose they represent the very respectable class, to which I have ceased to belong. Good heavens! What an experience! I have so much love and affection from the common folk to whom it is now an honour to belong. It is this *sikri's* dress, which has broken down all barriers. Now, men and women meet me, as I would have them meet me. If I had only known, years ago, how the *fenta*, the *sari* the *angarakha*, the boots and stockings, separated me from my poorer brethren."

I would go one step further still. The inhuman restrictions which have grown up, along with the caste system, especially with regard to untouchability, have also placed a barrier between the higher castes and the poorest of the poor, which is no less a disgrace to mankind, than the separation between the 'classes' and the 'masses'. If I have burnt with indignation at the action of the Gurkha soldiers, who were turned out to beat and wound defenceless and sickly refugees by Government officials, I have also burnt with indignation no less deep at the wrongs done to my own Indian brothers and sisters by those, who have beaten and wounded the souls of the poor through 'branding' them with the curse of untouchability. I write with shame as a Christian, as well as a humanitarian, because I have found out, after careful enquiry, that in the South of India my own Christian brothers and sisters are not seldom treated in this manner by Christians, who keep caste, even as my brothers and sisters among the Hindus are treated by high caste Hindus.

I have written from a very full heart. What I have here stated in writing has been pent up in my mind for many weeks,

some of it for many years. At the conclusion of this article, I repeat with all the emphasis I can command, what I wrote

at the beginning, *The central problem of India to-day is the oppression of the poor!*

Shantiniketan.

C. F. ANDREWS.

## THE TANTRAS AND RELIGION OF THE SHAKTAS

By DR. M. WINTERNITZ.

[What follows this bracket is a translation, done in literal fashion, from the German, of an article by the Sanskritist, Professor Winternitz, entitled "Die Tantras und die Religion der Saktas" published in the Berlin monthly the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1916, Heft 3. The article does not show a complete comprehension of its subject-matter, nor was this to be expected. In European fashion Sadhaka is translated "Magician" and Sadhana is thought of as "magical evocation" and Mahayogini as "Great Magician." This is the more unfortunate as the Professor evidently does not like "magic". It is true that in Indrajavidya there is Sadhana to achieve its purposes, but what is of course meant is Sadhana in its religious sense. We hear again of "idolatry" though idolatry is not (in the sense in which those who make the charge use the word) to be found in any part of the world. Mantra is still "gibberish," "trash" and so on. After all, many of these matters are as much a question of temperament as argument. The mind which takes these views is like that of the Protestant who called the Catholic Mass "Hocus-Pocus." It is superstitious trash to him but a holy reality to the believer. Such criticism involves the fallacy of judging others from one's own subjective standpoint. Moreover not one man in thousands is capable of grasping the inner significance of this doctrine and for this reason it is kept secret nor does any writing reveal it to those without understanding. The learned professor has also, evidently no liking for "Occultism" and "Indian faddists" (Indiensschwärmern). But the former exists whether we like its facts or not. Nevertheless in reading this article one feels oneself in the presence of a mind which wills to be fair and is not to be stampeded from its position on hearing the frightful word

"Tantra." Several appreciations are just. Particularly noteworthy is the recognition that the Tantra Shastras or Agamas are not merely some pathological excrescence on "Hinduism" but simply one of its several presentations. Nor are they simply scriptures of the Shaktas. Their metaphysics and ethics are those of the common Brahmanism of which all the sects are offshoots, whatever be the special peculiarities in presentment of doctrine or in its application. Before this Professor Albert Grünwedel had said (in his "Der Weg Nach Sambhala", München 1915) "The Tantras are nothing but the continuation of the Veda" (Die Tantras sind eben die fortsetzung des Veda). He calls also the Tantras the "model-room" (Akt-saal) of Indian Art (the Aktsaal is a room in an Academy of Art in which casts are kept as models for the students). These Scriptures, he adds, "furnish the æsthetics and in fact we find that in the later books (of the Kalachakra) the whole figurative mythology (of that system) has been built up on this scheme. Whence this evolution of forms arises is indeed another question which will bring many a surprise to the friends of 'National Indian Art' (sic!) Talking is easier. The Jains too have such things." I may add that the fact that some Jains carry out some so-called "Tantrik rites" is not generally known. Valshnavas and Bauddhas also have these rites. Notions and practices generally charged to the Shaktas only are held and carried out by other sects. It is to be remembered also that there are many schools of Agama. Some of them state that other Agamas were promulgated "for the delusion of men." It is needless to add that, here as elsewhere, to the adherent of a particular Agama his particular scripture is good, and it is the scripture of his opponent which is "for delusion."

Orthodoxy is my doxy in India also amongst some sects Shakta liberalism (being Advaita Vedanta) find a place for all

It cannot therefore be said that the Agamas are wholly worthless and bad without involving all Hinduism in that charge. On the contrary the Professor discovers that behind the nonsense there may be a deep sense and that 'immorality' is not the end or aim of the Cult of the Mother.<sup>1</sup> He also holds that if the Tantrik Scriptures contain some things to which he and others take objection such things in no wise exhaust their contents. There is nothing wonderful about this discovery which anyone may make for himself by simply reading and understanding the documents but the wonder consists in this that it has not hitherto been thought necessary (where it has been possible) to read and understand the Tantra Shastras first and then to criticise them. All the greater then are our thanks to the learned Sanskritist for his share in this work of justice.—A V.]

**I**NDIA remains still the most important country on earth for the student of religion. In India we meet with all forms of religious thought and feeling which we find on earth and that not only at different times but also all together even to-day. Here we find the most primitive belief in ancestral spirits in demons and nature deities with a primeval imageless sacrificial cult. Here also is a polytheism passing all limits with the most riotous idolatry temple cult pilgrimages and so forth. And side by side with and beyond these crudest forms of religious life we find what is deepest and most abstract of what religious thinkers of all times have ever thought about the Deity the noblest pantheistic and the purest monotheistic conceptions. In India we also find a priestcraft as nowhere else on earth side by side with a religious tolerance which lets sect after sect with the most wonderful saints exist together. Here there were and still are forest recluses ascetics and mendicant monks to whom renunciation of this world is really and truly a matter of deepest sincerity and together with them hosts of idle mendicant monks vain fools and hypocrites to whom religion is only a cloak for selfish pursuits for the gratification of greed for money of greed for fame or the hankering after power.

From India also a powerful stream of religious ideas has poured forth over the West and especially over the East has flood

ed Central Asia, has spread over Tibet China Corea and Japan and has trickled through the further East down to the remotest islands of the East Indian Archipelago. And finally in India as well as outside India Indian religions have often mixed with Christianity and with Islam now giving and now taking.

Indeed sufficient reason exists to welcome every work which contributes in one way or other to a richer deeper or wider knowledge of Indian religion. I would like therefore to draw attention in what follows to some recently published works of this nature.

These are the exceedingly meritorious publications of Arthur Avalon with reference to the literature of the Tantras. Through these works we obtain for the first time a deeper insight into the literature of the Tantras the holy books of Shaktism and into the nature of this much abused religion itself. It is true that H. H. Wilson<sup>2</sup> in his essays on the religious sects of the Hindus which appeared from 1828 to 1832 has given a brief but relatively reliable and just exposition of this religion. M. Monier Williams<sup>3</sup> who has treated more fully of Shaktism worship of the Goddess and the contents of the Tantras, has only to tell terrible and horrible things. He describes the faith of the Shaktas of the worshippers of the feminine deities as a mixture of sanguinary sacrifices and orgies with wine and women. Similar is the picture of this sect presented by A. Barth<sup>4</sup> who on the one hand indeed admits that the Cult of the Mother is based on a deep meaning and that the Tantras are also full of theosophical and moral reflections and ascetic theories but is not thereby prevented from saying that the Shakta is nearly always a hypocrite and a superstitious debauchee even though many amongst the authors of the Tantras may have really believed that they were performing a sacred work.<sup>5</sup> R. G. Bhandarkar<sup>6</sup> to whom we owe the latest and most reliable exposition of Indian sectarianism happens in fact to deal with the Shaktas very summarily. Whereas the greater part of his excellent book deals with the religion of the Vaishnavas and with the sects of the Shaivas he only devotes a few pages to the sect of the Shaktas which evidently seems unimportant to him. He speaks however both about the metaphysical doctrines and about the cult of this sect with in every way the cool quiet objectivity of the historian. The exposition

is only a little too brief and meagre. So all the more are Avalon's books welcome.

The most valuable is the complete English translation of a Tantra, the Mahanirvana-Tantra,\* with an introduction of 146 pages which introduces us to the chief doctrines of the Shaktas and with the exceedingly complicated perhaps purposely confused terminology of the Tantras. If we have been accustomed up till the present, to see nothing else in Shaktism and in the Tantras the sacred books of this sect, than wild superstition, occult humbug, idiocy, empty magic and a cult with a most objectionable morality and distorted by orgies—then a glimpse at the text made accessible to us by Avalon teaches us that—all these things are indeed to be found in this religion and in its sacred texts but that by these their contents are nevertheless in no wise exhausted.

On the contrary we rather find that behind the nonsense there lies hidden after all much deep sense and that the immorality is not the end and aim of the cult of the Mother. We find that the mysticism of the Tantras has been built up on the basis of that mystic doctrine of the unity of the soul and of all with the Brahman, which is proclaimed in the oldest Upanishads and which belongs to the most profound speculations which the Indian spirit has imagined. This Brahman, however, the highest divine principle, is according to the doctrines of the Shakta philosophers no "nothing", but the eternal, primeval Energy (Shakti) out of which everything has been created, has originated, has been born. Shakti, "Energy", however, is not only grammatically feminine. Human experience teaches also that all life is born from the womb of the woman from the mother. Therefore the Indian thinkers from whom Shaktism has originated believed that the highest Deity the supremest creative principle should be brought nearest to the human mind not through the word "Father", but through the word "Mother". And all philosophical conceptions to which language has given a feminine gender, as well as all mythological figures which appear feminine in popular belief, become Goddesses, Divine Mothers. So, before all, there is Prakriti, taken from the Sangkhya philosophy, primeval matter, "Nature", who stands in contrast to Purusha the male spirit and is identical with Shakti. And this Shakti is, again, mythologically conceived as the spouse of

God Shiva Mahadeva, the "Great God". Mythology, however, knew already Uma or Parvati "the daughter of the Mountain", the daughter of the Himalaya, as the spouse of Shiva. And so Prakriti, Shakti, Uma, Parvati are ever one, and the same. They are only different names for the one great All-Mother, the Jaganmata "the mother of all the living". The Indian mind had been long since accustomed to see Unity in all Multiplicity. Just as one moon reflects itself in innumerable waters, so Devi, "the Goddess", by whatever other names she may be otherwise called, is the embodiment of all Gods and of all "energies" (Shaktis) of the Gods. Within her is Brahma the Creator, and his Shakti, within her is Vishnu, the Preserver, and his Shakti, within her is also Shiva as Mahakala, "great Father Time", the great Destroyer. But as this one is swallowed up by herself, she is also Adyashakti, the "primordial Kali", and as a "great magician", Mahayogini, she is at the same time Creatrix, Preservatrix, and Destroyer of the world. She is also the mother of Mahakala, who dances before her, intoxicated by the wine of Madhuka blossoms.\* As, however, the highest deity is a woman, every woman is regarded as an embodiment of this deity. Devi, "the Goddess", is within every feminine being. This conception it is which has led to a woman worship which undoubtedly has taken the shape, in many circles of wild orgies but which also—at least according to the testimony of the Mahanirvanatantra—could appear in a purer and nobler form and has as surely done so.

To the worship of the Devi the Goddess, who is the joyously creative energy of nature, belong the "five true things" (panchatattva) through which mankind enjoy gladly, preserve their life and procreate, intoxicating drink which is a great medicine to man, a breaker of sorrows and a source of pleasure, meat of the animals in the villages, in the air and in the forests, which is nutritious and strengthens the force of body and mind, fish which is tasty and augments procreative potency, roasted corn which easily obtained grows in the earth and is the root of life in the three worlds, and fifthly physical union with Shakti "the source of bliss of all living beings the deepest cause of creation and the root of the eternal world".<sup>10</sup> But these "five true things" may only be used in the circle of initiates and only after they have

been consecrated by sacred formulas and ceremonies. The Mahanirvanatantra lays stress on the fact that no abuse may be made of these five things. Who drinks immoderately is no true worshipper of the Devi. Immoderate drinking, which disturbs seeing and thinking, destroys the effect of the sacred action. In the sinful Kali age also, only the own spouse should be enjoyed as Shakti. In everything the Tantra takes all imaginable trouble to excuse the Panchatattva ceremonies and to prevent their abuse. In the Kali age sweets (milk, sugar, honey) must be used instead of intoxicating drink, and the adoration of the lotus feet of the Devi should be substituted for the physical union. The worship should not be secret, indecencies should not occur, and evil, impious people should not be admitted to the circle of the worshippers.<sup>11</sup> True, it is permissible for the 'Hero' (Vira) who is qualified to be Sadhaka or magician to unite in secret worship with other Shaktis. Only in the highest 'heavenly condition' (divyabhava) of the saint do purely symbolical actions take the place of the 'five true things'.

But to the worship of the Devi belong in the first place Mantras (formulas) and Bijas (monosyllabic mysterious words like Aim, Klim, Hrim, etc.), further also Yantras, (diagrams of a mysterious meaning drawn on metal, paper or other material) Mudras (special finger positions and hand movements) and Nyasas. (These last consist in putting the tips of the fingers and the flat of the right hand, with certain mantras, on the various parts of the body, in order by that to fill one's own body with the life of the Devi.) By the application of all these means the worshipper renders the Deity willing and forces him into his service, and becomes a Sadhaka, a magician. For Sadhana 'Magic', is the chief aim, though not the final aim of Devi worship.

This highest and final aim is the same as that of all Indian sects and religious systems. Moksha or deliverance, the unification with the Deity in Mahanirvana, the 'great extinction'. The perfected saint, the Kaula, reaches this condition already in the present life and is one who is liberated whilst living (Jivanmukta). But the way to deliverance can only be found through the Tantras. For Veda, Smriti, Puranas and Itihasa are each the sacred books of past ages of the world, whilst for our present evil

age, the Kali age the Tantras have been revealed by Shiva for the salvation of mankind (1, 30 ff.). The Tantras thus on the strength of their own showing indicate themselves to be relatively modern works. In the present age vedic and other rites and prayers have no value but only the mantras and ceremonies taught in the Tantras (II, 1 ff.). And just as the worship of the Devi leads equally to thoroughly materialistic results through magic and to the highest ideal of Nirvana, so there is a strong mixture in the worship itself of the sensuous and the spiritual. Characteristic is Mahanirvanatantra V, 139-151 (P 86 ff.). The worshipper first offers to the Devi spiritual adoration, dedicating to her his heart as her seat, the nectar of his heart as the water for washing her feet, his mind as a gift of honour, the restlessness of his senses and thoughts as a dance, selflessness, dispassionateness, and so forth as flowers, but then he offers to the Devi an ocean of intoxicating drink, a mountain of meat and dried fish, a heap of roasted corn in milk with sugar and butter "nectar" and other things. Besides the 'five true things' and other elements of this most sensuous worship which is calculated to produce the intoxication of the senses and in which also bells, incense, flowers, lights and roses are not lacking, there is also the quiet contemplation (dhyana) of the deity. And likewise we find side by side with mantras which are completely senseless and insipid such beautiful sayings as, for instance V, 156: 'O Adya Kali, who dwellest in the innermost soul of all who art the innermost light, O Mother! Accept this prayer of my heart. I bow down before thee.'

The Shaktas are a sect of the religion which is commonly designated 'Hinduism', a term which is a facile one but which has not been chosen very happily. The word embraces all the sects and creeds which have originated from Brahmanism through a mixture with the cults of the aborigines of India and thus represent a kind of degeneration of the old Brahmanical religion but which still hold fast more or less, to orthodox Brahmarism<sup>12</sup> and so distinguish themselves from the heretical sects (Buddhists and Jains). In reality there is strictly no sense in speaking of "Hinduism" as a system or as one religion. For it is impossible to say where Brahmanism ends and where 'Hinduism' begins. We are also altogether ignorant as to how much the old Brahmanic religion had already assimilated

from the faith and the customs of the non-Aryan populace. For it is not admissible to classify without further ado all animal worship, all demon worship, all fetishism and so on as 'non-Aryan'. In reality all sects of 'Hinduism' which are related to a worship of Vishnu or of Siva are nothing but offshoots of the original Brahmanism which they never however, deny. So also Shaktism has as a special characteristic merely the worship of the Shaktis of the female deities with its accessory matter (of the five true things, the worship in the chakra or circle of the initiates and so on). For the rest its dogmatics—or if it be preferred its metaphysics—its well as its ethics—are altogether those of Brahmanism of which also the essential ritual institutions have been preserved. In dogmatics it is the teachings of the orthodox systems of the Vedanta and the Sangkhya which meet us also in the Tantras clearly enough, sometimes even under the trash of senseless magic formulas. And as far as ethics are concerned the moral teaching in the VIIIth chapter of the Mahanirvanatantra reminds us from beginning to end of Manu's Code, the Bhagavad Gita, and the Buddhist sermons. Notwithstanding the fact that in the ritual proper of the Shakta there are no caste differences but in Shakti worship all castes as well as the sexes are equal, yet, in harmony with Brahmanism, the castes are recognised, with this modification that a fifth caste is added to the four usual ones which springs from the mixture of the four older ones, namely, the caste of the Samanyas. Whilst Manu, however, distinguishes four Ashramas or statuses of life, the Mahanirvanatantra teaches that there are only two Ashramas in the Kali age: the status of the householder and that of the ascetic. For the rest every thing which is taught in our Tantra about the duties towards parents, towards wife and child, towards relations and in general towards fellowmen, might find a place exactly in the same way, in any other religious book or even in a profane manual of morals. As an example we may quote only a few verses from this Chapter VIII (VV 24, 25 33 35 39 45-47, 63 67).

The duties of each of the castes as well as the duties of the king are not prescribed much differently from Manu. Family life is estimated very highly by the Mahanirvanatantra. So it is rigorously prescribed that no one is to devote himself to the ascetic life

who has children wives, or such like near relations to maintain.<sup>13</sup> Entirely in consonance with the prescriptions of the Brahmanic texts also are the "sacraments from conception until the marriage which are described in the 9th chapter of the Mahanirvana Tantra (*Samskaras*). Likewise in the 10th chapter the direction for the disposal and the cult of the dead (*Shradddha*) are given. A peculiarity of the Shaktas in connection with marriage consists in the fact that side by side with the *Brahma* marriage for which the Brahmanic prescriptions are valid there is also a *Shakta* marriage, that is a kind of marriage for a limited period which is only permitted to the members of the circle (*Chakra*) of the initiates. But children out of such a marriage are not legitimate and do not inherit.<sup>14</sup> So far Brahmanic law applies also to the Shaktas, and so the section concerning civil and criminal law in the 11th and 12th chapters of the Mahanirvana Tantra substantially agree with Manu.

Of course, notwithstanding all this the Kauladharmas expounded in the Tantra is declared the best of all religions in an exuberant manner and the veneration of the *Kula*-saint is praised as the highest merit. It is said in a well-known Buddhist text "As, ye monks, there is place for every kind of footprints of living beings that move in the footprint of the elephant, because, as is known indeed the footprint of the elephant is the first in size amongst all, so ye monks, all salutary doctrines are contained in the four noble truths." So it is said in the Mahanirvana Tantra<sup>15</sup> (probably in recollection of the Buddhist passage) "As the footprints of all animals disappear in the footprint of the elephant so disappear all other religions (*dharma*) in the *Kula* religion (*kula dharma*)."

From what has been said it is clear that Avalon is right when he declares that up till now this literature has been only too often judged and still more condemned without knowing it and that the Tantras deserve to become better known than has been the case hitherto. From the point of view of the history of religion they are already important for the reason that they have strongly influenced Mahayana Buddhism and specially the Buddhism of Tibet. It is therefore much to be welcomed that Avalon has undertaken to publish a series of texts and translations from this

literature. It is true that we have no desire to be made acquainted with all the 3x64 Tantras which are said to exist. For—this should not be denied that for the greatest part these works contain after all only *stupidity and gibberish* ( *doch nur Stumpfsinn und Kauderwelsch* ). This is specially true of the Bijas and Mantras the mysterious syllables and words and the magic formulas which fill these volumes. To understand this gibberish only to a certain degree and to bring some sense into this stupidity, it is necessary to know the Tantric meaning of the single vowels and consonants. For amongst the chief instruments of the magic which plays such a great part in these texts belongs the spoken word. It is not the meaning embedded in the mantra which exercises power over the deity but the word the sound. Each sound possesses a special mysterious meaning. Therefore there are special glossaries in which this mysterious meaning of the single vowels and consonants is taught. A few of such glossaries indispensable helps for the Sadhaka or rather the pupil who wants to develop himself into a Sadhaka have been brought to light in the first volume of the series of Tantric Texts<sup>15</sup> published by Avalon. —The Mantrabhidhāna belonging to the Rudrayamala Ekakshara kośha ascribed to Puruṣottamadeva the Bijanighantu of Bhairava and two Matrika nighantus the one by Mahidhara the other by Madhava<sup>16</sup>. Added to these is one other auxiliary text of this same kind the Mudra nighantu belonging to the Vamakeshvara Tantra an enumeration of the finger positions as they are used in Yoga.

The second volume of the same series of texts contains the text of the Shatchakranirupana the description of the six circles together with no less than three commentaries. The six circles are six places in the human body imagined as lotus shaped of great mystical significance and therefore of great importance for Yoga. The first of these circles is Muladhara which is described as a triangle in the middle of the body with its point downwards and imagined as a red lotus with four petals on which are written the four golden letters Vam Sham Sam and Sham. In the centre of this lotus is Svayambhulinga. At the root of this reddish brown linga the Chitrinadi opens through which the Devi Kundalini ascends more delicate than a lotus fibre and more

effulgent than lightning, and so on.<sup>17</sup> The Shatchakra Nirupana is the VI chapter of the Shrutatvachintamani composed by Purnananda Swami. In addition the volume contains the text of a hymn entitled Padukapanchakam which is said to have been revealed by Shiva and a voluminous commentary.

The third volume of the Series contains the text of the Prapanchasatantra which is ascribed to the Vedantic philosopher Shangkaracharya and by others to the deity Shiva in his incarnation as Shangkaracharya.

The name Shanghara appears fairly often in Tantra literature but it is not at all sure that the works in question really come from the Philosopher Avalon prefaces the text by a detailed description of the contents of the work. *Prapancha* means 'extension' the extended Universe from which *Prapanchasara* 'the innermost being of the universe'. The work begins with a description of creation accompanied in the first two chapters by detailed expositions of Chronology Embryology Anatomy Physiology and Psychology which are exactly as scientific as both the following chapters which treat of the mysterious meaning of the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet and of the Bijas. The further chapters which partly contain rituals partly prayers meditations and Stotras are of greater importance from the stand point of the history of religion. To how high a degree in the Shakti cult the erotic element predominates is shown in IV 23 ff where a description is given how the wives of the gods demons, and demigods impelled by mantras come to the magician, the Sadhaka oppressed by the greatness of their desires. In the XVIII chapter the mantras and the dhyanas (meditations) for the adoration of the god of love and his Shaktis are taught and the union of man and woman is represented as a mystic union of the I (*Aha gkara*) with perception (*bodhi*) and as a sacred sacrificial action. When a man honours his beloved wife in such a way she will struck by the arrows of the god of love follow him like a shadow even in the other world (XVIII 33). The XXVIII chapter is devoted to *Ardhanarishvara* the god who is half woman—Shiva represented as a wild looking man forms the right hand half of the body and his Shakti represented as a voluptuous woman the left hand half. The XXVIII chapter which seems to have



originally closed the work describes in its first part ceremonies against childlessness the cause of which is indicated as lack of veneration of the gods and neglect of the wife. The second part is connected with the relation between teacher and pupil which is of extreme importance for the Shakta religion. Indeed worship of the Guru the teacher, plays a prominent part in this sect.

However the rituals and Mantras described in this Tantra are not exclusively connected with the different forms of the Devi and Shiva but Vishnu and his Avatars are also often honoured. The XXXI chapter contains a disquisition on Vishnu Trilokimohana (the Enlender of the triple world) in verses 35-47 translated by Avalon.<sup>18</sup> It is a description glowing and sensuous (Voll sinnlicher Glut). Vishnu shines like millions of suns and is of infinite beauty. Full of goodness his eye rests on Shri, his spouse who embraces him full of love. She too is of incomparable beauty. All the gods and demons and their wives offer homage to the August Pair. The goddesses however press themselves in a burning yearning of love to yards Vishnu whilst exclaiming: Be our husband our refuge August Lord! In addition to this passage Avalon has also translated the hymns to Prakriti (Chapter XI) to Vishnu (Chapter XXI) and to Shiva (Chapter XVI).<sup>19</sup> Of these hymns the same holds good as of the collection of hymns to the Devi which Avalon together with his wife has translated in a separate volume.<sup>20</sup> Whilst many of these texts are mere insipid litanies of names and epithets of the worshipped deities there are others which as to profoundness of thought and beauty of language may be put side by side with the best productions of the religious lyrics of the Indians. So the hymn to Prakriti in the Prapan-chasara XI 48, begins with the words

Be gracious to me O Pradhana who art Prakriti in the form of the elemental world. Life of all that lives. With folded hands I make obeisance to thee our Lady whose very nature it is to do that which we cannot understand.

It is intelligible that the poets have found much more intimate cries of the heart when they spoke of the Deity as their Mother than when they addressed themselves to God as Father. So for instance it is said in a hymn to the Goddess<sup>21</sup> ascrib'd to Siangkara

By my ignorance of thy commands  
By my poverty and sloth  
I had not the power to do that which I should have done

Hence my omission to worship Thy feet  
But Oh Mother auspicious deliverer of all  
All this should be forgiven me  
For a bad son may sometimes be born but a bad mother never

Oh Mother! Thou hast many sons on earth  
But I your son am of no worth  
Yet it is not meet that Thou shouldst abandon me  
For a bad son may sometimes be born but a bad mother never

Oh Mother of the world Oh Mother!  
I have not worshipped Thy feet  
Nor have I given abundant wealth to Thee  
Yet the affection which Thou bestowest on me is without compare  
For a bad son may sometimes be born but a bad mother never

Avalon looks with great sympathy on the Shakta religion which has found the highest expression for the divine principle in the conception Mother. He is of opinion<sup>22</sup> that when the European thinks that it is a *debasement* of the deity to conceive of it as feminine then this can only be because he looks upon his mother's sex as lower than his own and because he thinks it unworthy of the deity to conceive it otherwise than masculine. That the conception of the Indian and especially of the Shakta is in this connection the more unbiased and unprejudiced one we will freely concede to Avalon. He however, goes still further and believes that the Tantras not only have an interest from the point of view of the history of religion but that they also possess an independent value as manuals of Sadhana that is magic.<sup>23</sup> However grateful we might be to the editor and translator of these texts for having made us better acquainted with a little known and much misunderstood Indian system of religion we yet would hope to be saved from the possibility of seeing added to the Vedantists Neo Buddhists Theosophists and other India faddists (Indienschwärmer) in Europe and America adherents of the Sadhana of the Shakti cult. The student of religion cannot and may not leave the Tantras and Shaktism un-

noticed. They have their place in the history of religion. But may this occultism which often flows from very turbid sources—(this word should not be translated as Secret Science thus abusing the sacred name of Science but rather as 'Mystery Mongering' *Geheimtuerer*) remain far away from our intellectual life.

[To the above may be added a recent criticism of M. Masson Oursel of the *College de France* in the journal *Isis* (in 1920) which is summarised and translated from the French. 'The obscurity of language strangeness of thought and rites sometimes adjudged scandalous have turned away from the study of the immense Tantrik literature even the most courageous savants. If however the Tantras have appeared to be a mere mass of aberrations it is because the key to them was unknown. The Tantras are the culmination of the whole Indian literature. In them flow both the Vedic and popular cults. Tantricism has imposed itself on the whole Hindu mentality (le tantrisme est imposé à toute la mentalité hindoue.)' Arthur Avalon has undertaken with complete success a task which in appearance seems to be a thankless one but is in reality fecund of results.

The article of Dr. Winternitz deals largely with the Mahanirvana Tantra. Because objections cannot be easily found against this Tantra the theory has been lately revived by Dr. Farquhar in his last work on Indian Literature that this particular scripture is exceptional and the work of Rammohun Roy's Guru Hariharananda Bharati. The argument is in effect 'All Tantras are bad this is not bad therefore it is not a Tantra.' In the first place the MS. referred to in the Preface to A. Avalon's translation of this Tantra as having been brought to Calcutta was an old MS. having the date Shakabda 1300 odd that is several hundreds of years ago. Secondly the Mahanirvana which belongs to the Vishnukranta or as some say Rathakranta is mentioned in the Mahasiddhisara Tantra an old copy of which was the property of Raja Sir Radhakant Dev (b. 1783—d. 1867) a contemporary of Raja Rammohun Roy (1774-1833) who survived the latter's son. The earliest edition of that Tantra by Anandachandra Vedantavagishya was published from a text in the Sanskrit College Library which is not likely to have had amongst its MSS. one which was the work

of a man who whatever be the date of his death must have died within a comparatively short period of the publication of this edition. In fact the Catalogue describes it as an old MS. and an original Tantra. Dr. Rajendralala Mitra in his notice of a MS. of the Tagore collection speaks of it as containing only the first half of fourteen chapters. This is so. The second half is not published and is very rare. The Pandit's copy to which reference was made in the Preface to A. A. S. translation of the Mahanirvana contained both parts. How comes it that if the Tantra was written by Raja Ram Mohun Roy's Guru that we only have the first half and not the second containing amongst other things the so called magic or Shatkarma. It should be mentioned that there are three Tantras—the Nirvana Brihannirvana and Mahanirvana Tantras similar to the group Nila Brihannila and Mahanila Tantras. It is to be noted also that in the year 1295 B. S. or 1886 an edition of the Mahanirvana was published with commentary by a Sannyasi calling himself Slangkaracharya under the auspices of the Danda Sabha of Manikarnika Ghat Benares which contains more verses than is contained in the text commented upon by Hariharananda and the interpretation of the latter as also that of Jagatmohan Tarkalankara are in several matters controverted. We are asked to suppose that Hariharananda was both the author of and commentator on the Tantra. That the Mahanirvana has its merits is obvious but there are others which have theirs. The same critic speaks of the Prapanchasara as a rather foul work. This criticism is ridiculous. The text is published for any one to judge. All that can be said is what Dr. Winternitz has said namely that there are a few passages with sensuous erotic imagery. These are descriptive of the state of women in love. What is wrong here? There is nothing foul in this except for people to whom all erotic phenomena are foul. This is a very indecent picture, said an elderly lady to Byron who retorted 'Madam the indecency consists in your remark.' It cannot be too often asserted that the ancient East was purer in these matters than the modern West where under cover of a prudently modest exterior a cloaca of extraordinarily varied psychopathic filth may flow. This was not so in earlier days whether of East

or West, when a spade was called a spade and not a horticultural instrument. In America it is still considered indecent to mention the word 'leg'. One must say 'limb'. Said Tertullian 'Natura veneranda et non erubescenda'; that is where the knower generates his unknowing critic blushes.

The Prapanchāsara which does not even deal with the rite against which most objection has been taken (while the Mahānirvāṇa does) treats of the creation of the world, the generation of bodies, physiology, the classification of the letters, the Kalas, initiation, Japa, Homa, the Gayatrī Mantra, and ritual worship of various Devatas and so forth, with facts in short which are not 'foul' with or without the qualifying 'rather'.

A A ]

1. See as to the Secret Ritual and its objects 'Śikṣā' and 'Śrīkṛ' 2nd ed.

2. Works Vol I London 1862, pp 219-65.

3. Brahmanism and Hinduism, 4th Ed London 1891, p 180 ff.

4. The Religions of India, 2nd Ed, London 1889, p 199 ff.

5. Op Cit, p 204.

6. Vaishnavism Shaivism and Minor Religious Systems (Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde III 6) Strassburg 1913, p 144 ff. I have spoken more fully about this work in the Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1915 No 2. [In the above, Professor Winternitz might have added Professor Vallee Poussins Studies A A.]

7. Tantra of the Great Liberation (Mahānirvāṇa Tantra) a translation from the Sanskrit, with Intro-

duction and Commentary by Arthur Avalon London, Luzac & Co 1913.

8. As all 'five true things' begin with an M, they are also called 'the five M'.

9. Mahānirvāṇatantra VIII, 103 ff (P 156)

10. Mahānirvāṇatantra IV, 29 ff, V, 141

11. Mahānirvāṇatantra VI, 186 ff (P 135 ff); VI, 14 ff (p 104 f), VII 171 ff, 192 ff. (pp 177, 180)

12. Compare the definition of 'Hinduism' in Monier Williams' Hinduism, London (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge) 1882, p 84 ff.

13. In the Kāṭhīya Arthashastra, the oldest manual of politics (111-119 p 48) a fine is prescribed for him who becomes an ascetic without having previously made provision for wife and child.

14. It is incorrect to call them illegitimate children. But offsprings of a Brāhma marriage are pretercentric inheritors—A. A.

15. A XIV, 180, cf. Māyāmānīkya 28.

16. Tantric Texts published by Arthur Avalon Vol I, Prāṇabhadra II, Śācchikrā Nirupana III Prapanchāsara (Since published and not before Professor Winternitz when he wrote this review) (iv) Kulachudamani, (v) Kūṭarnava, (vi) Kāṭhīya, (vii) Śrīchakra Sambhāra, (viii) Tantrārāja (ix) Karmakīlāśāra in the press, (A. A.)

17. Cf. in connection with these glossaries also Th. Zacher, Die indischen Wörterbücher (Grundriss der indo-arischen Phil. I, 38, 1897) 'see 27.

18. Any one interested in these 'Six Circles Chakra' will find them described in Avalon's Introduction to the Mahānirvāṇatantra pp 161-164 (and later and more fully in 'The Serpent Power'—A. A.)

19. Introduction, p 61 ff.

20. Introduction, p 29 ff, 45 ff and 52 ff.

21. Hymns to the Goddess translated from the Sanskrit by Arthur and Ellen Avalon (1913)

22. Hymns to the Goddess, p 94 ff, Verses 24

23. Hymns to the Goddess, Preface

24. Tantric Text, Vol I p 4.

## THE SECRET OF SUCCESS OF JAVA CANE-SUGAR INDUSTRY: A LESSON TO INDIA

SCIENCE has ministered much to the comfort and uplift of mankind, and with the progress of science in a country its resources have been more and more fully utilized. The Yankee commands the world market by dint of his wonderful inventions and creates newer and better fields of business by ministering to the comforts of the human race. This genius for inventions has developed by an application of science in all the spheres of human activity. The use of science to work out problems of a commercial and industrial

nature has resulted in the making of the Yankee to be the real jack of all trades in the world. Before the War the dye-industry of the world was exclusively under German control and the application of science to the manufacture of sugar from beet roots created and developed a new branch of industry. The beet sugar industry grew every day with the help of science till it could compete with advantage to itself with the world old cane-sugar industry, which had up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century hardly improved its process of manufacture. The

refineries for cane sugar did good work no doubt but the raw cane sugar factories hardly followed any scientific or rational principle in the manufacture of their product

The progress of the beet sugar industry opened the eyes of the cane sugar manufacturers and impressed upon them the necessity of availing themselves of the beneficent results which scientific research had accomplished in the rival industry

They saw how the application of science in manufacture had wrought wonders in building up a splendid industry and so they wanted to follow the example. Gradually the cane-sugar industry remodelled its methods and studied the circumstances under which it had to work and the result was an organisation no whit less brilliant and well-organised than that of the beet industry

One of the countries of cane sugar production which tried to apply science to its manufacture was Java and the result which it has attained has made its cane sugar industry the best model in the world. Through the untiring labours of great chemists and manufacturers the Java cane sugar industry has attained a perfection hardly equalled by that of any other country.

In 1832-34 the cane sugar producers of Java suffered a heavy loss owing to a competition with beet sugar which caused the price of sugar to go down considerably till it eventually fell below the net cost price. At the same time a disease of the cane known as *Sereh* was first noticed in 1834 (1832?) in the western parts of the island and it gradually spread eastwards. The troubles that the manufacturers had to face would have been enough to ring the death knell of the industry in the island but they did not lose heart. They put considerable capital in their industry and invoked the aid of science to help them to improve their cultivation and manufacturing methods. Three experimental stations were founded for the purpose of combating the *Sereh* disease. These Proof Stations as they are called have done good work outside their original scope and have given useful information as regards planting and manufacturing methods, chemical analysis and control and even as regards mechanical installations of factories. Capital was provided by Dutch capitalists and invested in the calamity-stricken industry, science was practically applied and the estates were managed in an economical, rational and energetic manner.

This praiseworthy combination of energy, science and capital not only saved the Java sugar industry from utter ruin but also placed it among the foremost cane sugar producing countries so much so that Java has long been an example to other countries.

So much active power and rational application of science was sure to be crowned with success and it is due to these circumstances that the Java Sugar Industry in the dark days before the Brussels Convention was never destitute but could hold its own unprotected as it was. Even during the last years of the nineteenth century the planted area increased till in the present day a tenth part of the total area of arable land available in the island has been taken up by sugar plantation.

The Dutch East India Company had encouraged the industry and had been exporting sugar to Holland from 1637 but the commercial politics of the company were not consistent with any large production of Eastern goods as it was mainly a commercial undertaking more intent on carrying on trade in Eastern produce than on the production of any commodities by itself. In 1795 the Company was dissolved and Java which was so long under the Company's regime came under the direct control of The Batavian Republic afterwards known as the Kingdom of Holland. The island was changing hands in 1811 it came under the English and remained so till 1816 when it was returned to the Netherlands. During these political changes the industry suffered much. In 1806 Governor General du Bus de Guisignies came to Java and it was owing to the special encouragement he gave to the sugar producers that the industry began to revive and has ever since grown on steadily. The following figures will show at a glance its steady progress —

Year	Total production tons	Year	Total production tons
1826	1 123	1900	744 257
1830	6 710	1910	1 278 420
1840	47 040	1915	1 303 045
1850	86 519	1916	1 198 567
1860	136 153	1917	1 560 000
1870	152 595	1918	1 778 344
1880	216 179	1919	1 749 408
1890	399 999	1920	1 335 763
Est. mated produce for 1921			1 550 000

With the above figures let us compare the figures of raw sugar or *gur* produced in India.

Year	Total produce in tons (average)	Year	Total produce in tons
1869-1904	1 799 200	1915 16	2 536 875
1909-10	2 127 300	1916 17	2 400 000

In spite of this huge production enormous quantities of sugar of both beet and cane origin were imported into India as the figures below will indicate —

1902	5 565 37 (cwt)	1908 09	10 663 83 (cwt)
1905 06	6 980 048	1910 11	12 539 159

And during the years 1917 18 to 1919 20 the import of Java cane sugar alone excluding the raw and hard molasses amounted to the enormous quantity of 900 215 tons

The huge produce figures to the credit of Java

India would have been more than doubled had rational and scientific processes been employed in the manufacture of sugar from the cane. The enormous sums of good Indian money spent on foreign sugar, if employed in manufacture within the country will without a shadow of doubt reward the capitalists and at the same time make India self-sufficing as far as sugar is concerned. It is time that India began to take interest in the manufacture of sugar and profit by the example of Java.

M AHSANULLA  
AND  
YOUSUF H AHMED

## A JAPANESE CHARCOAL BURNER

BY W W PEARSON

ON the slopes of a mountain behind the little Japanese village lived the charcoal burner. Day after day I could see from the windows of my room the curling smoke ascending from his laborious fires. Laborious indeed for they needed constant attention to keep them from burning too quickly, and constant feeding from the fallen forest trees which had been felled for the purpose. Once a week the charcoal burner made his heavy pilgrimage to the village below carrying his enormous baskets of charcoal on his bent back. Several times he would toil down that steep mountain track before he had delivered to the market the full product of his week's labor.

One day I climbed the side of the mountain by the narrow path along which ran a rustic wooden pipe conveying the hot sulphur water, which made the village famous for its baths to the houses below. The charcoal burner's hut lay off the path and I had to make my way through dense growth before I came upon the open clearing in which stood his piles of wood and charcoal and his fires.

He was banking one of the fires when I came upon him and he stopped for a moment only, to greet me with the politeness which is characteristic of the Japanese. I could not speak many words of Japanese so I stood and watched him for a while before I turned to go. He never ceased working while I watched. 'Sai o nara' I called to him as I left and he stopped for a moment to return the salutation. As I walked down toward the village again I thought of all the charcoal burners in the many forests and mountains of Japan and of the solitary and silent toil of these workers. They it is who provide for the homes of rich and poor alike the fuel necessary for their warmth in winter and for the cooking of their food in summer and winter.

It was a week before I left the village for Tokyo but every day as I looked up toward the mountain I saw the blue smoke of the charcoal burner's fire slowly mounting to heaven and it was to me as the incense of some solitary worshipper the fragrance of whose worship consists in service.

# INTO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

## II THE ECLIPSE OF PARLIAMENT

### § 1 *No Common Will*

**I**T is a sad but indisputable fact that no British political democracy exists in so far as that phrase implies the means by which the citizens of this country can express a Common Will. The way the electorate vote at bye elections, once a Government is installed in power, does not anymore have the slightest effect upon the rule of this country. The British Constitution our lawyers tell us is for the most part not law at all but convention its extraordinary flexibility enables it to be legitimately changed or modified at any time by 'public opinion'. But the gravamen of public opinion is that it has no voice other than the farcical election system, by which it can make heard its opinions on vital questions and what is more serious is that the average middle class citizen holds himself aloof from political questions. 'Public opinion' as recognised by the Government consists of the capitalist press and the particular class from which the members of the Government are recruited. An overwhelming instance of this is the case of MacSwiney the late Lord Mayor of Cork. I have met few thinking people both at home and abroad who did not condemn the action of the Government yet the Government was obdurate in its insanity and the country had no means whatsoever of altering its decision. Letters and telegrams were literally showered upon the Prime Minister when he was trying to secure a much deserved holiday at Lucerne. It is incredible to believe that this is the only method by which the citizens of this country can register their opinion upon a grave national question involving in this instance the life of a fellow citizen. The only organised and communal plea was that addressed by organized Labour re-

presenting twelve million citizens but even this was not able to bring the Cabinet to its obvious duty.

For publicly the Prime Minister considers himself as representing the public opinion of this country as a result of his election to power in December 1918 at a time when less than half the electorate recorded their votes and then under the stress of an abnormality of emotions. In the meantime Parliament has been automatically drifting further and further away from the electorate so that it is with some truth that we can say that Parliament is eclipsed.

### § 2 *The Nemesis of Parliamentary Democracy*

Something is radically wrong with British Political Democracy but before we attempt to analyse its malady it would be helpful to sum up briefly the theory of our working constitution. In doing so I am delineating Parliament as it was supposed to be prior to the Great War for it was only with that Armageddon that the paralysing changes came.

The Sovereign body in this country is Parliament and Parliament according to an eminent lawyer is the King the House of Lords and the House of Commons and these three bodies acting together may be aptly described as the King in Parliament and constitute Parliament. Parliament as far as we are concerned has two functions the legislative and the executive. Since both King Lords and Commons all participate in legislation we shall henceforth speak of the legislative body as Parliament. Theoretically the King is the executive but since the accession of George I. in 1714 the King has put the whole of the executive power of the Crown at the disposal of the Cabinet.

We are, therefore, governed by the Cabinet System, which rests on two great principles, first that the King in all political matters must follow the advice of the Cabinet, and second, that the Cabinet itself can continue to hold office only so long as it can secure a majority in the House of Commons. Legislation is carried out politically by the electorate (as represented by the House of Commons) and executed by Parliament in the name of the King (but this is in practice mere moonshine, because the determining factor in modern legislation is becoming more and more the Cabinet and less Parliament). In theory each constituency chooses as its member the man in whom it has the greatest confidence, and relies on him to exercise his own judgment in dealing with all matters in which he is called upon to take part in Parliament. But this does not happen in practice. The Cabinet System pivots upon the Party System. At a General Election, the leading voluntary political associations, which were lately represented by the Liberal and Conservative Parties, put forward a definite programme, and run as many candidates as their means will allow. From the party which returns a majority to the House of Commons, the King will call upon the leading member and ask him to form a Ministry, which, when established, is commonly known as the Government. The Government stands or falls by its majority in the House of Commons. Theoretically, any member, whether of the majority or minority party, can bring forward any law, which, if carried through both Houses must be put into operation by the executive, practically this is not effectual. The Government (i.e. the party with a majority in Parliament and led by its leader, the Prime Minister) decide what bills shall come before Parliament. They do so by crowding out legislation so that there is now only one day per week on which private members can introduce bills. The caucus of the party in power is so whipped into Parliament that its leader, who is also Prime Minister, becomes an autocrat,

and therefore the party, unless it rebels, will support the Government through thick and thin. Therefore the Minority party, known as the Opposition, is the sole check upon the Government.

Briefly, that is, or rather was, supposed to be the structure of Parliament, but changes have come so rapidly during the last few years that it is quite incompatible with practice. These changes, which are not official, have become chronically exposed to the searching enquiries of experts, who lamented the absent authority of Parliament since the farcical General Election of 1918. Let us now analyse these changes. *The King*: It is now a commonplace that "the King" reigns but does not rule, he holds his title by Act of Parliament alone, and "the contract of service between the British King and the British people may be legally and rightfully terminated at any time by the will of either party."<sup>4</sup> This article cannot deal with Imperial questions, but it will be sufficient to say that as long as the British Empire lasts (i.e., till it is replaced by a Commonwealth of Nations), the King will remain, as he is, the sole bond which holds the Empire together. The Kingship now has no bearing upon domestic politics at all, and when the position is abolished, it will be through the hypertrophy of its function, and by the common consent of the King and the people. *The House of Lords*: The importance of the House of Lords lies primarily in its judicial function. It is the highest Court of Appeal in all legal cases and it numbers the law lords of the realm. But it is its function as a Second Chamber that has called forth the abuse of all parties during the last ten years. It can refuse, amend, or modify any bill passed by the House of Commons or send it back to the First Chamber, though since the dispute of 1910, by the Parliament Act 1911, it can obstruct the passing of no money bill. In past years the conservative attitude of the House of Lords has been the cause of the obstruction of many reforms, and the method of swamping (i.e., the creation of new peers) has been resorted to in order to secure majority. The

canker of the Peerage lies of course in its hereditary principle and of the seven hundred and thirty members of the House of Lords five hundred sit by hereditary right. If the Peerage were a life title the House of Lords might be composed of all manner of men of profound wisdom and width of outlook. On the other hand an unscrupulous Prime Minister in league with an unscrupulous Sovereign might create a class of Peerage with an uniformity of opinions which would prove a serious obstruction to succeeding Governments. The damning defect of the House of Lords is that its members are drawn exclusively from one section of the community. It is utterly unrepresentative in the democratic sense and its obsolete structure is an anachronism which no one can defend. Accordingly it cannot be relied on to revise or suspend or even criticise anything brought forward by a Conservative Government whilst obstructing and often defeating everything proposed by a Radical Cabinet. Indeed the annoyance of the Cabinet at the existence of the Lords is to-day far stronger than the criticism of the Commons because it is the Cabinet and not the Commons which is becoming more and more the author of all legislative measures.

*The House of Commons is to day in a sorry plight.* It is rapidly and inevitably becoming a functionless body. Its principle is not itself to govern but to create a Government. Yet it does not even achieve that. The House of Commons if it were a free assembly like the Trades Union Congress would elect its own executive, but it does nothing of the kind. What occurs in practice is that the leader of the party with a majority goes to the King (officially 'is sent for by the King') and tells him that he is willing to form a Ministry (the membership of which is in all probability already decided upon). Here is the damning defect of the Party System. A man like Mr Lloyd George with a magnetic personality and a political ability which is at present unrivalled can quite easily make himself dictator of the British people. This is what has actually happened. Mr Lloyd George came out of the war a virtual dic-

tator, which is a very useful office in war time no doubt. But by his rash tactics at the farce election of 1918 he cleverly managed to get himself back into power for another five years with the result that the country is now subject to a very real tyranny. The Great War turned the flexible English Constitution into a bureaucracy. Government departments were set up with wide plenary powers while a small council known as the War Cabinet dominated by the personality of the Prime Minister virtually dictated to Parliament the legislation which it had to carry through. Such a modification of Parliament however great was only compatible with national needs and it was an overwhelming proof of the flexibility of the British Constitution. But under the abnormal stress of the times scarcely any foresaw the grave danger into which the opportunists who controlled the helm of State were leading British Democracy. The whole blame for the disaster which has followed upon the heels of the Armistice rests upon the shoulders of Mr Lloyd George and those who put implicit trust in his dictatorship. They no doubt conceive the Lloyd George governments as the saving lights of the Empire and a thesis which is amply set forth in the newly published Lloyd George Bible. But the fact remains that the British Constitution has passed from a flexible democratic state into a rigid autocratic one which nothing short of a General Election so engineered to secure true representation or failing that Direct Action can remove.

The House of Commons can exercise no choice in the selection of Ministers still less does it assign particular men to particular offices. But it delegates this office to a man who is not elected by its members but steps out self-chosen from the ranks of the party in power to become Prime Minister and virtual dictator of the United Kingdom. Still more flagrant is the inability of the House of Commons under this system to get rid of any Minister who proves himself incompetent or who disregards the will of the House. The House of Commons becomes but the critic of the Government but since it contains a vast majority of Government supporters



the virulence of the opposition becomes of no avail as soon as a division takes place. In fine 'the elected representatives of British Democracy are in fact to-day practically limited to the function of making and unmaking a Government and of criticizing, obstructing or amending any legislative projects brought forward by the Government and of offering a belated criticism on administrative policy which has involved expenditure.' This indictment taken from Mr and Mrs Sidney Webb's book which I am quoting freely in this article is made worse in cognizance of the fact that since 1918 the House of Commons has been impotent to unmake the Government through the overwhelming Government majority far less can its criticisms be effective because so much is done by the Cabinet with the complete ignorance of Parliament.

But now we come a step further and we see a startling truth in the following facts which I take from the Webbs' 'Constitution'—

'We think that if any ex-Cabinet Minister were to be compelled to tell the truth about his own participation in the gradual slipping of policy on vital questions during his term of office he would tell us that he hardly remembered any Cabinet decision being formally taken on general policy unless legislation of a controversial kind had to be introduced into Parliament unless some dramatic decision had to be taken or unless the administration of a particular Department had offended some powerful outside interest or had become a public scandal. Even in his own department he would plead that what with the attendance at the House of Commons periodical appearances in his constituency etc. etc. he had no time or energy left with which to supervise the day by day administration of the public service over which he presided. The government of Great Britain is in fact carried on not by the Cabinet nor even by the individual Ministers but by the Civil Service the Parliamentary chief of each department seldom actively intervening except when the point at issue is likely to become acutely political. The great mass of governing to-day is the work of an able and honest but secretive bureaucracy tempered by the ever present apprehension of the revolt of powerful sectional interests and mitigated by the spasmodic interventions of imperfectly comprehending Ministers who have to furnish answers to questions put to them by the House of Commons in so much that it might almost

be said that the supreme test of the perfect efficiency of a Government department—in the eyes of its Parliamentary head and the Cabinet—is that it should never be mentioned either in the House or in the Press.' 10

During the last twenty years the functions of Government in this country have swollen to an incredible size. New machinery has been added in the creation of Government departments to meet the ever increasing array of new duties from the organising of an extensive service of public health up to the direction of such industries as coalmining and transport, from education of every grade and kind to the promotion of invention and research and actually to the planting of timber and the manufacture of sugar *ad infinitum*. And all this is made more difficult by the vicious mixture of functions which has resulted in the coral-like growth of new machinery upon the obsolete and inadequate old.

The result is that under the guise of a government by a majority of the people acting through elected representatives we have now the dictatorship of one man or of a small group of men exercised through a subservient party majority of more or less tied members and an obedient official hierarchy of unparalleled magnitude—a dictatorship tempered on the one hand by continual watchfulness against explosions of popular feeling and on the other by the necessity of privately securing the acquiescence or at least preventing the revolt of powerful capitalists the press or other interests. 11

This tyranny, supported by every reactionary feeling in this country, plus an incalculable ignorance is the direct result of politicians meddling with high finance and by accepting definite but private obligations to capitalist entrepreneurs in exchange for a bout of power.

### §3 Direct Action or Educated Public Opinion?

Having gained a glimpse into the intricate and gigantic labyrinths in which the time servers who rule us have strangled the child of British Democracy, we must now turn to see its effect upon the outside world. It is irony of the most trenchant kind which possesses us when we read the Prime Minister's warning to the country that the T. U. C. is trying

to usurp the power of Parliament, when all the final power of Parliament is invested solely in Mr Lloyd George

One thing which people have realised, whether consciously or sub-consciously I cannot say, and that is that it is the Party System which has been the staircase which Mr Lloyd George has ascended in order to attain the throne of dictatorship. People have tired of the Party System and they have been engineering a revolt against it, possibly because wealth is being used for political ends, especially for the Press, and probably one of the most cogent reasons has been the enfranchisement of women. Their independent attitude though often extremely mistaken has proved successful. Lady Astor, though receiving a 'coupon', has maintained her independence, Lady Bonham Carter practically won her father's election as Vesta Tilley did her husband's—elsewhere Bottomley has widespread influence through his 'independent' press and lavish use of money, in fine, there has been outside the Labour Party a general defection against the Party System. One cannot blame the individual members of the House of Commons who are on the whole fair-minded and publicspirited citizens but they are slaves to a system and their independent voices in the House meet with no response. The intransigent energy of Commander Kenworthy the passionate appeals by Lord Robert Cecil on behalf of a true League of Nations, the startling directness of Lady Astor, all these, not to mention the few able speakers of the Labour Party who find it worth while to waste a few hours in the House, have done little more than make public some of the less obscene imbroglíos in which members of the Government have indulged. No wonder that the Labour Party in Parliament is blamed for nonchalance. It knows only too well that it is absolutely useless to waste time in the Commons while the Government retains such an overwhelming majority and unless the opposition increases till the Government has to be wary it is extremely unlikely that their interest in Parliament will increase.

Outside the centre of gravity in politics has been steadily shifting from Parliament to the Trade Unions. Labour which is the only organised and alive voluntary political association in the country to-day, is rapidly not only becoming a serious rival of the moribund Parliament, but is taking its place in popular defiance against a servile Government. The monthpiece of organised labour is the only channel by which the population of Great Britain can express their hatred of the base and Prussian methods of the Imperialists who oppress them. But only one quarter of the population are aware of this oppression, the other three quarters remaining either purely apathetic or hypnotized by the raucous screams of the Capitalist Press. For any sign of reaction of the nation to the actions of its Government you look to the House of Commons in vain and the Nation of June 5th.

But those reactions must take effect somewhere and what is happening is that the representation of the fears and wishes of the people is passing from the House of Commons to other bodies. The dockers who refused to load munitions for the Polish War have won their battle and they have won it because they reflected the thought of the nation. Not one man or woman in twenty wants to see war and destruction continue but this great preponderating majority found no effective voice in the House of Commons. The dockers gave it voice. The Government were so conscious of the power behind that voice so fully alive to the truth that they were representatives of a minority that they resorted to every kind of prevarication to disguise their conduct and to make it appear as if they agreed with the majority. Direct Action which is apt to defeat its own end as a method for securing legislation, assumes a new and formidable character when it is employed as a means of restraining a Government from plunging into unpopular war. We may be quite sure that Mr Lloyd George when his opportunist mind is calculating the risks of this or that course thinks a good deal about the risk of trouble with the Trade Unions and I never about the risk of trouble with the House of Commons. Finally the position in which it is becoming the usual thing for men to be elected on a minority vote weakens the representative authority of the House of Commons and makes the unreality of its proceedings still more apparent.

But what is still more extraordinary is disregard which the Gov

which is notorious for its destitution of creative ideas, has paid to the suggestions which private enterprise has put forward during the last twelve months. Scheme after scheme has been put forward by the Miners' Federation, a good deal of which commended itself to the acute and dispassionate judgment of Mr Justice Sankey. What scheme had the Government? Decontrol, a return to pre-war standards. Ireland, represented by members of every creed and party of that unfortunate country, and through the mouth of a conference presided over by Sir Horace Plunkett in Dublin in utmost fervour demanded her immediate independence. What say the Government? The Mayor of Cork and others are to be allowed to die without "fair" trial, and reprisals by the police are to continue the interminable bloodshed and violence, which is unparalleled in English history. Then there is the Housing problem. As a protest against the utter inability of the Government to supply the houses which were urgently needed, private enterprise has tackled the question. In emergency local authorities are being supplied by direct building, and in one place a middle-class Borough Council are working harmoniously with the Trade Unions, having been converted to this arrangement by the sheer impossibility of obtaining houses by any other method. But the most important development is the creation of Guilds, first in Manchester and now in London, which bids fair to revolutionize the building industry and convert it into a form of organized public service on democratic lines. Finally, we have the case of the Council of Action. On August 9th, 1920, a Joint Conference of the T. U. Congress, the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party passed the following resolutions:—

"That this Joint Conference feels certain that War is being engineered between the Allied Powers and Soviet Russia, on the issue of Poland, and declares that such a war would be an intolerable crime against humanity, it therefore warns the Government that the whole industrial power of the organized workers will be used to defeat this war. That the Executive Committees of affiliated organizations through-

out the country be summoned to hold themselves ready to proceed immediately to London for a National Conference. That they be advised to instruct their members to 'down tools' on instructions from the National Conference. And that a Council of Action be immediately constituted to take such steps as may be necessary to carry the above decisions into effect."

And the war was averted.

#### § 4. *The Tyranny and its Cure.*

What is it then that stands behind this awful state of affairs which has just been revealed by a simple display of facts? It is the diabolical theory that one man is good enough to be another man's master, and the insatiable lust for gain and possession which infects modern society. These two motives are to the working man of to-day summed up in the word "Capitalism". And Mr. Lloyd George and his fellow adventurers, however honest their intentions may be, have become playthings in the hands of this monster. Let me not hear the cavilling voices of those who suggest that I am becoming the slave of a catchword; for it is not true. Capitalism is an idea, and a system, and a capitalist who may be the most kindly and benevolent man in the world is only a spoke in its wheel. Capital we must always have, as long as money is necessary for the economic organisation of life. But Capitalism—No! Those who toil and sweat in the industries of our great towns are the slaves of Capitalism. You and I are to a certain extent; instead of capital belonging to the workers, the workers belong to Capitalism; they are the slaves of economic organization instead of the masters of it.

At present, organised Labour is confused by an ignorance which is even still more blinding among other classes. But where the workers go wrong is when they confound capitalists with capitalism. It is a very natural mistake but a fundamental one, and one that education alone can dispel. At the head of organised Labour, however, there are several men who are unmatched in their sanity and broad-mindedness. If they and the intellectual wing of the Labour Party can educate the workers, Labour may become the saviour

of England, perhaps of Europe perhaps of the World. That Labour is not wholly selfish and that its leaders are some of them true altruists is proved by the magnificent speech which Mr J H Thomas has delivered to the T U C at its adjournment of a few days ago.

What is the antidote for the evils which this article has tried to point out? There is only one and that is Democracy. At present official political democracy is non-existent. There are all kinds of voluntary democracies—democracies of Consumers, democracies of Producers, some more democratic and co-operative than others, but there is no national Political Democracy. The struggle which is coming is going to be over the kind of Democracy that is going to be best suited for our national temperament and into which we can most simply develop the existing machinery of national economic and political life. One thing is certain and that is that we cannot attain any measure of success by sudden and violent revolution, but only by carefully controlled growth

the manipulation of the ever living principle of change to the most idealistic ends.

ROLF GARDINER

[ This article purports to be no more than a purely destructive and critical analysis of British Political Democracy as it exists to-day. This is a necessary prelude to any survey of the constructive evolutions which thinkers are working for the day of to-morrow.]

1. I have outlined the judicial function of Parliament as it stands the scope of this article.

2. I have not distinguished between the Ministry and the Cabinet. The Ministry includes all the crown officials who occupy seats in Parliament. The Cabinet is wholly unrecognized by law and consists of a small council chosen by the Prime Minister from his supporters and with a few exceptions from heads of departments.

3. A New Statesman, N. 2, 1919.  
4. A Constitution for the Social Committee of Great Britain by Sidney and Beatrice Webb (Lingen, 1919, 14 net) p. 6.

Op. cit. p. 4.  
5. Nineteen sixteen—Nineteen twenty. The Lloyd George Coalition in War and Peace.

7. Webb, Constitution, p. 63.

8. Op. cit. p. x.

9. Op. cit. p. 6.

10. Op. cit. p. 63.

11. Op. cit. p. 2.

## PUBLICITY IN ORGANIZATION METHODS

THE strength of an organization the esteem with which the public looks upon it, its membership, its financial status, the success of its plans, the solution of its other problems—all to a very great extent depend upon publicity.

The object of publicity is to secure the attention of the public to a certain condition or object and to appeal to it in such a way that the people are interested and a strong desire is created in their minds to take some action which produces the desired result. If the result is not an easily attainable one then the appeal has to be continued uninterrupted and attempts are made to reach greater and greater groups of people in as many ways as it is possible.

Publicity to be effective should be systematically conducted. In the west, the laws

of advertising the measure of the strength of various appeals, mechanical and other methods of attracting and holding attention, the strength of various human instincts, the methods of appealing to them and their response—all these have been thoroughly studied and the campaign methods have been so well systematized and standardized that there is no need of guesswork. Human nature is not different in India and the general principles of publicity campaigns as worked out in the west can with modifications be just as well applied in India.

The appeals made through newspapers or lectures in order that they may be effective should be in simple easily understandable concise and keen language. The intelligence of a mass of people falls to the average intelligence of its least

group. It is a psychological fact that we can think of only one thing at a time and not very long even about that. The appeal, therefore, should have one main argument only and should be for one object only at a time. The average person can be reached quicker through his emotions than through reason. The appeal to reason is good but the appeal to emotions is better. Reason is not constant and one argument can easily demolish another, but emotions, passions and feelings once aroused cannot be easily cooled. That is the proper time for suggesting action, for the signature on the pledge, the collection of funds and for the circulation of pamphlets.

Publicity requires an organization in itself. It must have a definite purpose, plans and personnel. It must have ammunition of men, materials, machines and methods, in order to produce more ammunition. It has many problems to solve. The publicity manager must have data on the people he wishes to reach, whether they are well-to-do or poor, married or single, professional men or labourers, how widely scattered they are and how they can be reached. He must know their present interest or feeling about the objects of the organization and whether the interest is momentary or likely to last. He must know what other organizations are similar to his in the field, how they are appealing and with what success. On all these factors depend the nature of his appeals and the measure of the results. After the public have been interested, the publicity manager must know just how much to demand and just how much sacrifice in time and money and other ways the public is willing to make. He must impress upon the minds of the people the benefits that they would get from their sacrifices. Data on all these points are necessary to make the plans for the lay-out of the campaign.

A very important step in publicity is the determination of the media of appeal. Publicity may be divided into three kinds—oral, printed and pictured. The oral form consists of lectures and songs in all possible places, in public squares, shops, temples, theatres, schools, colleges, etc.

meetings and indoor gatherings. A peculiar and effective form of oral publicity is gossip or word of mouth or rumour spread by barbers, travelling mendicants and men and women of various professions whose circulation among the masses is constant and frequent. The oral form also includes resolutions passed in societies and public bodies, processions, street demonstrations and personal house-to-house solicitation. Written and printed matter may take the forms of articles and advertisements in newspapers, magazines and other periodicals and books. It may take the forms of circular letters, handbills, pamphlets, leaflets, booklets, folders, stuffers, broadsides, envelopes, cards, telegrams, blotters, circulars, programmes, catalogs, calenders, show cards, show windows, billboards, flags and banners in parades and on buildings. The pictured form of publicity consists of posters, poster stamps, cartoons, cinema, and lantern slides. Each of the above have their special occasions and special values. Their value depends on the number and class of people reached, the condition under which it reaches them and the standing of the media with its readers and its audience. There are millions of illiterate people in India who can only be reached by lecturers and preachers. But the appeal by lectures is limited by its audiences and is not economical. Those who can read, and there are only a small number in India who can, can be reached by newspapers and magazines.

The head of the publicity department studies the plan of publicity as a lawyer studies the facts of a case and proceeds to simplify and elucidate its several points to give it popular appeal. He puts spirit and personality and a quality of keenness and animation in his publicity matter. He avoids verbosity. He makes it simple to read and understand and gives it a dramatic quality which startles people and makes them think. These are some of the general principles of publicity which must be followed in all forms of expression. The President of a large American concern thus summarizes his "ten ways to convey ideas." He says: "If I were to reduce my

principles of idea conveying to a creed, it would run somewhat in this fashion :

The nerves from the eyes to the brain are many times larger than those from the ears to the brains. Therefore, when possible use a picture instead of words ; use one and make the words mere connectives for the picture.

2 Confine the attention to the exact subject by drawing outlines and putting in divisions ; then, make certain that you are talking about the same thing

3. Aim for dramatic effects in speaking as well as writing. Study them out beforehand. They hold attention

4 Red is the best colour to attract and hold attention, therefore use plenty of it.

5. Few words—few sentences—small words—big ideas.

6 Tell why as well as how.

7. Do not be afraid of big type and do not put too much on a page.

8. Do not crowd ideas in speaking or writing. No publicity material is big enough for two ideas.

9. Before you try to convince anyone else, make sure that you are convinced, and if you cannot convince yourself, drop the subject. Do not try to "put over anything."

10 Tell the truth.

Another authority on publicity thus enunciates his publicity principles :

1. One medium of publicity is better than another, just as one method of publicity is better than another, for certain subjects.

2. In the complexity and multiplicity of mental operations, the human mind forgets easily and therefore repetition, frequency and change are very important factors in publicity.

3 Most people have a certain sense of rhythm, and they like reading matter that has a certain swing to it. A novel trade name or a catchy sing song slogan is apt to run in the mind just as a popular song often does

4. People, as a rule are busy, and therefore publicity must for the most part be brief and to the point if it would be at all effective.

5 People are usually fond of pictures, and therefore a good illustration in the printed matter is often worth as much within its field of influence, as the most appealing text

6. Nearly everyone instinctively represents any portrayal of ugliness or suffering, and the illustration that suggests either will probably be ineffective unless it is prominently relieved by a pleasant contrast, or used to convey a definite warning of evils that are to be avoided.

7 Most people apparently take notice of heraldry, in almost any form ; this probably accounts for the popularity of the trade mark, the business coat of arms, as it may justly be termed.

8 Human nature usually responds easily to just the right suggestion, and therefore many find such a convenient device as the coupon difficult to resist.

9 The eye can grasp but four or five words at a glance and therefore it usually pays to reduce the headline of the publicity matter to this scale, to adopt a short, terse phrase that tells some definite fact about the subject and does not leave the reader in darkness regarding it.

10 The eye is attracted by clear, open type, and well arranged composition and therefore irregular type, close or unusual type, and solid set composition, should usually be avoided as far as possible.

#### PUBLICITY CAMPAIGNS.

It is necessary for organizations to keep the general public or a particular part of it, informed of the objects of the organization, the problems it wishes to concentrate its attention on, the ways by which it is proceeding to solve them and the part the public can play in helping it with moral and material support in the form of funds, subscriptions and memberships

The business of conducting a campaign is quite as serious and difficult as that of a doctor or a lawyer. It is a profession which requires many years of study and experience. Journalists with some experience in business are best suited for this kind of work. A campaign requires a great deal of careful preliminary planning.

Its plan or analysis takes into consideration all the factors related to the object desired, factors such as :

1. The purpose of the organization. Whether the knowledge and feeling of the public about it is more or less developed or whether it is quite undeveloped; whether the interest of the public is likely to be momentary or permanent; whether the problem involves a problem vital to the very life of the nation or whether it is merely a suggestion for doing things in a better way or whether it is the promotion of some fine arts. In each case the strength of the appeal varies. The organization must be specific as to what it wants the public to do—in what way, where and to whom and how much you expect the public to contribute. A definite suggestion of the amount expected should be made. It should not be left to the consideration of the donors. The ability of the individual to contribute the sacrifice of time and money and effort involved in it should be taken into consideration. The other factors to be considered are: what does the public gain by it? Is the work of the organization similar to what is being done by many others? Are these other organizations aggressive or are they lax? Are they long established? Have they any definite publicity policy? The competitors should always be given due thought.

2. The people to be reached: Where are they located? In towns or villages? Are they well-to-do or poor, married or single; professional men or clerks and labourers?

3. The way in which it is desired to reach them, whether it will be by spoken or written or pictured media or by a combination or all of them.

As an example of efficient method of conducting a publicity campaign may be quoted the following from an American Red Cross book of instructions :

"To get people talking a campaign, facts about it must be given fully and frequently. They must know today what was done yesterday and how nearly the goal has been reached."

"The ground work of card indices at precincts and trams of workers, and banners, and flags, and clocks to mark progress, are prepared

before the beginning of the campaign. The opening meeting is usually made notable by an address by a prominent person from out of the city. This makes a news story in itself. The fact that a large number of persons are involved in a campaign gives the papers ground for devoting large space to the movement; conversely, to get big space, the largest possible number of persons must be interested. Friendly rivalry between teams, and daily meetings, with reports by the captains add to the interest and provide more news articles. If a reporter can be persuaded to join one of the teams he will find scores of human interest stories in the actual experiences of soliciting which will make better copy than second hand accounts by other members of the teams. Working members of the staff of each paper must be given tickets to all functions and invited to participate freely in the meetings. Figures and list of names must be furnished and, if possible, the wants of reporters anticipated.

"In any campaign, printed matter must be used freely but wisely. Paid display advertisements in the local papers will help much if the finances permit; street car cards, signs on the fenders of street cars, and window cards in the shops along the principal streets assist. All of the printed matter should emphasize the slogan or catch-word of the campaign. The Scranton Y. M. C. A. had the figures 170,000 displayed in all printed matter, even using them as its telephone number during the successful effort to raise that many dollars for a new building. "I believe in St. Paul" was used in a campaign for members of the St. Paul Association of Commerce. "Are you a member?", "Join now", or similar phrases may be used in a membership campaign of any sort. This should be on the penants, badges, as well as on printed matter. Seeing it everywhere in the city will recall the campaigns and add to the impetus.

"It should be remembered that campaign work is merely a matter of organization and salesmanship; and to sell anything publicity must be obtained through advertising. Advertising does not necessarily mean 'paid' advertising.

"Information can be disseminated :

- 1 Through the Press—daily, weekly and monthly papers. Give the press fresh interesting accounts of the work of the organization, and its plans, and above all, keep the papers supplied with full details of local plans and activities, never forgetting to mention the names of people who are leading the local work or are helping loyally and effectively. Papers are always interested in local news. It is most important to make the fullest possible use of the local papers and they will respond if you will give them the kind of material they want. It is suggested that the local branch appoint a publicity committee made up in part of journalists of standing and public spirit.

2. Through public meetings of a general character addressed by people familiar with the work of the organization

3. Through meetings of various clubs, churches, commercial organizations, and other organizations whose co-operation is secured. Remember that with their natural interest in all movements of this kind, pastors of churches are invaluable helpers. Enlist them

4. Through organized effort in schools, and colleges

5. Through window displays of pictures, placards and exhibits. Space should be left for proper lettering calling attention to the desire for funds. These may be displayed in shop windows wherever permission might be obtained to do so."

An outline of the matter to be published during the first week of the campaign may be somewhat as follows:—

Monday—plan of the work summarized; Tuesday—a general story about the organization published; Wednesday—a running account of funds raised, cost of administration, need for further support, etc.; Thursday—names of subscribers and personal items about them; Friday—membership, what it means; Saturday—location of selling stations, where donations and subscriptions may be given, and Sunday—a stirring story and appeal for co-operation and support.

The campaign committee has to be a human dynamo to do all the things that are required from it. It has to look after the distribution of thousands of handbills, leaflets and folders and other publicity matters; it engages advertising space in the tramways; it has to get flags and electric signs made; and induce theatres, cinemas and individual singers and amateur theatrical organizations to give benefit performances.

In America, the art of conducting publicity campaigns has been perfected into a science. There, campaigns are divided into kinds. There is one called the "gum-shoe" campaign which pursues the policy of a "still hunt". It means that the campaign workers, say, during the course of a State election, quietly and privately interview as many voters as possible, distribute party speeches and influence the voters by quiet tactics. Another method of publicity is the "whoop-la" or "hurrah" campaign, the object of which is to arouse the rank and

file from their indifference and lethargy, stir up their spirit and make them join the organization. The managers seek to arouse enthusiasm by meetings, speeches, bands, parades, rallies, barbecues and grand demonstrations, all designed to excite the people to shout the victory of the party and to do as the party wishes them to do.

In America, publicity is a profession—a very paying one too. The large American commercial houses have what they call a "director of public relations" who advises them what to do and what not to do in all its relations with the public. The press agent has something of the work of a lawyer, with the difference that instead of talking to a jury, he talks to the nation. Some years ago, a number of unfavourable laws being made against the American railroads due to the tactful attitude of their employees in dealing with the farmers. The railroads employed Press agents and began a campaign to woo the good-will of the public and in a few years much of the anti railroad lawmaking was cut off.

This "director of public relations" or "public relations adviser" does many things. His primary duty is to favourably interpret the actions of his employer. Every large business has definite public relations and what the Government and the public think of it is of great importance to it. Consequently, the publicity agent must steer a course as nearly as possible under the circumstances with what he imagines to be the public will.

Besides the commercial houses, governments too have gone in publicity but on a much vaster scale. They have spent millions abroad to gain the friendship and good will of another nation and at home to get people to enlist in the army and to subscribe to government loans. A newspaper clipping taken from an Italian paper "Epoca," Rome, describing the difficulties of Italy at the Peace Conference and attributing them to the fact that both she and her problems were unknown and misunderstood in America, owing to the lack of propaganda, cites the publicity efforts of some of the other nations as follows:—



"During the whole war," it says, "Jugoslav propaganda in America was most active, the Jugoslavs disposing off large funds for this purpose, collected by Mme. Vesnitch, wife of the Serbian Minister to Paris, who is an American; by another extremely wealthy American lady, an intimate friend of a Serbian professor in the University of New York, who once presented two million dollars to the Jugoslav propaganda; also by the millionaire, Mrs. Harriman, who owns important mines where many Croat workers are employed."

"In 1914 the Allies gave three million dollars to the Serbians, who instead of buying supplies for the starving population, assigned the money entirely to propaganda. More millions were spent for the same purpose in America by France who undertook to finance Serbia."

"Among Italy's bitterest enemies were the Greeks, who constantly spoke against us, and some American universities contain many Greek professors, university opinion was almost invariably hostile to us. Most of the experts brought by Wilson to Europe were university professors who still continue to work industrially against Italy."

"Italy, on the other hand, began with a fund of \$1500 a month for propaganda, which was gradually raised to \$40,000."

During the war, America was the happy hunting ground of hundreds of European publicity agents. The Germans wanted to buy several of the leading American papers but their plot was exposed before they could do anything. Japan even now spends a considerable sum of money to promote a feeling of friendship in America towards her. There is hardly a nation in the world that is not seeking the good will of America at the present time. Unfortunately, political propaganda is an abyss in which crores of rupees may be spent without ever touching the bottom. Yet, if spent wisely, they bring in results otherwise unattainable. It is needless to ask—what of Indian publicity abroad? Whatever work was being done in America has been practically discontinued by the 1920 Indian National Congress.

The presidential election is the time for many campaigns in America. In the last election of 1920, over ten million dollars were spent in the nomination and election

of a president. A fortnight before election day (November 1) as many as twenty thousand speeches are made every night to tell the voters of the desirability of a certain candidate for the high office of the president. They are conducted by the "National Committees" of the Republican and Democratic parties.

An example of American campaign methods that may be related is the work of the American suffrage organizations. They are theoretically non-existent now but they are still conducted under their changed name of "League of Women Voters". Their past work, however, can not be forgotten. In New York, before the women received their vote, there were five leading suffrage organizations—the Woman's Party, the New York State Suffrage Association, the Equal Franchise Society, the College Equal Suffrage League and the Men's League for Woman Suffrage—all working unitedly through the Empire State Campaign Committee. A summary of their one year's publicity work is this:

1. One hundred street meetings a night in the various parts of the state.

2. One mass meeting daily in some public hall in the state.

3. A parade in which 25,000 women participated.

4. 100,000 dependable volunteers enlisted.

5. 3,000 paid organizers and speakers employed.

6. 75,000,000 leaflets and 100,000,000 leaflets distributed to 2,000,000 voters.

7. 200 special suffrage editions of different newspapers of the state issued; special articles in almost every periodical.

8. "Votes for women" flashed from 65 cinema houses; posters and placards in 55 theatre lobbies.

9. \$40,000 worth of bill-board and street car spaces used.

10. Distributed 1,000,000 suffrage buttons, 1,000,000 suffrage match cards, 2,000,000 suffrage fans, 25,000 suffrage balloons, 100,000 suffrage whirligigs.

11. Most important of all, was the work of visiting every voter in every home in that state by the suffrage workers.

For this work \$ 175,000 were spent. It

seems almost incredulous that it was considered necessary to do so much for one state only in one year. But in America where nothing is done on a small scale, where pamphlets and leaflets and dollars are always heard in quantities of millions, no task is too big.

### RAISING MONEY.

In the matter of getting contributions from the public, a definite policy as to the people to be appealed to should be followed. There are times when it is easier to raise lakhs by getting a few rich men together than by going to the public. The idea of getting one or two rupees each from a million people for a national cause is practically sound but it is more possible very often to raise a million from a dozen rich men if pressure and influence is brought about in a right way by the right persons. It is usually more difficult to make the public respond. A nation wide drive for money succeeds most in communities whose members have been trained to give.

This training to give for public causes is an asset to any country. In India, the Marwari, Gujrati, Bhatia and Parsi communities have acquired this education due to the constant appeals that are made to its generosity. Then again, it is a necessary part of their religion, much more so than is the case with other communities.

In all the money-raising campaigns, one thing that is most noticeable is the smallness of the number of contributors in comparison with the number of people in the community. While the amounts donated are fairly large, there are millions of people in the country who can afford to give but who have not been trained to have the mental attitude of giving for national work. It may be that a sufficiently strong attempt has never been made to arouse, stir, stimulate and unite the masses to give for national movements.

In all campaigns to raise money, the most important thing is getting a good staff of voluntary workers to help in the work. Influential business men should be chosen to act as heads of teams. The

leading man in the community, in whom the public has confidence is the one who can get the most large contributions. If the richest and most powerful man, the one with the highest social standing in the community approaches people, no one will usually refuse to give him a donation for a public cause. A letter of appeal may be thrown in the waste paper basket, an unknown solicitor of funds may be refused admission but the head of a large concern has not only free access everywhere, his mere presence compels a man to give the most he can. For this reason, these men should be selected as chairmen or heads of committees and teams for collecting funds.

In every city, there is a leading man or group of people and if he or they can be won over to participate in the scheme, they, in turn, can get many donations from their many personal and business connections. If there is a miserly rich man to be dealt with, it is often a good idea to set on his trail another hard-skinned rich man. In his efforts to persuade the other rich man, he will be unconsciously prompted to give more. Every word that he says to the other man is two to himself. Every one, rich and poor, however, should be approached, so that no one may feel neglected. The canvass of the public should be done in the end as that is merely the gleanings that follows the harvest.

The question of the publishing of the names of the donors and the amounts donated depends upon the importance of the movement for which contributions are solicited. The publication of the names of the donors spurs on the personal, social and business acquaintances and rivals to give. Anonymous gifts are not frequent. Most of the givers prefer to have their names published. Usually, the smaller the donation, the greater is the desire on the part of the giver to see his name in print. The desire for notoriety, however, is by no means limited to them. Even among the rich, many a man will give lakhs for a library or a hall or building or a school or a professorship bearing his name, though he may not give a pice to the general fund.

In Disraeli's novel "Coningsby," one of

the character says 'The printing press is a political element unknown to the feudal times. It absorbs to a great degree the duties of the sovereign, the priest, the parliament. It controls it, educates and it discusses. It is always a good plan to make the press an ally. Besides making use of its services during campaigns occasionally and if possible regularly news regarding the activities of the organization should be furnished to the press. It will increase the number of friends for the organization in the community. Besides the regular news columns special sections devoted to correspondence may be appropriately used. There are many press agencies which furnish news to all the important papers in the country. Their service is par-

ticularly valuable when a national gathering is held. Invitations should be sent to their reporters as well as those of the local press. The secretary may conduct his own publicity by sending out circular letters of the proceedings of the meetings, advance copies of the speeches of the important leaders and copies of resolutions to the press.

So much for publicity. We see that an organization can function properly only when it has clearly defined laudable objects, well formulated plans of action, an adequate staff to carry them out and a well organized publicity department to make the aims and the plan and the needs of the organization known to the public.

RAM KUMAR KHURMA

### TORU DUTT

TORU Dutt was the daughter of Mr Govind Chandra Dutt of the Dutt family of Rambagar Manicktal, Calcutta and was born in 1806 and died at the age of 21 in 1877. Several members of the Dutt family were men of culture and the *Dutt Family Album* (London 1870) contains specimens of their poetic compositions. They were moreover wealthy people Toru's father having held the post of Assistant Comptroller General of Accounts. The whole family turned Christian and was thus cut off from that branch of the family to which Mr Romesh Chandra Dutt belonged. The cultivation of letters was the favourite recreation of Mr Govind Chandra and his brothers and they were equally at home in the French, German and English languages. Toru had a sister named Aru who died before her and the two sisters were partly educated in England and France they being the first Bengali ladies to cross the ocean. The sisters acquired a marvellous command of the French language and no less so of English. After a stay of little above three years in England and France the family returned to Calcutta in September 1873 and the next four years of Toru's brief life were spent partly in the city house at Rambagan and partly in the palatial garden house at Baugmaree. In 1876 Toru

published in Calcutta a collection of metrical translations from French poets most of which first saw the light of day in Mr Lalbehari Dey's *Bengal Magazine*. The third edition was brought out by Messrs Kegan Paul & Co. London in 1880. Her *Indian Ballads and Legends of Hindustan* (London 1882) which according to some contains her best work and her complete French novel *Le Journal de Mlle d'Irivers* (Paris Didier 1879) were both published after her death.

The *Sheaf* contains nearly two hundred poems translated from about 80 different authors with critical and explanatory notes. The notes show a wonderful range of reading and independence and masculinity of criticism and according to one critic Principal Thompson of the Wesleyan College, Brakura it is on account of these notes alone apart from the poetic value of the verses that the *Sheaf* merits republication. Some of the best pieces including the oft quoted stanzas beginning 'Still barred thy gates' are by Aru, who was also to have supplied the illustrations to the French novel for she was a good artist. The well known French critic M. James Darmesteter says of the authoress of this compilation 'She has a right to a mention in the history of our literature. The final testimony of Mr Edmund Gosse runs as follows

It is difficult to exaggerate when we try to estimate what we have lost in the premature death of Toru Dutt. Her literature has no honour which

\* *Life and Letters of Toru Dutt* by Hanish Das Hu. Phreay Miford Oxford University Press. Pp 274 1921

need have been beyond the grasp of a girl who at the age of 17 and in languages separated from her by so deep a chasm had produced so much of lasting work.

Principal F. G. Thompson of the Bankura College truly calls her one of the most extraordinary women that ever lived 'a woman whose place is with Sappho and Emily Brontë' and the Rt. Hon. ble H. A. L. Fisher in his foreword to the present volumes says

This child of the green valley of the Ganges has by sheer force of native genius earned for herself the right to be enrolled in the great fellowship of English poets.

Mr Darmesteter calls her French novel an extraordinary feat, without precedent. The poetess Madame de Saffray, writes

This one surpasses all the prodiges. She is a French woman in this book and a French woman like ourselves—she thinks she writes like one of us.

Of the *Ballads* Principal Thompson rightly says that they have no deep roots in the Indian sentiment from which they profess to spring and that the authoress here stands outside her themes (*Dhruva*, *Prahla*, etc.) and does not enter deeply into them. According to the same critic the half a dozen intensely personal poems which are to be found in the volume are of far higher poetic value and they are sufficient to place Toru Dutt in the small class of women who have written English verse that can stand. Of these *Our Casuarina Tree* (in the *Bangmaree garden*) seems to be the best—it is surely the most remarkable poem ever written in English by a foreigner' (Thompson) and Mr Fisher regards it as one of the loveliest of the lyrics in the volume. He closes his foreword thus

In the long list of the contact and interfusion of East and West I doubt whether there is a figure more encouraging or so significant.

Comparing her with another well known living Bengali poetess who has wrought in English Mr Thompson says as follows

"It is natural to think of Saroja Naidu when Toru Dutt comes to mind. It is undeniable that Mrs Naidu has a metrical accomplishment and a skill in words far beyond anything which her precursors or her hasty effort attained. But in strength and greatness of intellect the comparison is all to Toru's advantage."

And not unnaturally the critic goes on to ask

"If the scanty plot can bear in so brief a space of years so promising a harvest what an enrichment of the nation would come if the same possibilities of development came to the whole of Bengal womanhood."

By far the greater part of the volume under review is taken up however with the letters written by Toru to an intimate English friend Miss Martin. There are also a few French let-

ters to Mlle Bader a French authoress of repute who wrote several volumes on the women of antiquity one of them being *La Femme dans l'Inde Intime*. A passage from Mlle Bader's letters to Toru Dutt deserves quotation here

Let me tell you again before else how precious to me is the sympathy of a child of India. Since the happy hours passed in the company of your ancestors I have traced the story of woman amongst the Hebrews, Greeks and Romans. Your volumes have thus succeeded to *Woman in Ancient India* and only a short time ago when my second father the great Bishop of Orleans was asking me amongst which women had I found most moral beauty my answer was 'If except the women of the Bible it is amongst the Indians that I found the greatest purity and devotion.'

Mlle Bader's book was sought to be translated by Toru Dutt and the permission was readily given but her life proved too short to enable her to do this.

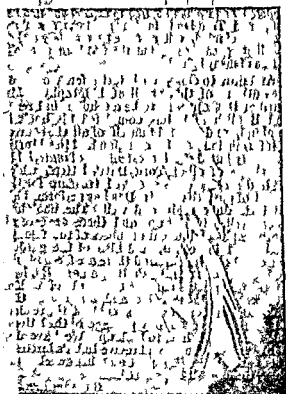
The great French critic James Darmesteter wrote of Toru Dutt as follows

This daughter of Bengal Hindu by race and tradition an English man by education a French woman at heart her love for France says Principal Thompson 'consecrated a second patrimony. No French woman could have felt more poignantly for her bleeding country. poet in English prose writer in French who at the age of eighteen made India acquainted with the poets of France in the rhyme of England who blended in herself three souls and three traditions and died at the age of twenty in the full bloom of her talent and on the eve of the awakening of her genius presents in the history of literature a phenomenon without parallel.'

This blending of three souls is most apparent in her letters full of a sweet calm an atmosphere of piety and devotion and gentle playfulness. But to a Bengali of the modern times the Indian soul in these letters at least towards the earlier part of the correspondence is almost conspicuous by its absence. She speaks in them of her animals, pets, her horses of whom she was very fond and a very few almost one or two near relations of the people of the land she has nothing whatever to say except in a general way when with exquisite force, moderation and brevity she describes a glaring act of racial injustice in the Anglo-Indian Law Courts. The man who had been found hanging from a tree in her father's garden house was of course a native. This use of the word occurs in many of the earlier letters till even Miss Martin is forced to protest and Toru Dutt writes

Thank you very much for what you say about calling my countrymen 'natives' the reproach is just and I stand corrected. I am really ashamed to have used it.

She could not even write her own name correctly in English and she says 'I do not know

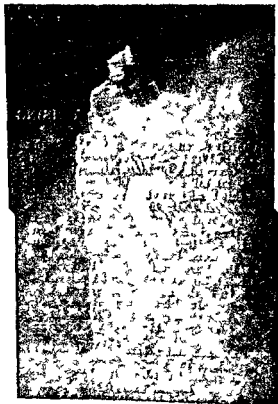


Sivaji

other deities of the Hindu Pantheon which are worshipped during the well known Ganapati festival of Western India. Young Phadke after he left the school tried to earn his living by preparation of clay and wax models of these deities and other mythological personages. The popularity of his works having fast increased beyond his expectations he organised periodical exhibitions of these figures first in Bassem and then in Bombay. The first exhibition of Mr Phadke's art works was held in 1911 and since then the exhibition has been an annual feature of Bombay life and few Indians who visit the city fail to pay a visit to the show at Rambaug.

Mr Phadke's genius flowered into the full blaze of light at the beginning of 1914 when his remarkable exhibit entitled 'Pravachan' carried away the highest award (gold medal) which it was in the power of the judges of the Bombay Art Society's exhibition of that year to give. It was Mr Phadke's first exhibit sent to any public exhibition and when the award was announced in the papers the young artist like Byron must have found himself that fine morning made famous. The fact that though the Society had been in existence for about twenty years, no sculpture had been deemed worthy of the award of the gold medal and that that year the work of an obscure

sculptor who had not even the benefit of acquaintance with a modern school of art, had been declared to be the best work in the exhibition, excelling in point of merit all the works of the hundreds of painters many of whom were of long established reputation, excited the greatest curiosity among the art critics and other visitors to the exhibition. Those who saw the exhibit later were fully convinced that it truly deserved the Grand Prix of the year and all the unqualified encomiums which had been showered on it. 'Pravachan' is indeed a remarkable work of art and would do credit to any of the greatest living sculptors. Mr Phadke has since then produced other works of a similar character but I do not believe that he has yet succeeded in producing any which surpasses 'Pravachan' in point of the vigorous treatment of the subject, or faithfulness to truth. It represents an old man of the Brahminical class gaunt and austere whose ideal is that of simple living and high thinking lost in reverie in the midst of his elucidation of some scriptural text. There is something indescribably sublime in the facial expression and the entire pose of this figure in tune with the Infinite which may be said to indicate the high



In the Seventh Heaven of D light



His Heart and Soul



Help the Blind

water mark of the artist's achievement up to the present time. Pravachan has since then been exhibited in the original, or in its replica in the Baroda, Mysore and other exhibitions. At the Baroda Industrial Exhibit on held 1911 it was awarded a Gold Medal and His Highness the Maharaja was so pleased with it that he purchased the work to enrich his State Art Gallery.

Mr Phadke's later works include 'Farmer's Luxury' (1915), 'Sri Krishna' (1915), 'Bust of an Artist' (1915), 'Flute Player' (1916). In the Seventh Heaven of Delight (1916), 'Grand Mother' (1918), 'Help the Blind' (1919), 'His Heart and Soul' (1920), 'Look Here' (1920), 'Shivaji' (1920), 'Lokmanya Tilak' (1920) and 'Watch Maker' (1921). In point of characterisation 'Farmer's Luxury' shows the artist at his best. It would have undoubtedly carried away the highest award of the year at the Bombay Art Society's Exhibition but for the fact that the same artist is debarred by Society's rules from competing for the Gold Medal for two years in succession after the first award. But there was little doubt that it was the achievement of the year as the *Times of India* a well known critic pointed out at the time. I cannot do better than reproduce here the *Times* critic's high testimony to this exhibit: he wrote —

"The everyday sight too for it depicts a tiler of the soil pausing in his labours to light a cigarette. The artist is Mr R. K. Phadke and he has modestly priced his masterpiece at a hundred rupees. He will be a lucky man who is first at the field to buy it. Possibly it is in comparison with the other sculptures that one is enthusiastic yet the writer believes it will be a long time before such poe and expressiveness are seen in the work of another Indian artist. It cannot be missed if it stands on the right hand side as one enters the hall and though it is small it will attract universal attention."

This exhibit was awarded a Silver Medal at the Mysore Dussera Industrial Exhibition in 1919 and a Bronze one at the Madras Fine Art Society's Exhibition in 1920.

The beautiful figure of Sri Krishna which was exhibited along with 'Farmer's Luxury' in the Bombay Exhibition in 1915 was deservedly awarded a Silver Medal being deemed the best sculptural exhibit of the year. For grace of expression and dignity of pose, proportion of limbs and youthful vigour the figure of the Divine Cowherd of Brhadabar would be hard to beat by any representation, in whatever medium—paint or stone or clay.

any people here, except those of our kith and kin and some of them I do not know.' Take another sentence:

We went to Church yesterday and on our way we were stopped by a great crowd, with shrieking musical instruments in a narrow lane. It was some Hindu festival (mark the word 'some', which betrays a degree of ignorance and indifference inexcusable in one born a Hindu.)

She speaks of the Governor-General, the Prince of Wales, and of her domestic servants, the highest and the lowest but does not know the great middle class of Bengalis from whose ranks she has sprung. Throughout her early letters she is pining to return to England ("We long to go to Europe again. We hope, if we go, to settle in England and not return to India any more—November 17, 1874), where she enjoyed much greater freedom of movement, ("the free air of Europe and the free life there are things not to be had here") though an English lady friend Miss Ada Smith, 'was charmed with the Garden and said she wondered we long to return to Europe when we had such an earthly paradise to live in and enjoy.'—But by and by, as Mr. Thompson says, she 'was growing into her own nation and its thought,' being helped thereto by the study of the Sanskrit classics in the company of her father, and with the assistance of a Pandit, so that she could write 'sometimes when I am *attristee* I think it would be better to live here in my own country all my life,' but anon the old complaint, with which it is difficult not to sympathise in the case of one so gifted as herself, recurs, though in a modified form, e.g. 'I feel a little lonely sometimes. In England life was so much more active and free; here, on the contrary, I lead a rather solitary and sedentary life, but not in the least do I feel it dull, *au contraire*, it is a quiet peaceful sort of life.'

Through the pages of Mlle. Bader's book, Toru learnt to feel 'how grand, how sublime, how pathetic our legends are.' She quotes Mlle. Bader who characterises Sita as 'le modele ideal de la perfection feminine.' She speaks of her own Hindu grand mother thus: 'a kinder, or gentler, or more loving woman never breathed. She is so much better than many who profess to be Christians.' Of her mother, who was steeped in Hindu tradition, and from whom she learnt all the legends of her nation in her childhood, Bishop Clifford, referring to the moral beauty and sweetness of her character, says that she was 'a true saint of God,' 'the most shining example I ever met of the triumph of spirit over the flesh.' Of the Indian Christian community Toru Dutt wrote 'the manners of Bengali Christian Society (with a very few exceptions), are such as would sadden the merriest heart and dishearten the most hopeful.' A few months before her death, she wrote: 'and then, as you say, it is always sad to leave home, where so many happy and

sad days have been passed; and, after 'all, India is my *patric*.' Speaking of the manners of Anglo-Indian Society in its relation to Indian domestics, she says, writing in 1876, 'we have no real English gentlemen or ladies in India, except a very few.' Her love for her parents, especially for her father, breaks out every now and then through her letters: 'I wonder what I should have been without my father; nothing very enviable or desirable, I know; without Papa we should never have learnt to appreciate good books and good poetry.' Speaking of Dr W. W. Hunter's admiration of her *Sheal*, she says: 'He is very courteous and made much of me and my abilities. Indeed, I felt quite ashamed, for, after all, it is a book of translations, and Dr. Hunter himself has written such a great number of books.' Ever and anon she speaks of being laid up with fever and cough and spitting of blood—symptoms of consumption which carried off her brother and sister—with a calm fortitude and resignation that recall India's best heroines of the past.

Referring to Toru's letters, Principal Thompson rightly says:

"It is impossible to read them without feeling how beautiful and noble that home-life was, with its encyclopedic interests, its playfulness amid knowledge, its affection. The father, bereaved of such comrades and children in quick succession, yet keeping a scholar's gentleness and a saint's resignation through all sorrow."

The Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Fisher quotes a beautiful pen-picture from one of the letters, and adds that her poetry reveals "a nature pure, innocent, religious, alive to beauty in all its forms, and capable of a wide range of appreciation in the field of poetic literature," whereas her letters "show us how devoid was Toru of the foibles often attaching to the literary character, how exempt from ostentation, vanity, self-consciousness, how child-like and eager, with how warm a glow of affection she embraced her friends, how free was her composition from all *hitter* and *combustible* elements."

Toru Dutt alludes more than once in her letters to the great sensation created in 'native' society by the visit of the Prince of Wales to see the Zenana of Babu Jagadnanda Mukherjee. Her judgment on the subject is as sound as almost all her judgments in these letters. She summarises an article in the *Daily News* of Calcutta on the subject, and calls it very sensible. In that article

"It is said that if the Babu means to bring out his family, as in English society every European does, and let his friends visit and mingle with his family as behoves civilised men and manners, he is a very well meaning man, and his aims are very laudable, but if he has only made an exception for the Prince and his suite, and means to 'lock up' his wife and family, as all Hindus do, his allowing the Prince to visit his family is a bit of flunkeyism quite un-

and worthy of that high approbation  
is not this sensibly and fairly put

In a letter written in the very year of her  
death occur the following lines

I do hope Indian girls will be in the future  
better educated and obtain more freedom and liberty  
than they now enjoy

In this connection we cannot resist quoting  
from Mr Thompson's excellent review where  
he says

"To one who is of the Bengal people and believes  
in their future it seems hardly credible that so much  
should have been said and so much from year to year  
should continue to be said yet so little should be  
done. Much has been spoken against child marriages,  
little has been done. As regards girls the Bengal  
people loses at least five years of childhood and the  
loss is one for which nothing can offer any stride  
of compensation. Again much has been said against  
the monstrous dowry system but little has been  
done. Rarely can there have ever been such a display  
of profound emotion in any land as on the occasion of  
Snehajata's self immolation. Nevertheless can there have  
been so little result. All things considered a year  
were. One would think that never among a people  
can there have been so distressing an episode and  
nothing more depressing for those of us who have loved  
this people and defended them through all evil reports.  
Here we are left without an answer when our friends  
are defamed and can only assert in humility and  
despair. And first of all the many things that must

be done and sought the emendatory judgments  
received and won and be free to depend and find her  
and Toru Dutt, in her greatness of so hard  
greatness of mind and no more be a solitary Jas  
found a phenomenon but the first born star a  
heaven of many lights

And now to close with just a few words on  
the author of this excellent biography. Mr  
Harnihar Das appears to be a scholar in French  
and English and has completed his book in  
England and availed himself of all the resources  
of information at his command. Miss Martin  
has contributed the largest mass of material in  
the shape of all of Toru Dutt's letters which  
she had preserved as a sacred treasure for the  
benefit of posterity. Mr Das has performed his  
patriotic duty truly and well. The book has  
been excellently got up and there are several  
photographs of different members of the family  
singly and in groups and also of the garden  
house and city house and there are facsimile  
reproductions of Toru Dutt's Bengali and English  
letters and poetic composition all of which  
have enhanced the value and interest of the  
book and a copious index enables the reader  
to lay his finger on any passage of the letters  
which he might like to look up. We have no  
doubt that this book will revive and sustain  
in her earliest English poet and her sweet and  
noble though all too short life.

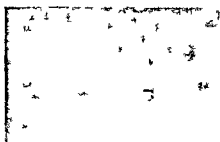
B. BL. OPHELS

## A RISING INDIAN SCULPTOR

It is barely seven years since Mr Raghunath  
Krishna Phadke leapt into public notice from  
the obscurity of his native village of  
Bassein 20 miles north of Bombay, and  
during this brief period he has sufficiently  
demonstrated that he is a sculptor of  
real parts and promise. He is just  
entering the prime of his life having been  
born in 1884. He has had absolutely no  
training whatever in any modern school of  
art. Mr Phadke's art is purely indigenous  
and no taint of Western influence is to be detected in his work. This is  
undoubtedly Mr Phadke's greatest asset  
and it is this that goes to make his art of  
the utmost value in the eyes of all true  
critics.

The only schooling Mr Phadke had in  
his youth was in the Bassein English  
School where he studied up to the School  
and he had then to give up his  
because of his poverty and the  
his childhood as a boy  
taken the greater delight.

try his hand at the preparation of clay  
models of Ganapati Parvati Shiva and







Pravachan.

made by any past or present artist Mr Phadke has made other models of Sri Krishna and Sri Dattatreya in the same style but they fall short of the original shown in 1916.

The bust of a 'Flute Player' which was shown in the Bombay Exhibition of 1915 was highly commended by the judges. The artist was awarded silver medals for his busts of Grandmother and An Artist exhibited in Bombay in 1918 and 1915 respectively.

In the Seventh Heaven of Delight is another model of low life and depicts a typical Bassein rustic who has tasted part but not the whole of the contents of a bottle of to-day's wine. His Heart and Soul approximate to the class represented by Pravachan and shows an old man with his sleeping grand-son in his arms quietly pursuing his study of some thumb-worn sacred book.

Mr Phadke's last fine piece of work the Watchmaker showing fuller maturity of genius than any of its predecessors was shown at the Bombay Art Society's Exhibition in March last and though it could not be awarded the Silver Medal for the same reasons as prevailed in the case of 'Farmer's Luxury' a critical eye could easily see that it was the best work of sculpture in the exhibition. The artist handles his subject with a deft hand and in full confidence both of which were somewhat lacking in his previous works. He pays more



Yasoda and Krishna.

attention to details than before and does not concentrate on the face alone. The sincere regard for truth is seen to be overmastering in this work but it does not, fortunately, degenerate into over insistence on minor details.

There are elements of danger as well as safety in Mr Phadke's lack of training on modern lines. Mr Phadke's forte lies in expression and pose and his danger in the ignorance of anatomical details. But, so far Mr Phadke has succeeded in cleverly concealing the latter defect. In his Watchmaker Mr Phadke has shown that he is too close an observer of nature to fall into the pitfalls which may lie in his way on account of his lack of training on Western lines and that he is rapidly acquiring in his own way, the knowledge of the technique which is essential to sound art. An over-critical eye may detect a few technical irregularities here and there in his art but on the whole it is no exaggeration to say that his work represents to a great extent the genuinely national art of India.

There is a school of critics I know represented by Whistler which maintains that there is no such thing as nationality in Art. This school does not seem to have grasped the true purpose of Art which is not merely to copy Nature but to interpret her as well. A competent critic has thus described the true



Sri Krishna



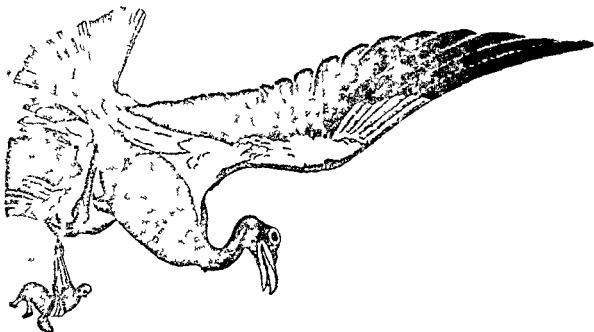
K. K. Phadke Sculptor

function of an artist. The artist is one who instinctively tends to modify and work upon every reality before him in conformity with some poignant and sensitive principle of preference or selection in his mind. He instinctively adds something to nature in one direction and takes away something in another overlooking this kind of fact and insisting on that suppressing many particulars which he holds irrelevant in order to insist on and bring into prominence others by which he is attracted and arrested. This difference in outlook upon the realities of Nature holds true not only of individuals but of nations as well. We find from experience that the same phenomenon or law of nature is sometimes differently interpreted or expressed by different nations. It is impossible to deny that over and above the individual consciousness and individual characteristics there are such

things as national consciousness and national characteristics. As Aurobindo Ghose in a recent issue of the *Arya* writing on the subject of 'National Education' has clearly brought out this fact. It is time he says we renounced the old and effete idea that the mind of man is the same everywhere and can everywhere be passed through the same machine and uniformly constructed to order. He tells us that within the universal mind and soul of humanity is the mind and soul of the individual with its infinite variations its commonness and its uniqueness and between them stands an intermediary power the mind of a nation the soul of a people. In the art of Mr Phadke the impress of this 'national soul' I maintain is abundantly evident.

KAMACHANDRA KRISHNA PRABHU

## CIPANINCS



The Roc Carrying Sindbad the Sailor

### Did Sindbad the Sailor Really See a "Roc"?

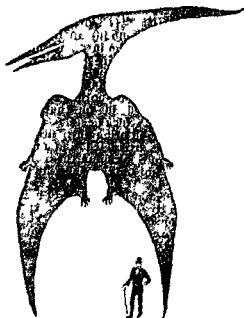
Of all the adventures of Sindbad the Sailor in the Arabian Nights perhaps nothing appeals more strongly to the imagination than the story of The Valley of Diamonds. The reader will remember that Sindbad had been casually left behind by his shipmates on a desert island because he happened to take a nap in the peaceful solitude of the place. Waking up he saw with dismay that the ship had departed. As he paced his desert prison he came across an enormous white egg and before long the mother bird that laid that egg came back to the nest.

I had before me, Sindbad says, one of the legs of the bird which was as big as the trunk of a tree. I tied myself strongly to it with my turban in hopes that the roc next morning would carry me with her out of this desert island.

After having passed the night in this condition the bird flew away as soon as it was daylight and carried me so high that I could not discern the earth.

Did Sindbad the Sailor really see a roc?

The legends of prehistoric times and the tales of mythology are always based upon something. Recent scientific discoveries in various parts of the earth make it quite plain that birds



The Curious Bat-like Prehistoric Bird whose skeleton was found recently compared to a Man

did fly in times gone by which were big enough to lift a man into the skies without difficulty.

Science now knows that there once lived in the rocky mountains a giant parrot, with a massive beak and a raucous voice which might have resounded like a megaphone for miles about through the ancient marshes of prehistoric America. The bird stood seven feet tall and its huge head was two and a half feet long. Of this much there is no question one nearly complete skeleton exists and fragments of others including skulls have been dug up. Perhaps three million years have elapsed since this mighty fowl trod the earth.

Although so mighty, the giant parrot was neither so big nor so formidable as another great bird whose remains have recently been dug up in Patagonia. This remarkable fowl had a head bigger than that of a horse with a huge beak as sharp as a pick. It stood eight feet high on its sharpclawed feet. Its neck was as thick as a horse's neck and its limbs very massive.

It is believed that this bird became extinct not much more than a century ago.

### The Riches of Sheba's Queen

The enormously rich mines of Ophir from which King Solomon the Queen of Sheba and other rulers of Old Testament days obtained the wealth of gold that made their cities places of dazzling magnificence, have been found again.

As archaeologists have found out the land of Ophir so frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, was a vast region in south-eastern Africa—a part of what is now Rhodesia.

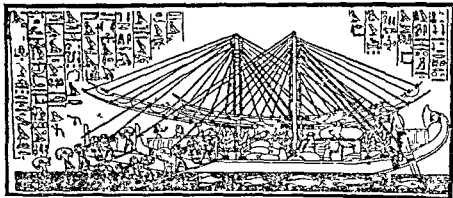
Engineers in charge of the re-opening of the long lost mines declare that the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon showed excellent judgment in selecting them as the chief source of the ancient world's gold supply. Their veins of gold bearing quartz seems practically inexhaustible, and the fine quality of the ore furnishes ample justification for the Old Testament's suggestions that gold from Ophir was something superlative quite beyond comparison.

### Pyramids Discovery

How were the pyramids of Egypt built? By what means were the enormous blocks of stone each weighing many tons hauled into position up to nearly 500 feet above ground level? This is a mystery thousands of years old which is still more or less of a puzzle and the solution of which is still to-day engaging the serious attention of modern engineers.

The usual explanation is that the stones were hauled up inclined planes or ramps of earth built gradually higher as the work progressed.

An engineer has a new theory as to how the pyramids were built which he sets forth in the *Indian and Eastern Engineering*. He says



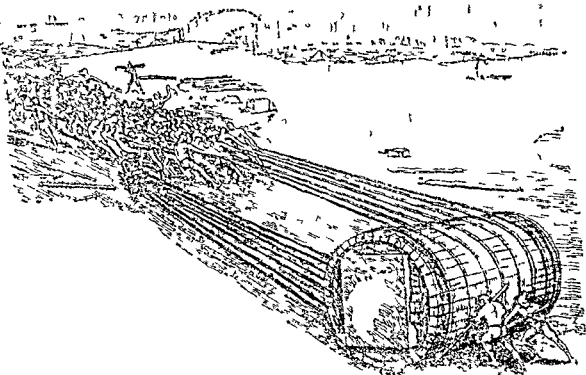
An Ancient Egyptian Picture of a Dhow being Laden with gold ingots from the Land of Ophir where the Slaves of King Solomon worked for the Precious Metal.

and are proving one of the world's most valuable sources of supply of the precious yellow metal.

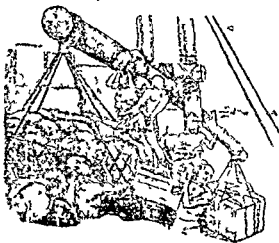
The thousands of shafts which were sunk into these veins of gold bearing quartz a thousand years before the Christian era and which have for centuries lain idle and forgotten, are fast being reopened and new ones dug.

that the polished coating of the pyramids now generally torn away was not only an ornament but an aid to construction and that the big stone blocks were caused to slide upward on this by means of ropes passed over rollers at the top.

Another theory is that the great stones used in the construction of the pyramids were rolled



Pyramid Building Great stones being rolled to the place of construction



Pyramid Building Great stones being lifted into place

to the place of building and lifted into place by the devices pictured in the two accompanying illustrations

### Looking Backward Four Thousand Years

The Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art has had a concession for

a number of years on the west bank of the Nile at Thebes. After the war was over, excavations were begun under the direction of Mr. Herbert E. Winlock with an efficient scientific staff. At the beginning of the season of 1919-1920 a huge tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty was being 'cleaned up' to get an adequate idea of its topography. It seemed that nothing worthy of special note was to be discovered.

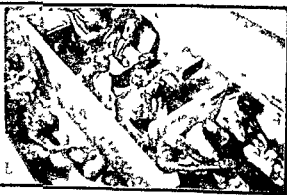
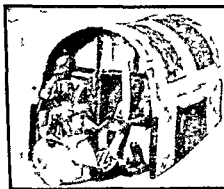
The site of the find is weirdly impressive. Great buttressed cliffs of tawny lime-stone practically enclose a deep amphitheater a quarter of a mile in diameter. Here was situated the mortuary temple of the last kings of dynasty XI, and high above around the rim of the depression are the black mouths of the tombs of the courtiers including that of Mentuhotep, a chancellor and steward of the royal palace—one of the most powerful men in Egypt in B.C. 2000. Mentuhotep had chosen his site well and built a causeway up the side of the cliff at an angle of 20 degrees. This leads to a portico, corridors and burial chambers which had been duly rifled at some former period. Everything pointed to a dismal disappointment but one day one of the men noticed that the chips of stone trickled from his hoe into a crack in the rock. The sun had set and the gloom of night so intense in Egypt had descended upon the cliffs but when the archaeologists lay flat on the ground and shot a beam of light into the crack, one of the most startling sights that it was ever a digger's luck to see



Mehenkewtre superintends the counting of his cattle in his Ark of ancient Egypt

flashed before them. In the small totally untouched chamber were dozens of dolls and other figures brightly painted and looking like a glorified Noah's Ark. A room was cleared out in the house below mirrors and reflectors were hunted up and for three days photographs were taken with the aid of daylight flashed along the corridor for one hundred feet by a mirror and a silver paper reflector. It was a secret room in which part of the tomb equipment of Mehenkewtre had been placed. A thousand years before his day it had been the custom for the tombs of the wealthy to contain such a chamber—called by the modern Arabs the *serdab*—in which the dead man's statue was walled up. Later it had been the custom to put beside the statue a few figures of servants at their daily tasks eternally preparing food and drink for the dead owner of the tomb. Gradually these servants had been multiplied and the statue of the man himself been made smaller until at last his figure had been reduced

to the same scale as the servants. The latter were now grouped in model workshops or on boats performing the tasks, and the master's statue had become a figure in the tableau waiting the work line for him. The spirits of the little model workman and the spirits of the food they produced eternally supplied the spirit of the little statue—the soul of the dead man. This idea was universal among the Egyptians. P. O. B. C. everyone who could afford to purchase such models to be piled around his own tomb and today every museum possesses a few. What was important in this case was the fact that Mehenkewtre was a person of great wealth who to duplicate the boons of existence he had led in this world had supplied himself with a larger series of such models than has ever before survived to modern times. This survival we owe to the fact that his tomb architect had adhered to the archaic idea of the *serdab* and that this crypt had escaped the plundering of his burial chamber.



Ancient Egypt. Left: Mehenkewtre sits in front of his cabin and listens to the music of a harpist. Right: Brewing was not taboo in ancient Egypt. Here Brewing and drinking are carried on under one roof.



Ancient Egypt: Seen through a hole in the rocks, a world of 4,000 years ago in brightly painted miniature, was revealed by the electric torch. A girl, still posing her basket of meats and stores, gazes stonily at the invaders of the tomb.

Each group or model was removed with extreme care, photographed, a minute chart made, and every figure numbered.

Curious injuries to some of the figures suggest a clandestine visit of some children of the family some 1,000 years ago, who appear to have sneaked in and played with the figures and burned one of the masts and lost one of the arms of the fisherman. All had to be photographed, for one-half of the find had to go to the Cairo Museum, while the other half went to the Museum in New York.

### Prehistoric Rock Paintings.

The cave paintings which have been discovered during the last two decades in no inconsiderable quantities in western Europe and which indisputably date from the glacial period, undoubtedly belong to the most surprising of all the discoveries made in the realm of the history of primal days. From caverns in southern France, to which must be added those in northern Spain there have been obtained a number of paintings, or carvings on rock, most notable among which are the large and extremely realistic pictures of animals, including the mammoth the wild horse, the bison, etc. Among the above pictures, which are painted by means of charcoal and red and yellow ochre, scenic groupings are never found, and natural-

istic looking representations of human beings are also entirely lacking.

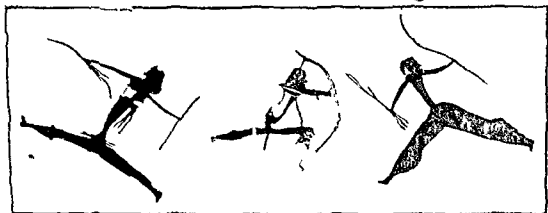
In contrast to these works of art found in the Aquitania-Cantabria zone, which have been quite well known for a number of years, is another art zone confined exclusively to the eastern half of Spain. This *Levantine* art, as it may be called, has been revealed only very recently, in large part during the war.

Among these *Levantine* images carvings are found but seldom, while paintings, executed usually with light or dark red pigments, are much more plentiful.

The figures observed in this zone of eastern Spain are quite as realistic as those in the northern zone of Cantabria, but are in general much smaller.

The peculiar interest of this group of pictures, however, resides in the fact that it contains numerous representations of the human form done in a most realistic manner, in contrast to the northern zone where, as we have said, such pictures are entirely lacking and which were evidently carefully abstained from.

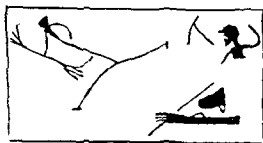
These "portraits" of human beings are usually full of life and motion. Female figures very seldom appear among them, and when they are seen they are clad in long bell-shaped skirts; the male figures are always naked, but usually carry weapons and wear certain ornaments. Among these are seen very wonderful caps and "crowns" as well as armlets and knee



Archers and Hunters in Prehistoric Art

birds while attached to the shoulders or hips are fluttering ribbon-like decorative strips of material.

While in some of the pictures great regard is paid to correct proportions of the human body and to the realistic representation of the more important details in others this fidelity to nature is more or less sacrificed in favor of picturesqueness of movement or in order to give a special emphasis to certain physical characteristics.



Hunters in Prehistoric Art. Below A Quiver and a Cooking Utensil.

Experts upon rock pictures are convinced that this naturalistic Levantine art of Spain is a contemporary equivalent of the Cantabrian zone of art mentioned in the beginning of this article and that it belongs like the latter to the end of the glacial period. Evidence of this is to be found in the many and indisputable similarities of style and technique between the animal pictures in both zones among which are found certain ones which in the east as well as in the west are solely diluvial such as the wild ass and the elk. A minute study of the character of the weapons and of the ornaments of these naked figures of huntmen leads to the same conclusion, as does also the fact that the naturalistic rock art of the Iberian

Peninsula had in general disappeared at about the beginning of the present geological era (i.e. at about 12 to 15 thousand years B.C.) giving way to an art purely diagrammatic and geometrical in character.

As respects the psychological background of this art of eastern Spain we are of the belief that it is mainly connected with ideas of magic either in the form of protective magic or else of enemy magic or the magic of the chase. It seems probable that it was because of such a connection of ideas that the artist carefully refrained from making individual likenesses or portraits from the fear that these might be employed as means of evil by crafty practitioners of black magic.

### Odd Head-Dress

Our engineer readers have an interesting problem on their hands in deciding just what



Remarkable head-dress of a Mongolian Duchess





Ancient Egypt. Seen through a hole in the rocks, a world of 4,000 years ago in brightly painted miniature, was revealed by the electric torch. A girl, still posing her basket of meats and stores, gazes stonily at the invaders of the tomb.

Each group or model was removed with extreme care, photographed, a minute chart made, and every figure numbered.

Curious injuries to some of the figures suggest a clandestine visit of some children of the family some 4,000 years ago, who appear to have sneaked in and played with the figures.

Other animals to which the term devil fish is applied is the great ray, sometimes as much as 20 feet broad and 12 feet long, which is the subject of the present article.

The manta is extremely broad and flat,

istic looking representations of human beings are also entirely lacking.

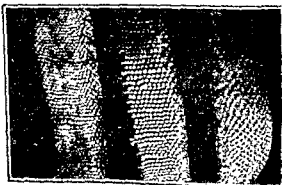
In contrast to these works of the Aquitani, the works of the Aquitani are entirely lacking.

Dorsal and Ventral Views

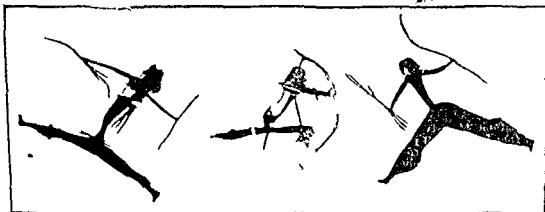
As we have said, the pectoral fins have a sweep like that of the wings of a bird or bat. But the head fins or cephalic fins are still more highly differentiated; they are, in fact, grasping organs and have a power of rolling upon



The Devil Fish



Bands of Teeth of the Devil Fish



Archers and Hunters in Prehistoric Art

bands while attached to the shoulders or hips are fluttering ribbon like decorative strips of material)

While in some of the pictures great regard is paid to correct proportions of the human body and to the realistic representation of the more important details in others this fidelity to nature is more or less sacrificed in favor of picturesqueness of movement or in order to give a special emphasis to certain physical characteristics

Peninsula had in general disappeared at about the beginning of the present geological era (i.e. at about 10 to 15 thousand years B.C.) giving way to an art purely diagrammatic and geometrical in character

As respects the psychological background of this art of eastern Spain we are of the belief that it is mainly connected with ideas of magic either in the form of protective magic or else of enemy magic or the magic of the chase. It seems probable that it was because of such a connection of ideas that the artist carefully refrained from making individual likenesses or portraits from the fear that these might be employed as means of evil by crafty practitioners of black magic



"The North"



"The South,"



The East.

ing male figure. This statue signifies a protest against Roumanian rule in Transylvania.

Another helmeted Magyar warrior carrying a tremendous sword signifies the West ceded to Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. The Magyar leans defiantly on the defeated figure representing these two states and apparently caught in the act of carrying away the Hungarian crown. This hints at the city of Pressburg now incorporated in Czecho-Slovakia which has for a period served as the coronation city of the Hungarian realm.

### Manila Hemp

In the rope making industry there are now commonly employed but three vegetable fibers and these named in the order of their importance and service value are Manila hemp, sisal and jute. A further classification places hemp and sisal in one group, i. e. that of the hard fibers while jute is designated as a soft fiber. However there are soft hemsps such as those grown in Russia and Italy. These fibers are not deemed of sufficient strength to warrant making them up into any but the smaller runs of cordage. The prime hard hemp comes from the Philippines where there are under cultivation quite 1 236 000 acres of this particular



The West.

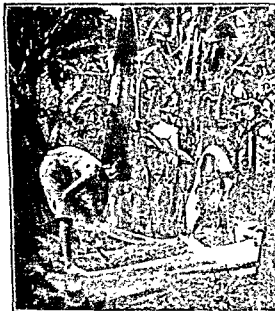
species of the wild banana plant botanically known as the *abaca*.

The abaca grows in dense masses to a height of from 15 to 25 feet thanks to a soil of volcanic origin and the abundant rainfall of the Philippines and reaches the cutting stage in something like 14 months. The plants reach the most favorable condition for yielding fiber just before they reach the flowering stage. The plant is then cut down and the leaf stalks that sheath the central peduncle are stripped off. It is from these leaf stalks that the fibers are obtained.

The strips of leaf stalks are laid aside in the shade to dry for two or three days after which without any further preparation they are ready to be scraped. The scraping process removes the pulpy matter and leaves only the fiber.

As shown in our photographs the natives use a rude homemade stripping apparatus built out of material at hand. This apparatus consists essentially of a block of wood and a knife between which the leaf stalks are drawn.

The operator uses a small piece of bamboo as a hand hold around which the end of the leaf stalk is twisted and then draws the leaf stalks between knife and block. Repeated scraping removes the cellular matter around the fibers so effectually that no further treatment is



Stripping the Bark off the Abaca Tree and putting it to the Factor



Stripping the Leaf stalks and the Leafy Part of



Cleaning the Hemp by Drawing it over Pointed Spikes which Pull out Dirt and short fibers. It is necessary other than to hang up the hemp to dry.

The native method of cleaning the hemp is to drag it across a set of spikes which comb out the dirt and short fibers. The natives twist the fiber into rope, yarn and make the yarn into



Winding up the Fiber on Spools for Use in Making Fine Fabrics.

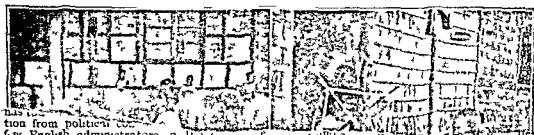
rope. The finest fibers are used in native looms to make delicate textiles.

Fine gauzes and veils are made of this material, also light crapes and fabrics which are much prized as articles of dress because of their lightness and durability.



Stripping the Bark off the Abaca Tree to the Factory

Shedding the latex stalks and the Pulpy Matter



tion from political con-  
few English administrators in the  
immediately responsible for effect in order and  
government are in favour of rapid political  
changes in that country. Again in spite of the  
great success of responsible government in the  
Anglo-Saxon dominions of the British Empire  
it has not been proved that this form of govern-  
ment is a cure for all human ills or even that it  
suits all races. Few European countries have  
tried it with success the most that has been  
proved is that it suits the Anglo-Saxon and  
some other European [what of the Japanese  
the Filipinos &c ?] races and even in Eng-  
land it has led to many inconveniences and  
abuses. These considerations would justify the  
most liberal Englishman in accepting with  
some reservation the assurance of a comparatively  
small number of Indian, Egyptian and Barmese  
gentlemen that its immediate introduction to  
their countries will prove a blessing.

Current Indian politics is or to be more

consolidated whole and not by a purely depart-  
mental watertight compartment system. The  
need of an Indian Agricultural Commission  
consisting of experienced agricultural experts  
both Indians and foreigners to draw up a  
practical scheme for the rapid economic  
improvement of the Indian agriculturists has  
been emphasised. To the critics who advance  
lack of funds to carry out agricultural improve-  
ments Mr. Dabey very enthusiastically says  
that expenditure is absolutely necessary in the  
interest of hundreds of millions of people whose  
condition is going from bad to worse and who  
have not even the absolute necessities of life—  
in the interest of the nation in the interest of  
the country and in the interest of humanity as  
a whole funds should be forthcoming, as the  
whole fabric of religious, political, social and  
economic activities depend on agricultural  
conditions. We endorse his suggestion of

taking the people into confidence in carrying out agricultural reforms.

We welcome this book at this critical stage of the country and commend it to the Government and to all who have the welfare of the country in their heart. The book may be had of Messrs. Shanker Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla.

DEBENDRANATH MITRA

SWARAJ THE GOAL AND THE WAY By Bipin Chandra Pal. Lopee Publishing House Madras Price Re 1

This is a book of 120 closely printed pages being the Presidential Address of Mr. B. C. Pal at the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Barisal in 1921. The speech created quite a sensation and gave rise to a good deal of controversy and opposition among the delegates at the Conference but nevertheless it contains much straight talk and food for serious thought. Who will for instance deny the truth of the following passage? We find the Hindu Swarajist drawing fancy pictures of a future India which will be essentially Hindu. The social structure of this India will be built upon the ancient foundations of Varnasrama. Its religion will be a synthesis of Hindu philosophies and ideals pursued through old Hindu disciplines. And the Indian state will be a Hindu state which will preserve and promote the Hindu ideals of life and be in every matter the defender of Hindu faith. When this Hindu Swaraj is established there will be practically one religion in India. Hinduism one social structure Varnasrama one language, dominating over all the various vernaculars. Hindu one polity the Hindu Raj controlled by Hindu wisdom and headed by a Hindu King. I know there are Hindu nationalist friends who think in this way. Similarly there are Moslem Swarajists also, who I am afraid are dreaming of recapturing the supreme government in India for their own denomination or community. A Pan-Indian Federation with full provincial autonomy is Mr. Pal's scheme of a democratic Swaraj. Mr. Pal lays great emphasis on the preservation of the freedom and individuality of our provincial life. We cannot too jealously guard the freedom of our thoughts and activities. We ought not to forget that Bengal had a history and evolution of its own in the past the results of which are seen in the freedom and liberation of the religious and social life of our province even to this day. Among the limitations of the present movement is the influence of the mighty personality of Mahatma Gandhi himself. Such personal influences are of immense value to any social or political movement. Without these the soul of the masses in the present stage of our evolution can scarcely be touched. At the same time the inevitable danger of it (among other things) is this

namely—that if for any reason this personal influence is removed the structure which kept it together falls to pieces.

THE GOSPEL OF FREEDOM By Professor T. L. Vaswani. Ganesh & Co., Madras. Annas 12

THE TRUTH ABOUT INDIA By H. M. Hysman. S. Ganesh & Co., Madras.

THE FAILURE OF EUROPEAN CIVILISATION AND WORKING CULTURE By S. E. Stokes. Part 1. S. Ganesh & Co., Madras.

These three booklets published in Madras, rival in their artistic get up and excellent letter press and paper the best products of English firms and it is a pleasure to handle them while their contents are also of absorbing interest and are in entire keeping with the excellence of their get up.

As regards the second of these books, Hysman's *The Truth about India* we shall not make any extracts and shall simply content ourselves by saying that from the first line to the last sentence there is not a word that is not true and that if we began to make quotations we should have to quote the whole of the two chapters of which it consists. We can only recommend every Indian to purchase a copy and read it for himself and think about the sad plight of his country in the light of what he has read and try to do what he can to devise a remedy for it. The economic drain of India and the fitness of India to govern herself are the main themes of the book. The Non-co operation movement is suggested in the following passage. A peaceful upset of the entire English system is quite possible seeing that, as has been truly said, the Indians themselves have only to refuse to work for Europeans and the whole white empire would be brought to an end within a month. Certain it is that if the agricultural population, hitherto so quiescent with the exception of a few local outbreaks were to become even passively hostile British rule would soon be a thing of the past.

In the *Gospel of Freedom* Prof. Vaswani gives his entire and whole hearted support to the non-co operation movement and what he calls the student revolt but along with much that those who are actively engaged in that movement would relish. There are repeated warnings which the adherents of Mahatma Gandhi would do well to remember and conscientiously follow. Social boycott, ill will and abuse will only strengthen the forces which fight against the great cause. Let our thoughts be so pure and our words so full of sympathy, our conduct so patriotic as to prove to our opponents the truth of the faith in us. What can kill non-co operation will be violence on the part of the people. Violence is the autocrat's excuse for greater violence. Violence is Europe's way, *ahimsa* is the way of India. When did

a people achieve greatness by indulging in cheap abuse? Abuse and hate are forms of violence, and violence as I have often urged, is weakness. The first principle of achievement is right knowledge', if in any part of this country this movement of non-co-operation comes to be dominated by counsels of passion and hate, in that part must it fail of its mission. I am afraid some of those who call themselves non-co-operators have behaved as 'barbarians' and I would have them show in their daily life and work that they have nothing to do with counsels of passion and hate and strife. The struggle we are in to-day is holy and none can help it who is not in it with a pure heart.

'Know that the Swaraj we want is for the service of humanity; there are platform speakers to-day who appeal to lower motives for gaining popularity and power; they are not the friends of freedom; they are not the friends of India. Soldiers of liberty must needs be worshippers of the ideal, do not confound energy or vigour with *Zahardasti*. Again and again have I reminded the public of the ancient Indian teaching—*Atmasa pravino Dharmam*.

Not all among the non-co-operators remember that 'Nationalisms we have committed again and again. Let us confess them before God and man. One of these is our sin against the so-called untouchables.

'If non-co-operation succeeds' says Professor Vaswani, it will show to the Government what Indians can do for their country; what they can suffer for the national cause; and how helpless an administration can be without the help and moral support of the people. Then will respect be born for Indians in the heart of the British people. Then will the Indians have gathered strength to make their demand effective. Swaraj will then be not a gift from England to India but an achievement of the Indian people.

Mr Stokes says Mr Andrews in his Introduction is an American of English Quaker ancestry and has settled in the hills in upper India and married a Rajput lady and his children are Indians to such an extent that they have not yet learnt a single word of English. He has therefore every right to speak of Indians as 'we' as he constantly does in this book. His object is to show the absolute impossibility of India remaining with self-respect within the British Empire as it now stands and Mr Andrews from his first-hand knowledge of the British colonies, entirely agrees in this opinion.

Mr Stokes quotes from the article on Race in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* to show how since the Middle Ages 'the colour barrier presented itself to the European as insurmountable and it displaced religion for him as the dividing line between people within the pale of civilisation and the people without. The *Cambridge Modern History* says of England's Indian Empire "The resources of her

commerce and the prestige which her possession confers have set Britain in the foremost place among the nations of the world. No effort, no sacrifice, has been considered too great to retain the prize'. And yet how often are we assured by hypocrites that India is more of a burden to England than otherwise and that England obtains very little direct gain from her and holds her entirely in her own interest!

The great fact about the white races is that they are increasing at a phenomenally rapid rate. Viscount Bryce in his introduction to the *Book of History* (pp 40-41) surmises that they now probably form one-half of mankind and may in another century, form nearly two-thirds. The latest Census returns in India show that what with famine, pestilence, malnutrition and the like the vitality of the population of India has sunk so low that they have increased at a very low rate. At page 497 Vol XII the authoritative *Cambridge Modern History* has to make the most damning admission which really constitutes a terrible indictment on the much vaunted blessings of British rule that the population of India are pressing ever nearer and nearer to the verge of subsistence.

The South African colonials according to the *Cambridge Modern History* exhibit an instinctive aversion from Asiatic immigration overpowering any imperial sympathy of common citizenship and demanding unanimously that Europeans alone should be admitted as colonists. According to another authority, J F Abbott, 'The White Australia idea is not a political theory. It is a gospel. It counts for more than religion for more than flag, because the flag waves over all sorts of races for more than empire. The high priest of political idealism Woodrow Wilson during his first presidential campaign said as follows with regard to Asiatic immigration: I stand for the policy of exclusion. The whole question is one of assimilation of diverse races. We cannot make a homogeneous population of a people who do not blend with the Caucasian race. This feeling as Mr Stokes shows by other quotations only reflects the universal trend of American opinion. The theory of Asiatic exclusion is carried so far that we are compared with bacteria by a scientific writer S Hall in the *Journal of Heredity* for March 1919. Just as we isolate bacterial invasions and starve out the bacteria by limiting the area and amount of their food supply, so we can compel an inferior race to remain in its native habitat where its own multiplication in a limited area will as with all organisms eventually limit its numbers and therefore its influence.' 'The European does not make any distinction in favour of the coloured Christian on the basis of his religion. The European missionary in Africa or India—as the the on Race in the *Encyclopædia*

*Ethics* 'is divided by the colour—far from the Christian natives just as acutely as from the Nigger.' There is thus no hope of assimilation with the white races even if we adopt their religion. Where then," asks an American writer "should the congested coloured world tend to pour its accumulating human surplus inexorably condemned to emigrate or starve?" The answer is into those emptier regions of the earth under white political control. But many of the relatively empty lands have been set aside by the white man as his own special heritage. The upshot is that the rising flood of colour finds itself walled in by white dykes debarring it from many a promised land which it would fain deluge with its dusky waves (Stoddard).

'If these are the prospects of India pathetically writes Mr Stokes is it not a farce to talk of her attaining to the position of an equal partner in the comity of nations known as the British Empire? I admit that I may be mistaken, but from my studies I am absolutely unable to arrive at any other conclusion than that the British Empire and the United States are completely committed to this policy of shutting up the peoples of Asia and Africa within their own borders while they populate at their leisure all vacant habitable areas with their own people. Can India afford to be permanently associated with a political unit which with the United States, stands above all others committed to a policy of racial segregation upon the basis of colour? If the answer is in the negative, then surely it is useless for us to talk about our goal as being Self government within the British Empire.'

So far as we remember our new Viceroy Lord Reading in his speech delivered at the Chelmsford Club at Simla on Empire Day said that the British Empire taken all in all is the justest and most glorious empire that the world has ever seen. If His Excellency's conception of justice is derived from the relations between the British colonies and that part of the Empire which really justifies its being called by that name then we leave our readers to decide what may be expected from his frequently reiterated assurance that he has come to India to give her absolutely impartial justice.

#### POLITICS

AN OUTLINE OF THE RELIGIOUS LITERATURE OF INDIA By J. V. Farquhar M.A. D. Litt. Oxon. Oxford University Press. Pp. xxiii + 451.

The subject matter of the book is easily known from its title and it is so well dealt with by the author that we live in the slightest hesitancy in saying that it is indispensable for those who want to study through the ages any one of the chief Hindu sects or philosophies or to realize the origin and growth of some doctrine or discipline. Lord Farquhar is divided the whole religious literature of the country up to 1800 A.D. into two large number of vernacular works the importance of which can in no way be denied

into seven main periods each being dealt with in a separate chapter. The chapters are arranged as follows—I The Early Vedic Religion A to 500 B.C. II Transmigration and Rebirth 500 B.C. to 200 B.C. III The Movement towards Theism 200 B.C. to A.D. 200. IV Philosophies and Sects A.D. 200 to A.D. 500. V The Sakta Systems A.D. 500 to A.D. 900. VI Bhakti A.D. 900 to 1350. VII Muslim Influence A.D. 1350 to A.D. 1800. The names of the chapters which indicate the gradual growth and development of the Indian religion are in ascending order and unless they are fully explained. One of the special features of the book is that the subjects have been dealt with by dividing them according to different periods and so it has proved very useful for one's comparative study. The other importance of the work lies in its bibliography, in which almost all the works now available including some essays, papers and journals have been enlisted thus supplying the reader to a great extent with up-to-date information. In doing this Dr. Farquhar has attempted to assign approximate or probable date to every work there in.

Dr. Farquhar, like other European scholars mentions (pp. 5, 102) phallus worship in the Vedas. The only argument advanced by them lies in the word *sinnadeva* (सिन्देव) in the Rigveda (VII. 21. 5). X. 83. 7. 99. 3) which is explained by them to mean 'one whose god is phallus, i.e., a phallus worshipper'. But they have utterly failed to grasp the true significance of the word which is very simple to an Indian reader. It means nothing but lustful, as both Yaska (IV. 19 quoting Rv. VII. 21. 5 above) and Sayana explain (*abrahmacharya*). *Sinnadarapara yana* (सिन्दारपरयान) is a very common word in Sanskrit and it simply means 'one addicted to lust and gluttony'. Mark here in this compound word *parayana* last resort or refuge. The following words from the Taittiriya Upanishad (I. 11. 2) can be cited here.

'*Matrisro bhava pitrisro bhava, āchāryasro bhava, atithisro bhava*'

Max Müller has translated them as follows

Let thy mother be to thee like unto a god! Let thy father be to thee like unto a god! Let thy teacher be to thee like unto a god! Let thy guest be to thee like unto a god! (Hanks are ours.)

Let us take one word more viz, *śraddhaleśa* (श्रद्धालेश) which means 'very faithful' (*śraddhala*—Sayana). Eggelsgaard translates it by 'god fearing', but how, we cannot understand. Thus there is absolutely nothing in the Vedas to suppose that phallus-worship was in vogue in their time.

There are some other inaccuracies, which have come to our notice. Vishnu is the founder of the *Rudra sampradaya* of Vaishnavism not so far as our informant goes written any *bhāṣya* or commentary on the Brahmasūtras, nor is his philosophical standpoint *dvaita*, as the author says (p. 287). But the fact is that Vallabhacharya is the commentator of this school which is generally known after his name, his philosophical standpoint being pure monism (*suddhādvaita*). As regards the Nimbarka school known as *śaivalīyana sampradaya* Nimbarka himself has written a commentary on the Brahmasūtras, it is called *śaivalīyana* and not *Pratīyana* as Dr.



Farquhar says The latter is a *tilit* on the former, and it is true that its author is Śrinivāsa.

Vachaspathi's *Tattvavivrti* is not an exposition of the Sūtras of Patañjali (p. 177) but of Vyāsa's commentary on them.

"The *Abhidharma* or Teaching Basket, containing chiefly manuals for training of monks and nuns" (p. 67) is wrong. *Abhidharma* means transcendental doctrine or metaphysics, and so *Abhidharma Pitaka* is the Basket of Transcendental doctrine.

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

PARSI OF ANCIENT INDIA With references from Sanskrit books, inscriptions &c By Shripurā Kavasi Hodivala, B.A. Bombay, 1920 8vo Pp. i-xxvi 1152 D. S. Memorial Series no. II

It is only very rarely that a work like this is sent to us for review. In these days of professional researches of doubtful merit and studious plagiarism from out-of-date literary productions it is not with inconsiderable relish that we enjoy and appreciate the consummate scholarship embodied in the present work. It comprises a systematic study of the question of Iranian connection with India and contains a number of papers dealing with the subject in all its bearings. The publication gives evidence of an extensive reading, and the author has handled his sources with considerable critical discrimination and scientific acumen, which we are sure will be greatly valued by scholars for whom the book has been written. Mr. Hodivala has left nothing unsaid in connection with his subject and the evidence he has adduced as well as the conclusions drawn therefrom, will remain convincing and final, till further discoveries disclose to the view newer vistas and different prospects. An Appendix of 46 pages, criticising Dr. D. B. Spooner's paper entitled the "Zoroastrian Period of Indian History," published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1913, has also been added, and the author has conclusively proved within that small compass that the vision of a Zoroastrian India is but a day-dream and cannot be substantiated.

S. KUMAR

THE INDIAN ARMS ACT MANUAL—Containing the Indian Arms Act (xxx of 1861) the Indian Arms Act (xi of 1878) as amended by Acts xx of 1919, and xlix of 1920, and the Indian Arms Rules 1920 as amended up to 1st April 1921, with notes and rulings of the High Courts By G. K. Roy (Raj Bahadur) Supdt. (retired) Home Dept. Govt of India Fourth Edition (April 1921) Pp. 251 (Royal Oct.) Cloth. No price mentioned.

This undoubtedly useful publication has gone through the fourth edition and nothing more I think need be said in its commendation. The author who retired sometime ago from Government Service had all the opportunity of getting at the Rules and Orders, and the various notifications published by the Government of India from time to time which few

private individuals could secure. A glance over the contents will show the usefulness of the book. —

- 1 Act no. 31 of 1860
  - 2 Proceedings of the Council of the G. G. in connection with the Arms Act xi of 1878 and the Indian Arms (amendment) Act, xx of 1919
  - 3 Statement of Objects and Reasons in connection with Acts xi of 1878, and xx of 1919
  - 4 Home Department Resolution no. 2125 C 21st March 1919
  - 5 The Indian Arms Act xi of 1878 as amended by Act xx of 1919 and Act xlix of 1920
  - 6 The Indian Arms Rules 1920 as amended by notifications published up to 1st April 1921
  - 7 Home Department Resolution no. 1458-C, 27th September 1893, and Home Department letter no. 3476 31st December 1900
  - 8 Local Rules and Orders of all the Provincial Governments
  - 9 Chronological list of notifications
  - 10 Index of subjects and of cases referred to
- The reference to judicial decisions is pretty full and up-to-date.
- There are some typographical errors, e.g., the case of *Sonia Tili* has been shown as appearing in 23 C P L R 11. It should be 14 C P L R 112.
- The publishers should be congratulated on the general get up of the book.

B. C.

## GUJARATI

PREETHI VALLABH (પ્રિયો વલ્લભ) By Kanaylal Vanchlal Munshi, B.A., LL.B., Advocate High Court, Bombay. Printed at the *Surya Varman Press* Pp. 68 Thick card board. Illustrated. Price—Re 1-8 (1921)

Mr. Munshi by his two previous historical novels *પાટલ નો પ્રમુખ* and *સુજરાતનો હાથ*, has established himself as a writer of no mean order. His delineation of human character, feelings and passions, is superb. This particular novel is concerned with the seventeenth expedition of Taimur against Mughal Avanti (Ujjain) as a result of which the latter was captured alive and taken to Telangana. Before he was killed he went through various experiences in the capital of his captor, and one of the most notable was the subjugation by him of Taimur's ascetic widowed sister, Mrinal Devi, who had deliberately deadened all softer emotions of her heart. Before Mughal's sunny smiles and playful arts, Mrinal first melted and then gave way completely. Similarly the rousing of love's passions in Vilasvati by Rasandhu (Bhoj) is admirably depicted. Our only regret is that instead of closing the whole story abruptly, the author should have played Mrinal and Mughal longer.

SANSAR SUKH (સંસાર સુખ) By Dr. Hariprasad Varma Desai published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, Price Rs. 12 (1921.)

(2) SUKH SAMANTHA (સુખ સામંત) અને સુધર્મિ તથા વિચારોત્તમ વલ્લભ By Ratnasinh Dipsinh Parmar, published and printed at above. Pp. 276 Price 1/10 (1921)

## LANCASHIRE'S ATTACK UPON INDIA'S FISCAL AUTONOMY—III

BY ST. Nihal Singh

THE very carefully considered reply that the Secretary of State for India made to the Lancashire deputation naturally falls into two parts. In the first place he explained the financial situation in India and justified the increase in the tariff upon financial grounds. While declaring that the measure was dictated purely by revenue considerations he did not hesitate to acknowledge that its effect would be of a protective character. That admission greatly pleased the Lancashire men present. Their satisfaction was however momentary for in the second part of his reply Mr. Montagu took great pains to show why it was beyond his power to interfere with the action taken in India in order to deprive the recent increase in cotton duties of its protective element. It is this portion of his speech in which he outlined India's fiscal powers which deserves to be carefully pondered by us.

In explaining the constitutional position the Secretary of State declared that it would have been possible for him acting with his colleagues of the India Council to have forbidden the introduction of the Budget proposals and even to veto the Bill containing those duties when after its passage by the Indian Legislative Assembly it came to the India Office for sanction. That was however only the legal or the theoretical position. Actually it would be impossible for him to take such a course for a two fold reason.

Firstly he could not veto part of a Bill but must veto the whole Bill and thereby he would leave the Government of India with absolutely none of the increased revenue to meet the increased charges which included the heavy expenditure incurred for the defence of India which is incidentally the defence of the Empire.

Secondly, if he had refused to give the Government of India leave to introduce

the Budget and thereby compelled it to propose to the Legislative Assembly duties upon cotton coupled with a corresponding excise every single elected member would have voted against the measure and the Bill would have been defeated in the Legislative Assembly. It was quite true he admitted 'that there is a provision in the Statute which enables the Governor General to insist upon a tax although it is denied him by the Legislative Assembly if he can certify that it is essential for the safety tranquility or interests of British India. To do so however would have blunted that weapon. It would moreover have meant that the Governor General would have had to certify that the passage of an excise duty on cotton was essential for the safety tranquility and interests of British India.

No one who heard Mr. Montagu make these remarks thought it was necessary for him to draw the moral that if such action had been taken it would have given Indians every justification to say that certain powers had been reserved in the Act of 1919 not for the benefit of India as the authors of that Act had professed but in order to facilitate the exploitation of India by British industry and trade.

To show how the constitutional position had been altered by the reforms of 1919 the Secretary of State told the deputation what happened when a member of the Joint Select Committee to which Parliament committed the Government of India Bill of 1919 moved an amendment to the Bill that there should be no interference with any fiscal measure proposed by the Government of India. That motion was rejected he declared because it was constitutionally impossible. Then he read the following passage from

the report of that Committee, because he considered it to be important

The Committee have given most careful consideration to the relations of the Secretary of State with the Government of India and through it with the Provincial Governments. In the relations of the Secretary of State with the Governor General in Council the Committee are not of opinion that any statutory change can be made so long as the Governor General remains responsible to Parliament. But in practice the conventions which now govern these relations may wisely be modified to meet fresh circumstances caused by the creation of a Legislative Assembly with a large elected majority. In the exercise of his responsibility to Parliament which he cannot delegate to anyone else the Secretary of State may reasonably consider that only in exceptional circumstances should he be called upon to intervene in matters of purely Indian interest where the Government and the Legislature of India are in agreement. This examination of the general proposition leads inevitably to the consideration of one special case of non intervention. Nothing is more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy is dictated from Whitehall in the interests of the trade of Great Britain. That such a belief exists at the moment there can be no doubt. That there ought to be no room for it in the future is equally clear. India's position in the Imperial Conference opened the door to negotiation between India and the rest of the Empire but negotiation without power to legislate is likely to remain ineffective. A satisfactory solution of the question can only be guaranteed by the grant of liberty to the Government of India to devise those tariff arrangements which seem best fitted to India's needs as an integral portion of the British Empire. It cannot be guaranteed by Statute without limiting the ultimate power of Parliament to control the administration of India and without limiting the power of veto which rests in the Crown and neither of these limitations finds a place in any of the Statutes in the British Empire. It can only therefore be assured by an acknowledgment of a convention. Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India for the needs of her consumers as well as for her manufacturers it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. In the opinion of the Committee therefore the Secretary of State should as far as possible avoid interference on this subject when the Government of India and its Legislature are in agreement and they think that his intervention when it does take place should be limited to safeguarding the international obligations of

the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party.

These "very strong words" almost passed unchallenged in the House of Commons but for certain remarks made by one of the Lancashire Members of Parliament (Mr E R B Dennis, Coalition Unionist Member for Oldham). When the Bill came up for the Third Reading in the House of Lords Lord Curzon, speaking in behalf of His Majesty's Government, "pointed out the great change which had been instituted in these matters by what amounted to the grant of fiscal autonomy to India."

Paraphrasing the words employed by one of the Lancashire spokesmen, Mr Montagu declared that "the people of India are plain humble people and they regard a promise as a promise, and after that Report by an authoritative Committee of both Houses and Lord Curzon's promise in the House of Lords, it was absolutely impossible for me to interfere with the right which I believe was wisely given and which I am determined to maintain—to give the Government of India the right to consider the interests of India first, just as we, without any complaint from any other parts of the Empire, and the other parts of the Empire, without any complaint from us have always chosen the tariff arrangements which they think best fitted for their needs thinking of their own citizens first." He added that "nothing could be worse for what I have set my heart upon—India as a willing contented partner in the British Empire—nothing could be worse from that point of view than to promise her through the mouth of Parliament these rights and liberties and then, when they are only accidentally applied because of the sudden need for revenue which was never foreseen before the fall in the exchange took place suddenly to say 'We made a mistake in giving you this right, we are now going to do the very thing that we said we would not do—interfere with your fiscal arrangements for the benefit of British trade'."

While fully admitting the great difficulties of British trade Mr Montagu, nevertheless, counselled his people to stand by

their word and let India have her own fiscal way because the well being that it will promote between India and the Home country will result in a greater trade between the countries and not in a lesser trade.' No man who has presided over the India Office since it was constituted has ever spoken so plainly or courageously.

The Government of India the Secretary of State told the deputation was pledged to institute in India a tariff commission upon whose recommendations was to be based the future fiscal policy of India. He frankly told the deputation however that its recommendations would be of a protective character because India official and non official Indian and English is nearly wholly in favour of protection. He expressed the hope however that

in the fiscal system ultimately adopted India will of her own free will after carefully exploring how it can best be done give to the British Empire a preference in her markets. I hope for that not because I am a believer in the material advantages of Imperial Preference so much as because I should like India to demonstrate to the world her solidarity with the British Empire. I should like to see her of her own free will use the fiscal liberty that we have given her to take her stand in the system that has been adopted by Australia New Zealand Canada South Africa and in the last few years by Great Britain and also incidentally because a preference will lower the tax on upon the consumer. But Gentlemen it would be one of the most profound mistakes of Imperial statesmanship to my mind to use your statutory powers to force an Imperial Preference upon India.

"That is why I regret that my short answer to this deputation must be that so far as I am concerned I see no other course but to let things stand as they are to let India have the fiscal liberty which she was promised in 1912."

While elucidating the constitutional position the Secretary of State took the occasion to address these remarks to the representatives of Labour present.

The Labour Party it is quite true gave valuable support to the passage of the Bill with all it contained but they always protested that they took it because they could not get anything better—that they wanted more liberty for India that the time had come to concede her if not complete self government something very near it. Now when despite the limitation of the Bill you concede to her the right to mould her own fiscal destiny a section of the Labour

Party feels that the rights and liberties which she has achieved are even too large for the well being of the interests that they are here to represent to-day.

Towards the close of the statement Mr. Montagu said that he had received a message from the Lancashire Members of the House of Commons that they were of opinion that it would be a good thing for a deputation to go to India to discuss the situation with the Government of India and the members of the Legislative Assembly. He had at once forwarded that resolution to the Government of India but had not yet had a reply. He did think however speaking for himself that on a suitable occasion it would be a good thing if you could sit down and talk to the people in whose custody this matter is under the leadership of their Government, explain your point of view and see if you cannot arrive at some arrangement of mutual advantage based on the recognition that it is in India's power under the solemn pledge which has been given her to devise her own tariffs.

## II

The reader does not need to be told that in standing up to the cotton and allied industries in Lancashire and contiguous counties Mr. Montagu needed moral courage of the highest order. Had the 76 representatives of the Capital and Labour of those counties gone to the India Office in a mass as they did and merely sat mute that dumb show would nevertheless have been a striking demonstration of the great power backed up by money brains dialectic skill the press and every other sort of efficient organisation for the purpose of forcing its demands upon the Government. They tried arguments cajolery and threats by turn employing each with consummate skill.

The deputation which had gone doubtless to overawe the Secretary of State left the India Office disappointed. How infuriated it must have been must be left to the reader's imagination.

So completely had the Secretary of State demolished the Manchester case that the clever editorial writers of that city

found it difficult to refute his arguments. All that the *Manchester Guardian* could say was since Britain had "not yet given to India responsible representative government in the sense of a Cabinet dependent on a majority of the elected Houses," the "introduction of financial measures at present falls upon the old rulers of India, the permanent officials." The Indian Budget, it pointed out, "is framed by a Government member, the 'Financial Member of the Council.' Approval is given to its provisions by the Secretary of State and the Home Government. It is then put before the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State." It declared that the "very arguments by which Mr. Hailey, the Financial Member, supported the increased duties—they were merely to produce 'additional revenue and had no ulterior motive of a protective or any other kind'—imply the responsibility of the Indian bureaucracy. It is not a case of Indian Home Rule; it is a case of policy, approved it may be by native opinion, so far as native opinion is represented, but contrived and carried through by the Government of India."

This paper, always sympathetic towards India except when the cotton duties are mentioned, at which times it is hard as nails, thinks that the only possible conclusion is "that the Government have been wanting alike in sincerity and in regard for great home industries which is their special business not to injure."

For a few days after the failure of the deputation, one heard rumours that Lancashire would show Mr. Montagu what it meant to oppose its wishes. All that happened, however, was that Sir William Barton, who had headed the deputation, left Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition in disgust and crossed the floor of the House of Commons. The reason given out for his resignation was that as a Liberal he could not support a Government which was jettisoning Free Trade.

A sufficiently comprehensive reply, but it has failed to draw any other Liberal M. P.'s out of the Coalition, which continues to flourish in spite of the threatened Labour crisis. The Lancashire businessman is much too hard-headed not to real-

ise that never again will he have a Government so partial to the vested interests as the one at present in power, and therefore, one is not surprised that he is not cutting off his nose to spite his face.

The Lancashire businessman must also see that the agitation in which he has recently been engaged has not merely left the Englishmen cold, but has actually done him injury in their eyes, hurt him in their estimation. His plaint has not been taken up even by the Liberal press. For one thing, the out-and-out Free Trade Liberals possess comparatively few organs. Only four years ago Mr. A. G. Gardiner, then Editor of the *'Daily News'* (London), printed a strong article to defend the great English cotton industry against the attack which, as he conceived it, the Protectionists were making upon it through the person of Mr. Austen Chamberlain. The Liberal apathy towards Lancashire to-day must roil it, and even more so, the impression which prevails everywhere that Lancashire is selfish and, like a spoiled child, cries even when receiving preferential treatment, just because it cannot have a little more of such treatment.

### III

The general feeling in Britain seems to be that the Secretary of State did right in refusing to capitulate to Lancashire. It is abundantly recognised that India cannot be given a measure of authority to manage her own affairs, and then be overruled when she exercises those limited powers. I quote extracts from a few newspapers to show the tenor of the comment.

The *Times*, commenting upon the affair, declared that what "Lancashire does not see is that she is really trying to insist that India should penalise herself in order to adopt a special form of Protection for Great Britain, or rather one for one great British industry." The point of view of the Lancashire mill owners, it continues, "seems modest in comparison with the astonishing claims of the Labour Party." It points out:

"...The spokesman of the Lancashire cotton

operatives declared that their interests had been 'betrayed', that they insisted on 'trading on equal terms,' and that they did so with 'the full force of Lancashire behind them.' The inconsistency of the Labour Party was never more glaringly revealed. For Labour, this question is a test of the sincerity of its policy towards India, as it is for the whole British nation. During the past twenty years the Labour Party has persistently evaded the issue of the Indian cotton excise duties. Not a single Labour Leader to-day dares to tell the working men of Lancashire the truth about the injustice done to India. The Labour Leaders make any number of inflated speeches about Amritsar, the Rowlett Act, and similar topics, but the moment an Indian question arises which they think may affect votes, they run away from it."

The *Daily Chronicle*, commending Mr. Montagu for his strong stand, declared that he had looked at the matter from the Imperial point of view. "We cannot," its leader-writer declared, "at its inception reduce the Government of India Act to a make-believe in the interests of English trade. In her fiscal policy India must have the same liberty to consider her own interests as we enjoy in this country, and as the self-governing Dominions enjoy."

The *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Globe* expressed the opinion that "it would be fatal now to give India the impression that we had made a mistake in giving her the right to choose the tariff arrangements which she thinks best fitted to her needs," and "that we are going to do the very thing that we said we would not do, and interfere with her 'fiscal arrangements for the benefit of British trade.'" That paper also commented sarcastically upon the Labour attitude in the matter. "When the reform legislation was on the anvil," it declared, "the Labour Party, which had definitely committed itself to self-determination for India, thought the proposed legislation was not good enough. Last week the representatives of Lancashire Labour demanded that Mr. Montagu should overrule the very first action taken by the authorities in India under that 'very imperfect Act' and did not even refrain from employing scarcely veiled threats."

The *Observer* thought that "Indian self-government means fiscal self-government

or nothing. That means Protection, as in the case of the other Dominions. Everyone knew this beforehand, and it cannot be helped. To impose Cobdenism by despotic power on India would now be the surest way of losing it."

#### IV

Some of the journals, as was to be expected, who look upon India as an Eldorado for British financiers and traders, naturally did not take such a view. They sought, in the first place, to keep India from having any power over any other affairs and now that some powers have been given, they are seeking to prevent their being used. Here are a few typical extracts —

The *Morning Post* commiserated with Lancashire because the "injury to Lancashire trade will be immediate: the Indian cotton manufacturers will have taken over their trade, and the relief will come too late." It assumed an attitude of "I told you so." "As long as Mr. Montagu confined himself to the destruction of the British Administration," it declared, "our hard-headed friends of the North did not very much worry themselves. They thought it had nothing to do with business. But now they are beginning to find that they are wrong. The new political system which Mr. Montagu is creating is going to be a very expensive business." It closed its diatribe with the statement that for "our part, we have protested repeatedly hitherto without any assistance from Lancashire, at an Indian policy which might be designed to injure British interests."

According to the *Spectator*,

"No Free Trader of the old school would ever have admitted that a Government which considered the interests of India, *first* should consent to such protection of the Indian cotton mills as is now openly demanded and proclaimed by the Indian 'patriots'. He would have said that, of course, Indian interests must come first, but he would have added that the greatest of India's interests was that the dumb and swarming millions of India must be given the inestimable advantages of cheap cotton and *must not be exposed to the exploitations of selfish and grasping manufacturers of Bombay*."

its exposition of the true reasons for imposing the Excise duty was naive, to say the least. To quote:

"Right or wrongly, the imposition of the Excise duties was demanded by the Imperialist Free Traders in this country not as a sop to Lancashire, but as a necessary consequence of our trusteeship in India. We wanted India to have the benefits of Free Trade. Owing to the difficulty of collecting taxes in India, it became necessary, however, to levy duties on imported goods. The Lancashire people no doubt demanded an Excise Duty equivalent to the Customs Duty from interested reasons, but the non-Lancashire Free Traders supported Lancashire owing to their sincere belief in the benefits of Free Trade, especially to a population so poor as that of India."

The writer of this leader followed the example of the *Times* and thus rebuked Labour for its attitude on the cotton duties. "The abstract rhetoric which is indulged in (by Labour Leaders) with the utmost freedom, but contradicted the moment the material interests of the speaker or his followers seem imperilled, is bound to create a sense of positive nausea in the ordinary man."

### V

Nobody in India needs to be told that persons with such mentality are going to prevent India, if they can, from making the utmost use of the fiscal freedom which Mr. Montagu says she has been given. They know that the frontal attack has failed. Being gifted, however, with a special genius for taking away in detail what has been given in principle, they will no doubt prepare and launch a night attack which, I fear, will overwhelm India.

From what I can see and hear, I conclude that that attack will take the form of Imperial Preference. Since the war Great Britain has abandoned, in several particulars, her policy of Free Trade. Protectionists are happy because they have been able to accomplish, under cover of the war, what they failed to accomplish in peace-time. With the partial success that they have had has grown their passion for Protection, or rather Imperial Preference, for that is the form that Protection is assuming in Britain.

The British advocates of Imperial

Preference have, for many years, looked upon India with hungry eyes. If they could obtain preference from India, they know they would gain immensely. A very large portion of the British exports go to our country, and Preference would still further increase the volume of such exports, because it would handicap British competitors in our market. Preference upon exports from India would also give Britain great advantage, and even possibly divert to Britain some of the trade which India is carrying on directly with other countries.

The attempt was made to commit India to that fiscal system while a Conservative Government was in power in Britain, and a Conservative Viceroy (Lord Curzon) was at the head of the Government of India. In that matter, however, Lord Curzon's Government chose to champion the Indian cause, and refused to capitulate to the demands from Whitehall, because India had little to gain and much to lose or to risk from the adoption of Imperial Preference.

Strange to say, a committee half of whose membership was composed of Indians, and upon which such eminent Indians as Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Sir Fazulbhai Currimbhoy, Sir G. N. Chitnavis, and Mr. B. N. Sarma served, reported, last year, that "India is neither likely to gain nor to lose appreciably on the balance by the adoption of a moderate preference in our import duties." How they could have come to such a preposterous conclusion is beyond my intelligence to understand. How can India concede Preference without losing revenue and suffering in other ways? If the men appointed to the Commission upon whose recommendation the fiscal policy of India is to be decided take such a view, India will no doubt suffer a grave wrong.

It is likely that it will be represented to the Indians who serve on that Commission to concede Preference, even if it may be somewhat prejudicial to Indian interests, in order to come into a system which has been partially adopted by Britain and fully adopted by the Dominions, and thus show her solidarity with the Empire. In

his reply to the Lancashire Deputation Mr. Montagu himself threw out such a hint. I also believe that it may be represented to the Indian Fiscal Commission and to the Indian people that Imperial Preference, if adopted by them, would serve as a splendid instrument, which they can use to negotiate with the overseas units of the Empire to secure from them better treatment for Indian settlers and immigrants. It may also be said that India must give Preference to Britain, whose Navy protects her.

Such arguments are merely meant to direct attention away from the real point at issue. Financially and economically, India will lose from Imperial Preference, while she will gain nothing. She must, therefore, make up her mind to resist the demand, no matter how insinuatingly it may be put forward. In view of our war effort, it is not for us but for the Dominions, which treat our people so shabbily, to give a proof of Imperial Solidarity.

## END OF FIGHTING AMONG NATIONS

By SYAMA CHARAN GANGULI, B.A.

THE calamities brought upon the world by the late Great War have naturally infused new vigour into pacifist feeling all over the world, and it was under a strong pacifist impulse that President Wilson fastened his Convention of the League of Nations to the Treaty of Versailles. The devising of an effective machinery for the maintenance of perpetual peace among nations and for the promotion of goodwill and co-operation among them was a noble conception of President Wilson. But his working out of the conception ran on a wrong line. His Convention of the League of Nations was linked with the Treaty of Versailles, and so made an instrument in the hands of the victors in the war, and not one for a world Union. The League of Nations has failed to obtain the adhesion of Dr. Wilson's own country, the United States of America, and the reason for this was clearly stated in his successor in the Presidency, Mr. Harding's message to Congress. The message said, "Manifestly the highest purpose of the League of Nations was defeated by linking it with the Treaty of Peace and making it an enforcing agency of the victors in the war. There can be no prosperity for the fundamental purposes sought to be achieved by such an association as long as it is the

organ of any particular treaty or is committed to the attainment of any special aims of any nation or group of nations." But the message further said, "We make no surrender of our hope for an association to promote peace." President Harding has further been moving for a general limitation of armaments. May the movement prosper!

The Treaty of Versailles has dealt very severely with Germany in territorial matters. It has kept the Austrian Germans, against their wishes, apart from Germany, has allowed the Germans of Bohemia no exercise of self determination, has made the German city of Danzig a Free City for the benefit of the Allies' protégé, Poland, and has deprived Germany of all her colonial possessions. The Allies have also been unjust towards Turkey in giving to Greece certain territories predominantly inhabited by Turks. General Smuts's far-seeing statesmanship saw the bad side of the Treaty of Versailles, and on the eve of his return to South Africa, he declared, in July 1919, that "the appeasement of Germany was of cardinal importance." Mr. Churchill, in a like vein of true statesmanship, declared, in his speech in Manchester this month (June 1921), "that lasting peace could only be secured by real co-operation



between Britain, France and Germany." In a later speech in the House of Commons he also said that his "policy of establishing community of interests between the Arabs and Britain and her Allies would be frustrated and brought to nought unless we could combine it with a peaceful and lasting settlement with Turkey." It is for Britain and the United States to remove the bitter rancour now felt by France, not without good cause, towards Germany, and so bring about concord and co-operation among the three great countries—Britain, France and Germany—for their own good and the good of the world. One good means of placating Germany would be the restoration to her of her late colonial possessions in Africa which have been mandated to Britain, France and Belgium. Those mandated to Australia, New Zealand and South Africa cannot apparently be got back.

The work of a League or Association for the pacific adjustment of all differences between peoples can be no easy work. The sense of equity of no people in the world has grown yet high enough, though in some peoples it is considerably higher than in others. In an assembly of the representatives of many or all peoples a fair measure of equity may be expected in many matters, but not in all. No such assembly can be expected to induce the English race in Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand to allow free immigration of Asiatics into these countries. The United States is so very illiberal in this matter as to bar out Chinese and Japanese immigration from the Philippine Islands and the Hawaiian Islands. Opinion in this and kindred matters is bound to improve in time, but the time is to be a long time after all.

War has been a necessary instrument for the peopling of the world and for racial improvement. But that it is a curse at the present stage of human civilisation has been the creed of most thoughtful men in the civilized world for sometime past. It is indeed about two hundred years ago that the idea of Perpetual Peace among Christian nations was put before Europe by the Abbé de St

Pierre, and it is over a hundred years ago that Kant put forth his powerful essay on Universal Perpetual Peace, treating the subject as an ideal "which ought to be, and therefore can be realised." But the first practical step for minimising the chances of war coming on was taken only in the year 1899 by the establishment of the Hague Court of Arbitration. The League of Nations is a great advance on the Hague Tribunal. But it is defective, and so needs rectification. It is for the representatives of the world's peoples to settle the details of the rectification that is needed. The name *League of Nations* may well be changed into *World League*, it seems.

By "Nations" in the name *League of Nations* is apparently understood "Governments" or "States", for such tiny States as Monaco, San Marino and Liechtenstein have come forward as applicants for admission to the League. Monaco covers only 8 square miles of territory and has a population of only about 20,000; and San Marino and Liechtenstein have a population of about 10,000 each. Such tiny States can by no means claim to be nations. Monaco should properly go along with France, San Marino with Italy, and Liechtenstein with Germany. But Germany is still barred out of the League. The League had 47 States as its members in January 1921, and 12 more States were applicants for admission, Monaco, San Marino and Liechtenstein being among the applicants.\* The United States, Germany, Russia, Argentina and Mexico are the big States now outside the League. Without the co-operation of the United States, richest in all resources that constitute power, and of Germany, richest in products of the mind, no World League can attain the results desired. In a League of all the States of the world there can hardly be room for the representation of such tiny States as Monaco, San Marino and Liechtenstein. It may properly be ruled, it seems, that no State containing less than a million inhabitants can have any individual representation, but that two or

\* *Current Opinion*, quoted in the *Modern Review* for May 1921, pp. 630-31. *Current Opinion* obtained its information from the U. S. Secretariat.

more of such States may combine together to have a representation. It is again not equitable that all States, great and small and at different stages of progress should be on the same footing in the matter of number of representatives and number of votes. A division of the States into so many classes seems to be needed.

In the constitution of the League of Nations there is no provision for the representation of dependent countries. Of dependent countries, India is the only one that has been admitted into the League, along with the British Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. India owes her admission to the great part she played in the late war. Equity demands that the Coreans, the Moroccans, the Tunisians, the Malays of the Dutch East Indies and neighbouring lands, the Indo-Chinese of French Indo-China and the Negroes of Nigeria should also be represented.

The question may here be considered as to what, in the new era that has dawned upon the world, should be the proper mode of government of subject peoples by peoples who hold them in subjection. No one can pretend that British rule in India has hitherto stood on an equitable basis, though it has done the inestimable good of introducing Western knowledge into the country. Now, however, *Swaraj* or Home Rule is within sight of us. When we get it, India should be a contented member of the British Commonwealth. The French have altogether been far more liberal to their subject populations than the English. In Algeria and elsewhere they have given, under certain conditions, full rights of French citizenship to subject populations. But they maintain too many French functionaries in their dependencies, as, on reference to Thacker's Indian Directory, one can see they do in their petty settlements of Pondichery and Chandernagar.

America has set up in the Philippine Islands the unique example of training up a subject people for complete independence within the shortest possible time. The case is a peculiar one. The American Republic is as large as all Europe, and so is in no need of any possessions in Asia or

Africa. It is also under the spell of the Monroe Doctrine, which as it aims at barring out European Powers from acquiring any territory in the American Continent, does in a reflex way, tend to bar out America from acquiring any territory in Asia or Africa. So America has not been disposed to annex the Philippine Islands, not even to make it a Territory with a view to make it ultimately a State of the American Union, as it has made the Hawaiian Islands. But America has shown no disposition to avoid annexing territory belonging to the American Continent. To say nothing of the appropriation long ago of a very large part of the old Mexican domain, America has recently appropriated by conquest the rich and well-peopled island of Porto Rico, and has later purchased at a heavy price the Danish West Indian Islands. The example of America in the Philippine Islands cannot be expected to be followed by England, France and other European States in their foreign possessions. But the grant of complete Home Rule ultimately to their subject populations should now be the ideal before them. It is only by working after such an ideal that they can keep up their connection with their present subject populations. The grant of Home Rule would convert the relation of subjection into one of friendly alliance.

A World League should so set itself to work as to aim at removing all inducements to war. It should, therefore, seek to place men of all countries on a footing of equality in respect of all the pursuits of human life. Protectionism in all its forms shall have therefore to be removed. Customs duties as between one country and another are a standing mark of antagonism between them. Goods pass between such distant places as New York and San Francisco without the payment of any duties, because these places are both within the limits of one country; but goods passing between London and Paris, which are near enough to each other, have to pay duties, because the places are in different countries. This is certainly not natural or rational. The levying of Customs Duties places small countries at a great

disadvantage in comparison with large countries. National feeling is good as functioning the principle of division of labour among nations, and so favouring diversity of growth. But it is bad when it conflicts with cosmopolitan feeling. Much evil has been wrought in the name of nationality. The removal of tariff barriers cannot fail to strengthen the sense of human brotherhood. But the removal would by no means be easy work. It could come about only very slowly, for the revenues of States are derived largely from customs duties. Ultimately State revenues may all be derived from property and income tax and certain excise duties. Though Customs

Duties cannot be done away with immediately, the idea of its abolition may be proclaimed immediately with good results.

A World League cannot proceed on the basis of a universal disarmament. The League must have material force at command to enforce its decisions, and it must have plenty of money too at command. Wars such as the one now going on between Greece and Turkey have to be prevented, and so also disturbances such as have been caused by the Polish fire-brand, Korfanty, in Upper Silesia, and civil wars such as have been the delight of petty Hispano-American Republics and the Franco-Negro Republic of Haiti.

#### SOCIAL LIFE IN THE MAHABHARATAN AGE—IV

OF all the sections of the Mahabharata, the Santi Parva is the most valuable from the point of view of the sociologist, the philosopher and the politician, for it contains copious materials for the enquirer in all these branches of human knowledge. To make an exhaustive study of its contents would itself require a good-sized volume, but this is outside the scope of these articles. We shall only present before the reader a few salient points as they have occurred to us in the course of our reading.

Passages in praise of wealth, and depicting the miserable plight of the poor man, are to be found interspersed here and there, showing that even in those far-off days, whose distance from our times lends enchantment to our view, poverty was looked down upon very much as it is now. Take, for instance, the following: Wealth is not only necessary to obtain the objects of our desire, but also for the attainment of virtue and even heaven. Without riches, it is impossible to keep even body and soul together. He who has riches is a man indeed; he passes for wise, and has friends and relations.<sup>1</sup> He who is

poor, is practically an outcaste.<sup>2</sup> In chapter 167 Arjuna indulges in praise of wealth.

The householder's life is belauded in the Mahabharata, as in the Puranas. This great sacred *asrama* is the field of achievement, and of the soul's best striving.<sup>3</sup> Here alone does man attain the satisfaction of his desires, wealth and virtue.<sup>4</sup> It is not uncommon in India for men to flee from the world and turn Sannyasins when the duties and obligations of family life begin to crowd upon them. They should do well to remember the sapient observation of the great sage Vyasa: Among the duties of all the four *asramas*, those of the householder are the most difficult to practise and those who are weak in body and mind, can hardly perform them.<sup>5</sup> No doubt it is laid down that after enjoying conjugal happiness in due measure in early life, in advanced age, when the wife also becomes old and devoted to her sons, if there be any, one should give up worldly desires and seek the supreme good by leading the life of a wandering ascetic.<sup>6</sup> But this wholesome rule does not seem to have been followed

by any but a very small section of the community and almost all the chief characters of the Mahabharata die in harness. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the ideal of Vanaprastha or retirement to the forest in old age, after one has fulfilled all the duties of the householder's life, has always been practised to some extent by the highest castes of India.

The germ of the Malthusian conception may be discerned in the following passage: The poor, who do not like to have a big family, are often blessed with a numerous progeny, while the rich are frequently childless; inscrutable are the ways of Providence.<sup>7</sup> But the West, instead of making Providence responsible for all our miseries, tries to find out a remedy for everything by human effort, and almost always succeeds, though this very success, as in the matter of the limitation of family, often brings in its train a fresh crop of evils.

It is not known to many that the great sage Narada, according to the Mahabharata, once fell a victim to Cupid's arrows, and married Sukumari, the daughter of King Sanjaya, whom her father had deputed to look after the comforts of the sage when he had become his guest.<sup>8</sup> The notion of sexual morality indicated by the observation of the author of the great epic to Yudhisthira would sound strange to modern ears: It is no sin to indulge in illicit intercourse with another man's wife provided she solicits it herself.<sup>9</sup> So also the story illustrating the supreme efficacy of the virtue of hospitality, which must be carried to the extent of sacrificing one's chastity if the guest of the evening demands it of the mistress of the house.<sup>10</sup> It may be a mere hyperbolical way of emphasizing the merits of that virtue, but even so it jars against the more refined notions of these times to think that such perverted sexual ideals could be inculcated by way of pointing a moral. One constantly recurring phenomenon in the Mahabharata and elsewhere is the mysterious birth of some celebrated Rishis from the seed of other equally renowned Rishis. A sage sees one of the perennially youthful *apsaras* or handmaidens of the gods, sail-

ing across the sky in all their dazzling beauty, and is so perturbed in his meditations that he has an involuntary emission, and forthwith another sage is born. Such is the story, narrated in chapter 326 of the *Santi Parva*, of the birth of Sukadeva, perhaps the most saintly of the Epic and Puranic sages, son of Vyasa, the author of the Mahabharata, who, however, does not appear to have been too reluctant to tread the primrose path of dalliance, as his amours with the wives of his deceased brothers, under the customary law of *Niyoga*, would go to show.

The perusal of the subsection on the duties of kings gives rise to mixed feelings. There are passages breathing the spirit of loftiest humanitarianism in international morality, side by side with others which would seem to indicate that like many political theorists of the West from Machiavelli down to Bernhardt, the ancient Aryan writers on statecraft used to regard the State as non-moral. What could, for instance, exceed the humane sentiments revealed in the following injunctions: Vanquished people, or people in fear of distress, should not be attacked; poisoned arrows should not be used in war; weak, childless, unarmed Kshatriyas, or those whose weapons have been damaged and who have been unhorsed, should not be killed; if a virtuous man is wounded in the battlefield, he should be sent back to his own house, or nursed back to health in the victor's house.<sup>11</sup> A man who is without armour or acknowledges defeat by throwing down his weapons, or supplicates for life, or seeks for protection,<sup>12</sup> or surrenders at discretion, old men, children, and women<sup>13</sup> should never be killed; the valiant man should never inflict blows on one who has turned his back, and taken to flight;<sup>14</sup> or on one who is asleep, thirsty, tired, moving, taking his meals, or is otherwise engaged, as in gathering firewood or nursing the sick, or is confident of safety, stricken with sorrow, incapacitated from doing harm, running away to his camp, or dead.<sup>15</sup>

But side by side with the above, the advice of Bhishma, the wisest of the Kuru race, to Yudhisthira contains among

others, the following: That king truly deserves praise who can, by finding out the weak points of the enemy State, and by judicious corruption, bring his adversaries under control.<sup>16</sup> In another chapter<sup>17</sup> we have it that the Kshattriya's is the best of all professions, and that when the duties of the various castes were in a parlous condition, the everlasting religion of the Kshattriyas helped to set them aright. Here no doubt a Kshattriya is speaking to a Kshattriya, and thinking most probably of the duties of maintaining domestic peace, order and established customs. But in what may be called the international politics of the age, the essentials of the kingly duty are laid down as follows: to try to pull down the stronger kingdom, devastate it by fire, sword and poison, and create discussions among the ministers and allies; when a more powerful enemy king attacks the state, the king shall take shelter within his fortress, and gather in all the crops, failing which, he should destroy them by fire; he should moreover destroy all the bridges on the rivers, and poison the wells and tanks.<sup>18</sup> These instructions look quite modern and up-to-date, and bear a remarkable similarity to the methods of the German General Staff in the late European war. The Council of Ministers should consist of 4 Brahmins, 8 Kshattriyas, 21 Vaisyas, 3 Sudras and, 1 Suta (Charioteer, whose person is inviolable, and who has thus first hand experience of the game of war as a spectator). These ministers should be fifty years old, and should be incorruptible, versed in the scriptures, courteous and impartial.<sup>19</sup> The king should replenish his treasury by all possible means, by accumulating wealth either from his own state, or from another. Even religion, and the foundations of the kingdom, are strengthened by wealth.<sup>20</sup> Might is greater than right, and from might issues right. Right is under the control of the mighty, there being nothing impossible with the strong, and everything being pure to them.<sup>21</sup> This is bold cynical materialism with a vengeance. The wealth of the subjects should be drained by imperceptible and slow degrees, just as the bee

gathers honey without doing injury to the flower, the cow is milked without wounding the udders or depriving the calf of its share, the leech softly sucks the blood of its victim, the tigress carries her cubs by the neck without biting them, and the mouse bites the sole of the foot without its owner being aware of it.<sup>22</sup> Similar sentiments are to be found in the Garuda Purana, Part I, Ch. iii. The appropriateness of the illustrations in the above passage will strike every reader, no less than the peculiarly cynical nature of the advice, which continues to be practised to this day by all the Finance Ministers in the world, whose special skill lies in framing the budget in such a way that their victims may not realise the extent of the burdens imposed on them. In the same passage it is enjoined that the rich should be made to pay taxes on a sliding scale of progressive increase. The King should not be too much addicted to wine and women, gambling and music, and should enjoy them in moderation, as excess in these respects is counted as vice.<sup>23</sup> When the enemy becomes too strong, the king should bow down before him, but he should bide his time and be on the look out to take him unawares and compass his ruin.<sup>24</sup> The Mahabharata goes so far as to suggest that a despotic, irreligious and tyrannical king should be killed.<sup>25</sup> The classical example of such a king was the tyrant Vena, whose story is told in the Vishnu Purana (1, 13), and who was killed by the Brahmins by rubbing his right hand, whence arose Prithu, an exemplary monarch. The Santi Parva relates how Prithu having asked the Rishis as to how he should govern the earth, they advised him as follows:<sup>26</sup> "Whatever duty is enjoined perform it without hesitation, disregarding what thou mayest like or dislike, looking on all creatures with an equal eye, putting far from thee lust anger cupidity and pride. Restrain by thy strength of arm all those men who swerve from righteousness, having a constant regard to duty. And in thought, act and word take upon thyself, and continually renew the engagement to protect the terrestrial Brahman..."

and promise that thou wilt exempt the Brahmans from punishment and preserve society from the confusion of castes. The caste system was the keystone of the Aryan polity and it was only to be expected that the sages should uphold its integrity otherwise the advice given above is unexceptionable and shows the high ideal of kingly character that prevailed in those times.

Nothing is so ingrained in the mind of the Hindu to this day as the influence of the Yugas on human action and destiny. But in the *Santi Parva*<sup>2</sup> we get a rationalistic account of the origin of the Yugas. There it is said that the Yugas are in fact nothing but modes of the king's action and that it is the king who is really synonymous with the Yuga. When the king occupies himself fully with the administration of justice then the age named *Krita* prevails when he does so to the extent of three parts *Treta* prevails and so on. There is no doubt is the true historical explanation of the Golden Age. Just as we speak of the Augustan age of literature so we speak of the golden age of Asoka and Akbar in India of Haroun al Rashid of Bagdad and the good Queen Bess of England and the test by which that epithet is justified is the excellence of the government prevailing at the time. Similarly the time spirit is recognized in the passage<sup>3</sup> where it is said that the duties of men differ in the different ages. There is no custom says another passage in the same chapter which is beneficial to all alike. Nor is a scriptural injunction universally valid at all times and places. The sage Vishwamitra ate dog's flesh in a Chandala's house when oppressed by hunger and even the scriptural prohibition against wine is not imperatively obligatory.<sup>4</sup> The wise and virtuous Vaishya Tuladhara says to king Jajati. All the rivers are as sacred as the Saraswati all the hills are equally sacred. The soul is the highest place of pilgrimage so do you refrain from leading a peripatetic life in search of sacred shrines.<sup>5</sup>

The scriptures are the eye of the good.<sup>6</sup> One should be devoted to

religion in his youth for man is mortal and nobody knows when he will die.<sup>7</sup> Truth is immortality.<sup>8</sup> Even plants have life and consciousness and are capable of pleasure and pain.<sup>9</sup> To those who are disposed to disparage the discoveries of Sir J. C. Bose by saying that he has borrowed his ideas from the sacred books of his race we may point out with Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar<sup>10</sup> that these truths of botanical physiology were known to the Hindus simply as facts but no trace has been found as yet regarding their knowledge of the science of physiology: as to how these take place in nature in short they have observed the facts without caring to explain them or assign reasons. And here again as in so many other things we have to continue by our own specialised efforts the work of our ancestors and develop them along the proper lines just as the European scholars of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries have by their own labours improved upon and added to the heritage bequeathed by their ancestors of the classic age. In the Mahabharata we get no indication of magic worship but we have allusions to prayers to the sun in the morning and fire in the evening.<sup>11</sup>

In the Mahabharata we come across passages from which the conclusion seems to be inevitable that Vedic sacrifices were coming to be more and more unpopular, however high might have been the place accorded to them in a previous age. We are told in several places in the Mahabharata that in the Satya Yuga there were no sacrifices and that Vedic sacrifices commenced only in the Treta Yuga.<sup>12</sup> Since then they rose in such high favour that we find Krishna speaking of King Rantidipa who used to kill twenty thousand and one hundred cows every night to feed his guests as far more wise religious and spiritually minded than Yudhishthira.<sup>13</sup> But elsewhere we find Tuladhara the Vaishya asserting that inner purification is the true sacrifice of the Brahmans<sup>14</sup> not the Vedic sacrifice involving killing of animals. In another passage there is a remarkable denunciation of animal sacrifice.

ices undertaken for the sake of material well being by king Vichulya whose heart revolted at the sight of cruel Brahmans wounded bulls and cows bellowing in agony in the sacrificial arena.<sup>40</sup> In another chapter it is recorded that King Nahusa being about to kill a cow to entertain a mighty sage who was his guest the great sage Kapila arrived on the scene and cried out Alas O Veda and advised the King to take to spiritual culture as the fruits of sacrifices were not permanent.<sup>41</sup> In this passage we have perhaps a veiled reference to the rationalistic Samkhya philosophy which rejects the Karmakanda of the Veda with its animal sacrifices and renders homage to the Jnanakanda alone which according to King Janaka is superior to the ritualistic practices of the Karmakanda because it is the path of wisdom and wisdom alone can overcome sorrow.<sup>42</sup> We can easily understand what painful thoughts must have troubled the venerable sage Kapila when he found that the bloody sacrifices of the Vedas were the only parts of it which had caught the popular imagination while the wisdom of its spiritual teachings was too subtle for the people to grasp and was left for philosophers like himself to appreciate and expound. He further said that of old there was only one rule for the guidance of all—Sadachara the practice prevailing among the good and wise—and that when people failed to realise its true significance they established the law of the four *asramas*.<sup>43</sup> Bhishma

tells Yudhishthira that Ahimsa is the best of religions and that *himsa* (killing, hatred) is the worst of sins. Those who are truthful embrace the religion of Ahimsa only.<sup>44</sup> In passages like these we find the main doctrine of the Buddhist philosophy which changed a whole nation of meat eaters into vegetarians anticipated. In chapter 338 the Rishis speaking to the Devas say That is no religion of the good O ye Devas in which animals are killed—a remarkably emphatic condemnation of the animal sacrifices in which the Gods in common with mortals indulged in those times.

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## THE FIRST LORD MINTO'S INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

**A**LTHOUGH the death of Marquess Cornwallis Sir George Barlow was appointed to officiate as Governor General of India. He was no lover of peace but on the contrary egged on the Marquess Wellesley to the war with Dowlut Rao Sindhia. He would have carried on the war policy of Wellesley and

added province after province to the administration of the East India Company had he been permitted to do so. But the policy of Wellesley so much alarmed the people of England that the Directors of the East India Company specially sent out the Marquess Cornwallis with instructions not to follow in the footsteps of

his predecessor. Such being the case it was impossible for Sir George Barlow to carry fire and sword into the territories of the non-Christian princes of India\*. But it should not be thought that he remained quiet or tried to maintain amicable relations with the native powers of Hindustan. His policy was to foment dissensions and disorders in the states of the native princes and thus succeed in ultimately reducing those states and bring them under the administration of the Company of Christian merchants. To quote the words of Sir John Malcolm Sir George Barlow's was a policy which declaredly looks to the disputes and wars of its neighbours as one of the chief sources of its security, and which if it does not directly excite such wars shapes its political relations with inferior states in a manner calculated to create and continue them †

\* The Countess of Minto in her work on Lord Minto in India writes —

It will be remembered that the brilliant administration of Lord Wellesley was brought to a close by his recall. While he was engaged in creating an empire his masters in Leadenhall Street were learning to their dismay that the process was not a paying one. Impoverished finances with augmented responsibilities led them to the conclusion that the interests of a trading company might be placed in safer hands. At the urgent desire Lord Cornwallis was prevailed on to return to India to inaugurate a reign of peace and to observe a strict abstention from interference in the affairs of the Native States beyond the British frontier.

But Lord Cornwallis, as old and infirm, he felt that he went out to die and his death followed almost immediately on his arrival in India. When his authority fell to Sir George Barlow the directors were happy to find in him though a quondam pupil of Lord Wellesley a thoroughgoing supporter of the policy which they had committed to Lord Cornwallis and would gladly have confirmed him in the office of Governor-General, but such was not the intention of the Cabinet (pp. 12).

Sir George Barlow was not popular with the services. According to Lord Minto Barlow's merits were the cause of his unpopularity. In a letter to Hon. Robert Peel, dated Calcutta, September 13, 1807, Lord Minto wrote —

He (Barlow) is not popular and I believe his merits may have been the cause of it or at least one among others. In truth a Company's servant raised to the commandment height above his fellows which the Governor-General holds here, excites envy rather than respect or love. They are all comparing themselves with him and the more pretensions with him.

† The Governor-General in some of his dispatches

This policy based on Machiavellian maxims was the guiding principle of the European Christians in all their transactions with the non-Christian princes of India. At the time of which we write as the wars on the native princes were forbidden the European Christians in India in order to extend their influence had necessarily to resort to this mean selfish and treacherous policy.

The unjust and aggressive war on the Mahratta princes commenced by the Marquess Wellesley had been brought to a close in a manner not reflecting much credit either on the valor or on the diplomatic skill of the European Christian soldiers or administrators then in India. The retreat of the troops under the command of General Monson before Holkar, Lord Lake's repeated failures in reducing the fort of Bharatpur, the restoration of the fortress of Gwalior and the province of Gohud to the Maharaja Sindhiar and finally the restoration of his territories and possessions to Jeswant Rao Holkar did not certainly raise the prestige of the European Christian generals and administrators in India. The Marquess Wellesley had also pressed the Mahratta princes to accept his nefarious scheme of Subsidiary Alliance. But excepting the Peshwa no other Mahratta prince — neither Sindhiar nor Holkar nor even the Raja of Berar, was willing to place this yoke on his own neck ‡

It distinctly says that he contemplates in the discord of the native powers an additional source of strength and if I am not mistaken, some of his plans go directly and are designed to foment discord among those states.

But I can contemplate no source of strength in the discords of contiguous powers. It appears to me that in our advanced state of power no great contentions can arise which will not soon reach and entangle us. It is impossible completely to insulate ourselves and we must be subject to the same chances which work upon states situated as we are.

The reply of Sir George Barlow from Kaye select on from the papers of Lord Metcalfe p. 7

† British prestige in India had indeed fallen to a very low ebb and it was necessary to go back to the expedition against the Marathas undertaken in the regime of Warren Hastings to find a parallel to the heavy blow which had been struck at British power in India. The ambitious designs of the Marathas had been frustrated.



The sum total then of the second Maratha war was this, that the Raja of Berar and Sindhia were made to part with some of their fertile provinces, but they did not lose their independence and were not reduced to the position of feudatory princes, like the Nizam or the Peshwa, under the protection of the British Government of India. Holkar also was very fortunate, since he neither lost his independence nor any portion of his territory.

The British were then having a very critical time in India. The charm of their military supremacy was a thing of the past. They were the laughing stock of all the independent states of India.\* Then their throwing overboard the princes of Rajputana, especially the Rana of Gohud, who had rendered them assistance in their hour of need and without whose help they would have, in all probability, been swept out of the country, not only amounted to base ingratitude but had faith of a diabolical character. Of course their designs regarding the native states given expression to by Sir George Barlow already referred to above, were not known to the ruling princes of India.

The inhabitants of the territories then under the administration of the British

\* Lord Minto in his secret and separate general letter dated May 16 1808 to the Directors of the East India Company, concerning the disposition of the native states wrote —

We have every reason to believe that all the states of India are satisfied of our disinclination to extend our dominions or to invade their rights and of our solicitude to maintain peace. But those states of which the power and dominion have been abridged or of which the influence has been circumscribed and against which the field of ambition and enterprise has been closed by the political position of the British power and ascendancy in India, cannot reasonably be supposed to entertain that sense of common interest with the British Government which should induce them to prefer the security of their actual condition to the alluring prospect of restored possessions, consequence and authority. And demonstrations of the dangers to which their authority and independence would be exposed by the ambition of France would have little weight when opposed to the assurance of restoration to the dominion they have lost.

With the states of another description engagements of co-operation might no doubt be formed provided these engagements should involve obligations of defensive alliance against all enemies. Of such alliances there is too much reason to doubt the efficiency and

Company were groaning under the pressure of taxation imposed on them. It should be remembered that England never spent a single farthing for the acquisition of India. The Empire which the British have built for themselves in India was brought into existence wholly and solely at the expense of the treasure of the natives of India and mainly of their blood, too.

But not only did India pay for all these wars which enabled the British to establish their empire, but all the surplus revenue of India was drained out of the country to pay dividends to the Christian merchants constituting the East India Company. Even a writer of such liberal sentiments as James Mill, the well known author of an Indian History, did not feel ashamed to say:—

"The financial results of the operations of Government from the close of the first administration of the Marquis Cornwallis, till the present remarkable era, (i.e. 1806) should now be adduced. As regards the British nation, it is in these results that the good or evil of its operations in India is wholly to be found. If India affords a surplus revenue, which can be sent to England, thus far is India beneficial to England."

But the wars which the Marquis Wellesley carried on, did not afford a surplus revenue which could be sent to England. It was on that account that the Directors of the East India Company in England ordered their Governor General in India to cease from war, and on his persisting in it, they were obliged to order his recall from India.

When Lord Minto arrived in India, the finances of the Government were tottering under the burden, imposed upon them by the Maratha war.\*

\* Lord Minto left England for India in December 1806 and resumed the reins of Government at Calcutta on July 1 1807. He was a friend of Burke. Lady Minto in her work on Lord Minto in India writes —

"Lord Minto's early and intimate connection with Burke was the keynote of his political career. For that great man he formed an enthusiastic affection which was returned with so much tenderness and confidence that, when indulging after long years in a retrospect of their old friendship, he was able to say 'I believe I was among those whom Burke loved best and most trusted'."

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Such was the critical situation of the British during the latter half of the first decade of the Nineteenth Century. Their prestige as a military nation was at its

lowest ebb; their treasuries were empty and their public credit was shaken.

Lord Minto had to devise means for the defences of India. It should be remembered that at the time of which we are taking note, there was the possibility of rebellion of the inhabitants in the territories under the administration of the European Christians, as well as of invasion of those territories by the independent powers of India, and possibly also by the sovereign of Afghanistan. Lord Minto fully understood the position and took measures to avert the dangers which stared the European Christians in the face.

It is necessary to describe the measures adopted by him, which saved the expulsion of his co-religionists and compatriots from India.

First of all, there was the possibility, as said before, of the inhabitants of those territories which were then under the administration of the British, rising in arms against the alien usurpers of their rights and independence, and driving them out of the country. To prevent this contingency occurring, the European Christians, ever since they obtained power in India, have acted on the maxim of *Divide et impera*, and also generally excluded Indians from offices of trust and posts of responsibility. But there was something worse. The state of disorder then existing in Bengal was such that it could not have been worse if Lord Minto and his predecessors had deliberately devised means to prevent the people from uniting, on the supposition that in the miseries of the natives of India lay the strength of their European rulers, and that it was therefore necessary to create distractions, disorder and confusion among them. There is, of course, no proof to show that dacoits were let loose among them, or that dacoities were encouraged. But there are also no records to show that any effective steps were taken to prevent dacoities. Lord Dufferin, in his famous speech at St. Andrew's Dinner, Calcutta, on the 30th of November, 1888, said—

"Indeed, it was only the other day that I was reading a life of Lord Minto, who men-

that in 1782 he was designated as one of the seven Parliamentary Directors (the seven kings as they were called) to be appointed under the provisions of Mr. Fox's India bill.

"The measure was lost, and as with it collapsed the ministry and the reign of the Whig party, the honour was a barren one, but his first appearance on the political stage in a leading part was nevertheless destined to be connected with the interests of India. Two sessions had passed since he and Mirabeau stood together at the Bar of the House of Commons to listen to the great tribune of England when Sir Gilbert himself made his first important effort in that formidable assembly, and moved the impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey in a speech which elicited the warm admiration of its most illustrious members.

"In the following year he became one of the managers in the trial of Warren Hastings. 'His earnest desire,' he said in his opening speech on that occasion, 'to believe the natives of India had decided him to undertake a business in many respects most uncongenial to his nature.' But another determining cause was the urgency with which Burke besought him to throw off his modesty, 'his only fault,' and the warmth of encouragement which hailed his opening effort. A note, written in December 1787 and sent to Sir Gilbert with a book intended to be of use to him while engaged in the preparation of his charge against Sir Elijah Impey, ends thus:

God bless you and forward your good undertaking. Stick to it. You have years before you and if I were of your age, and had your talents and your manners, I should not despair of seeing India a happy country in a few years.

Yours Ever,

E. BURKE

To understand his Indian policy, it is necessary to know something of his antecedents before his assumption of the office of Governor-General of India. Happily, the details of his pre-Indian career are supplied by the three volumes of his *Life and Letters* from 1752 to 1806 by his great niece, the Countess of Minto, published in 1874.

Although Lord Minto was a great friend of Burke, that friendship came to an end on the outbreak of the French Revolution. Henceforth he paid homage to Pitt, into whose confidence he wormed himself. He had been offered the Governorship of Madras, but declined it. But Pitt rewarded his adhesion to him by appointing him Viceroy of Corsica a post which he held till 1796. Afterwards he was appointed minister at Vienna and held the post until the end of 1801.

Pitt was no little Englishman. He was desirous of founding a British Empire in India to compensate for the loss of America. As a confidential friend and protégé of Pitt, in all human probability, he was thoroughly acquainted with Pitt's views and so during his administration he tried to give effect to those views. This explains his vigorous foreign policy while ruling India.

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lowest and their treasuries were empty and their public credit was shaken.

I Lord Minto had to devise means for the defences of India. It should be remembered that at the time of which we are taking note there was the possibility of rebellion of the inhabitants in the territories under the administration of the European Christians as well as of invasion of those territories by the independent powers of India and possibly also by the sovereign of Afghanistan. I Lord Minto fully understood the position and took measures to avert the dangers which stared the European Christians in the face.

It is necessary to describe the measures adopted by him which saved the expulsion of his co-religionists and compatriots from India.

First of all there was the possibility as said before of the inhabitants of those territories which were then under the administration of the British rising in arms against the alien usurpers of their rights and independence and driving them out of the country. To prevent this contingency occurring the European Christians ever since they obtained power in India have acted on the maxim of *Divide et impera* and also generally excluded Indians from offices of trust and posts of responsibility. But there was something worse. The state of disorder then existing in Bengal was such that it could not have been worse if I Lord Minto and his predecessors had deliberately devised means to prevent the people from uniting on the supposition that in the miseries of the natives of India lay the strength of their European rulers and that it was therefore necessary to create distractions of disorder and confusion among them. There is of course no proof to show that dacoits were let loose among them or that dacoities were encouraged. But there are also no records to show that any effective steps were taken to prevent dacoities. Lord Dufferin in his famous speech at St Andrew's Dinner Calcutta on the 30th of November, 1894 said —

Indeed it was only the other day that I was reading a lie of Lord Minto who men-

tioned the fact that the British Government had decided to send a large force to India to suppress the rebellion of the natives of India.

To understand his Indian policy it is necessary to know something of his antecedents before his assumption of the office of Governor General of India. Happily the details of his pre-Indi career are supplied by the three volumes of his *Life and Letters* from 1752 to 1861 by his great niece the Countess of Minto published in 1874.

Although Lord Minto was a great friend of Burke that friendship came to an end on the outbreak of the French Revolution. Henceforth he paid homage to it into whose confidence he worried himself. He had been offered the Governorship of Madras but declined it. But it rewarded his adhesion to him by appointing him Viceroy of Corsica a post which he held till 1795. Afterwards he was appointed minister at Vienna and held the post until the end of 1811.

It was no little honour. He was devoted to founding a British Empire in India to compensate for the loss of America. As a confidential friend and protégé of Pitt in all human probability he was thoroughly acquainted with Pitt's views and so during his administration he tried to give effect to those views. This explains his vigorous foreign policy while ruling India.

Yours Ever

F. BAKER

tions incidentally that in his time whole districts within twenty miles of Calcutta were at the mercy of dacoits and thus after the English had been more than fifty years in the occupation of Bengal

But Lord Dufferin did not offer any explanation for the existence of dacoits and the perpetration of dacoities in Bengal. It should be remembered that the natives of England had been ruling in Bengal ever since their gaining the Battle of Plassey in 1757. They had established their supremacy there for above half a century and yet it is a significant fact that dacoits thrived and flourished there when Lord Minto was the Governor General.

Regarding the dacoits and their offences, James Mill writes —

This class of offences did not diminish under the English Government and its legislative provisions. It increased to a degree highly disgraceful to the legislation of a civilized people. It increased under the English Government not only to a degree of which there seems to have been no example under the native Governments of India but to a degree surpassing what was ever witnessed in any country in which law and government could with any degree of propriety be said to exist.

From the sentences we have put in italics it might be possible for a historian to suggest that the British Government of India of that period had a hand in encouraging dacoits for the purposes already mentioned above. But in the absence of positive proof we would not go so far. We would only say that effective steps were not taken to put down or even to discourage dacoities.

Sir Henry Strachey, one of the British Judges in India in the beginning of the Nineteenth Century also wrote —

*The crime of dacoity has I believe increased*

\* To be fair to Lord Minto it is necessary to say that the dacoits are not brought into existence by him but the dacoits and the dacoities are the results of the so-called judicial reforms of the Marquess Cornwallis. There can be no doubt that the Marquess Cornwallis introduced these so-called reforms with the object of creating distractions in India. Lord Minto took advantage of the state of affairs then prevailing in the territories under his administration and it does not appear that he ever took such effective steps to exterminate the dacoits as to look or to prevent the dacoities from taking place as were undertaken by his successor the Marquess of Hastings so as to crush the Pandares.

greatly since the British administration of justice

In 1808 the judge of circuit in the Rameshahye division also wrote —

That dacoity is very prevalent in Rameshahye has been often stated. But if its vast extent were known if the scenes of horror the murders the burnings the excessive cruelties which are continually perpetrated here were properly represented to Government I am confident that some measures would be adopted to remedy the evil. Let the situation of the people is not sufficiently attended to. It cannot be denied that in point of fact there is no protection for persons or property.

Mr Dowdeswell the Secretary to Government, reported in 1809, that —

*'To the people of India there is no protection either of persons or of property'*

Regarding the operations of the dacoits, James Mill truly observed —

Such is the military strength of the British Government in Bengal that it could exterminate all the inhabitants with the utmost ease such at the same time is its civil weakness that it is unable to save the community from running into that extreme disorder where the villain is more powerful to intimidate than the Government to protect.

Would it be very unfair to infer from the above extracts that it was not the policy of the Government of those days to protect the people against the dacoits, for the prosperity and welfare and consequent strength of the people meant danger to the alien unsympathetic and selfish rulers of the land during that period? This was the state of affairs in India after over half a century's administration of the country by the servants of the East India Company.

† It is necessary to give Lord Minto's explanation of the existence of dacoits and the perpetration of dacoities. In a letter to Lady Minto extracts from which are given in Lord Minto's India (page 185), Lord Minto wrote —

"They (the dacoits) have of late come within thirty miles of Barrackpore. The crime of gang robbery has at all times though in different degrees obtained footing in Bengal. The prevalence of the offence occasioned by its success and impunity has been much greater than its civilised and flourishing part of India. In the wider territories adjoining which have not enjoyed so long the advantages of a regular and legal government and it appears at first sight mortifying to the British administration of these provinces that

A passing allusion must be made here to the tone adopted by all British writers on Indian History while speaking of the benefits conferred by their rule on the

our oldest possessions should be the worst protected against the evils of lawless violence.

"It has been said that the prosperity and undisturbed tranquillity of these lower provinces which have never seen war within their limits during the present generation of their inhabitants, that is to say for half a century have afforded two inducements to the desperate associations which have so constantly harassed them under the name of dacoits. First the riches of the country have presented the temptation of good plunder. Second the long security which the country has enjoyed from foreign enemies and the consequent loss of martial habits and character have made the people of Bengal so timid and enervated that no resistance is to be apprehended in the act nor punishment afterwards. There have however certainly been other more specific causes for the extraordinary prevalence of the crime at particular junctures. Among these has been the nature of our judicial and police establishments. The judge and magistrate is an English gentleman but all his subordinate officers and instruments are necessarily native. The probity and good intention of the English magistrate may in general be relied upon but his vigilance, personal activity, intelligence, or talents are not equal in all cases to his integrity. The consequence often is that the practical and efficient part of the police is cast upon the black subaltern officers amongst whom it is hardly too much to say although sounds like an uncharitable partiality to my own fair complexion that there is scarcely an exception to universal venality and corruption.

There is a proverb current in India that whosoever goes to Lanka (Ceylon) turns a cannibal. So it is no wonder that Lord Minto who as Sir Gilbert Elliot as a friend of Burke had moved the impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey and been one of the managers of the trial of Warren Hastings should after breathing the atmosphere of the Anglo-Indian society of India have nourished uncharitable feelings towards the people of India and belaboured and abused them to his heart's content. It is natural for Anglo-Indians to credit the countrymen with whatever good traits they discover in the administration of India and impute the faults to the native Indian officers or natives of the country whenever anything goes wrong in the government of this country. Yes, Indians are made scapegoats for all crimes of omission and commission in Indian affairs. The British officers—those who constituted the class whom Lord Minto's deceased friend Burke described as 'birds of prey and passage' in India who came out to India to shake the pagoda tree and grow rich and on their return to the native country to play 'Nabobs', were all immaculate beings and therefore the probity and good intentions of the English magistrate may in general be relied upon. Lord Minto was a believer in the myth that the 'corrupt' and 'compatriots of Clive and Warren Hastings were like Caesar's wife above all suspicion.

In some of the extracts made above it is admitted that in the territories ruled by Native princes there

people of India. These writers are never tired of describing by mainly indenting on their imagination, the so-called anarchy alleged to have prevailed in India on the break up of the Moghul Empire. But so far they have not adduced any evidence to prove that anarchy existed in India previous to the assumption of the Government of Bengal by the British. During the last days of the Moghul Empire while that empire was in extremis military adventurers and also the servants of the Moghul Emperors tried to dismember the empire and succeeded in setting up independent kingdoms in several provinces of India. It was in this manner that Asaf Jah at Hyderabad and Sadat Khan in Bengal established their independent principalities. But there was no anarchy or internal disorder anywhere. There was no doubt some bloodshed for no independent principality could have been brought into existence without waging wars and fighting battles. But it could be proved from historical facts that there were more wars and battles in Europe during the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries—in fact till the defeat and capture of Napoleon at Waterloo—than in India at the time when the Moghul Empire was tottering to pieces or independent principalities and states were being raised by the disloyal servants of the Moghul Emperors or by the Marathas or Rujputs. But the rulers of all these newly established states made it a principal object of their administration to be acquainted with the wants and desires of their subjects and to afford protection to their persons and pro-

was not such anarchy as in the adjoining British territory. Yet these Native territories had subordinate officers derived from the same class of Indians as that from which the corresponding class of the Indian servants of the East India Company were drawn. Had the Company then the misfortune attracting to its service a very much larger proportion of rascals than were drawn to the service of the Native princes? In Lord Minto's opinion British territory was richer than the adjoining native territory and that was one cause of the dacoities in British territory. But where are the proofs of this superior wealth? That British subjects were emulsulated as a damaging administration.

reities it cannot be said that anarchy or internal disorder existed in any form or shape in these newly raised independent states. But this cannot be said of the British rulers of that age and the territories under their administration. It seems that they never cared for the welfare or prosperity of their subjects whose persons and properties they never took any step to protect.

It is also a singular fact that distractions and disorders commenced to appear in the different states of India not very

long after the British established themselves as a political power in Bengal. It may hence be presumed that the Europeans sent emissaries to the states and principalities of Indian India to create distraction and confusion and disorder in them in order that they might be able to extend their power. It was the Europeans who helped the Nawab Vizir of Oude to murder in cold blood the brave inhabitants of Rohilkhand.

( To be continued )

HISTORICAL

## LITERS FROM RABINDRANATH TAGORE

WHEN life began her first experiments, she was mightily proud of the hugeness of her animal specimens. The bigger the bodies were the more extravagantly large the armour had to be made for their protection. The ludicrous creatures in order to maintain their balance had to carry a tail which was absurdly disproportionate to the rest of the body. It went on like this till life became a burden to itself and to the exchequer of creation. It was uneconomical, and therefore not only harmful but ungainly. True economy is the principle of beauty in practical arithmetic. Driven to bewilderment life began to seek for a pause in her insanity of endless multiplication. All forms of ambitious power are absorbed by this delirium of multiplication. All its steps are steps towards augmentation and not completeness. But ambitions that rely solely upon the suggestions of their tails and armour are condemned to carry out their own obstruction till they have to stop.

In its early history life, after its orgies of megalomania had at last to think of disarmament. But how did she effect it? By boldly relinquishing the ambition to produce bigness—and man was born helplessly naked and small. All of a sudden, he was disinherited of the enormity of flesh when apparently he was most in need of it. But this prodigious loss gained for him his freedom and victory.

There began the reign of Mind. It brought its predecessor of gigantic bulk under subjection. But, as it often happens, the master became the parasite of its slave, and mind also tried to achieve greatness by the bigness of materials. The dynasty of mind followed the dynasty of flesh but employed this flesh as its Prime Minister.

Our history is waiting for the dynasty of Spirit. The human succeeded the brutal, and now comes the turn of the Divine. In our mythology, we have often heard of man taking the side of Gods, and saving Paradise from the dominion of Giants. But in our history we often notice man holding alliance with Giants and trying to defeat the Gods. His guns and ships of huge power and proportion are turned out from the arsenal of the Giant. In the fight of bigness against goodness man has joined the former, counting coins of his reward in number and not in quality—in lead and not in gold.

Those who are in possession of material resources have become slaves of their own instruments. Fortunately for us, in India, these resources are beyond all immediate possibility of realisation. We are disarmed and therefore we have no option but to seek for other and higher sources of power. The men who believe in the reality of brute force have made enormous sacrifices in order to attain and to maintain it. Let us, in India, have faith in moral power in man and be ready to sacrifice for it all that we have. Let

us do our best to prove that Man has not been the greatest mistake in Creation. Let it not be said that for the sake of happiness and peace of the world the physical brutes were far preferable to intellectual brutes who boast of their factory made teeth and nails and poison fangs.

## II

In every age and in every country facts are given to us in order that we may provide with them some special expression of Truth. Facts are like atoms in gases. They fight with or else fly away from one another. But when they are united into a drop of dew they attain beauty and reality. Man must have that creative magic to bring the facts of his time into some unity of creation. In Christ and in Buddha this creative ideal tried to unite men who were divided because of their formalism in religious faith.

Formalism in religion is like Nationalism in politics. It breeds sectarian arrogance, mutual misunderstanding and a spirit of persecution. Our medieval saints through their light of love and inner perception of truth could realise the spiritual unity of man. For them the innumerable barriers of formalism had no existence and therefore the mutually antagonistic creeds of Hindus and Muhammadans irreconcilable as they seemed did not baffle them. Our faith in truth has its

trial in the apparent difficulty of its realisation.

The most important of all facts in the present age is that the East and West have met. So long as it remains a mere fact it will give rise to interminable conflicts. It will even hurt man's soul. It is the mission of all men of faith in the present age, to raise this fact into truth. The worldly wise will shake their heads and say it is not possible—that there is a radical difference between the East and the West and therefore only physical power will have its way in their relationship.

But physical power is not creative. Whatever laws and organisations it may produce it will never satisfy spiritual humanity. Ram Mohan Ray was the first great man in our age who had the profound faith and large vision to feel in his heart the unity of soul between East and West. I follow him though he is practically rejected by my countrymen. I only wish you had been with me in Europe! You would know at once what is the purpose of the modern age, what is the cry of man which the politicians never hear. There were politicians in the courts of the Moghul Emperors. They have left nothing behind them but ruin. But Kabir and Nanak. They have bequeathed to us their imperishable faith in the unity of Man through God's love.

## THE BURIAL OF A BIRD

(By an American boy of 10 or 11 years of age.)

One day, when I was walking near the bridge  
I heard a noise and I turned to look  
And I saw a man with a gun in his hand  
I ran up when he fired the shot  
I looked around for half an hour  
Until I found something hopping on the ground  
Then I saw a blackbird  
He hopped slower and slower, until he dropped dead  
And then I picked him up

I brought him to Miss Wylie,  
And she gave me a box to bury him in.  
Then I buried him in Shelter garden  
And then I built a cross  
And made a wreath of flowers  
And I put some flowers on the grave  
Then some other boys said the Lord's Prayer  
And then we went down sad



## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

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## "Rig-Vedic India"

I am obliged to Prof. Dr. Sten Konow of Kristiania, University of Norway for publishing a short notice of my book *Rig Vedic India* in the July number of the *Modern Review*. I take this opportunity of thanking the learned Professor for his candid opinion about the merits of the book. He does not see his way to accept the points urged by me with a view to establish the theory of the original cradle of the Aryans in Sapta Sindhu and the vast antiquity of the Rig Veda and Rig Vedic civilization. It is not easy for a European scholar, says he "to write about a book like *Rig Vedic India*. From the beginning to the end it goes straight against everything that we considered as established facts. We have been accustomed to think of human civilization as being of comparatively modern growth and now we are asked to carry its development in India back for hundreds of millenniums. When writing the book, I anticipated the difficulty that the general reader would experience in accepting my views but I never suspected that they would puzzle or perplex a learned scholar like Dr. Sten Konow simply because they happen to go straight against everything that we considered as established facts. This should in my humble opinion have furnished a greater reason for examining them in fuller details, which, however, the Professor has not done. With regard to the interpretations put by me on RV X. 126. 5. 11. 33. 6. 2. 47. 2. and II. 12. 2. and the inferences drawn therefrom in the light of the results of geological investigation he simply contents himself by saying "It is impossible for me to see in such explanations anything but loose guesses which do not become more probable, because they are often repeated. An observation like this is I need hardly say, highly disappointing. If my interpretation is wrong the reader would naturally expect from him the right interpretation which, however, he has not offered. The reader is, therefore left severely alone to draw his own conclusions."

Dr. Sten Konow says: "We have been accustomed to think of human civilization as being of comparatively modern growth." I do not know how far back in the time scale the learned Professor is prepared to go to trace the growth of this civilization, but it is clear and certain that he is not prepared to go so far back as hundreds of millenniums as I have done in the case of Rig Vedic civilization. It has, however, now come to be accepted almost

as historical truth that human civilization is hundreds of thousand years old. The Pleistocene period is regarded by geologists to have taken nearly 400,000 years to form (though Prof. Rutot thinks that 140,000 years sufficed for the purpose), and the Pleistocene large brained men are said to have developed mental and moral faculties, not much inferior to ours. Writing on the "Impermanence of Civilization", the *Times* (London) in its issue of January 8, 1921, referred to "discoveries proving the existence of large-brained men at a period so remote from our own times as to be measured by hundreds of thousands of years (the italics are mine). These and the recovered traces of lost civilisations have changed the simple and attractive view of human history created in the first flush of Darwinism. Modern man is not the unique achievement of the evolving human race. The lowest savages of to-day may not be surviving stages in the ascent of the white man from the apes but the degenerate descendants of forgotten peoples with brains as large, intellectual and moral faculties as high as our own (the italics are mine). We are not the heirs of all the ages, but only the representatives of one civilization, lying, as geologists would say, unconformably on the denuded surface of many other civilizations." Again, in its issue of December 30, 1920 the same journal wrote "The Pleistocene large brained men may also remind us of many other discoveries establishing the existence of civilizations long antecedent to those of which we have historical remains. However proudly we may trace the development of existing institutions we may do well to remember that they have followed other civilizations possibly as great possibly as confident of their own permanence." In the face of these facts discoveries, and opinions of scientists it is at all an absurd thing to try to trace back the growth of Indo Aryan civilization to hundreds of millenniums?

The learned Professor finds it difficult to accept my views mainly on the ground that if the Aryan mind "had reached the highest development" hundreds of thousands of years ago how is it that it has remained practically stationary and "unproductive and barren" during untold millenniums? Its growth and development, says he "which we were wont to admire has extended over such a vast period that it becomes insignificant in comparison with such nations, as for instance the Germanic ones for they were certainly still barbarians less than two thousand years ago and in spite of that they may

now compare, and in some respects even favourably with the Indo-Aryans who had developed, we are told a marvellous civilization hundreds of thousand years ago. I am afraid, it will not at all be possible for me in this short article to enter into an elaborate discussion on this important question raised by Dr Sten Konow. Nevertheless I will attempt an answer as brief as possible. In the first place I have nowhere said in my book that the Aryan mind 'had reached the highest development' in Rig Vedic times. All that I have said is that the Aryans during this period, after emerging from the state of a nomadic existence, 'attained a comparatively high state of culture.' (P. 557.) Further, the Rig-Vedic hymns were composed during a long period, as there is distinct reference in the sacred Scripture to hymns that had been composed in the early and the middle ages and to hymns that were composed in the later age of Rig Vedic times (Rv. III. 32-13). The language of the ancient hymns also underwent a thorough change, and had to be recast in the more refined dialect of the later age. In fact the old hymns came down to the Aryans of the later age in new graceful robes' as a Rishi has felicitously expressed the idea. All the hymns that we find in the Rig Veda were collected and redacted in comparatively recent times, not certainly according to their sequence and dates of composition but according to their happening to fall in with certain groups and we need not therefore be surprised if we occasionally come across certain hymns that bear in them the stamp of modernity along with hymns that are admittedly more ancient' (P. 557.) The above extracts from *Rig-Vedic India* would go to show that the development of Rig Vedic civilization extended over a long period of time consisting of three ages. Of course we do not know anything about the extent of each age but we may safely surmise, considering how slowly did early civilization move, that each age must have extended over some thousands of years. We should always bear in mind that progress was necessarily extremely slow in early human or for the matter of that early Aryan society on account of its complete isolation from and the absence of communication with the outer world which also, by the way, had not made much advance towards civilization. And this brings us to the question raised by Dr Sten Konow about the improbability of the extremely slow development of the Aryan mind during an enormously long period of time. Certain modern nations it is true, have advanced by leaps and bounds on the path of progress and attained a high degree of culture in the course of a few centuries by coming into contact with the original high cultures of peoples who, in the isolation, had developed it by their own independent exertions slowly and laboriously through long untold centuries nay in millenniums. The history of modern Japan may be cited here as an instance. She has taken less than three-quarters of a century to come to the front rank of the civilized nations of the world. If left to herself and her own resources in her island home, she would probably have taken millenniums to reach the present stage of her development. The Germanic nations also owed their present culture and civilization to a successful assimilation of the high Roman Celtic and Slavonic cultures with which they had come into contact but if left to themselves

in the splendid isolation they would probably not have advanced during the last two thousand years much beyond the stage of civilization as revealed in the ancient kitchen-middens. The aboriginal tribes like the Juangs the Pulvers and the Mundavars of Southern India are still in the stone age of civilization in consequence of their isolation, 'though other Dravidian peoples like the Cholas and the Pandys attained a high culture thousands of years ago through their having come into contact with higher Aryan culture and civilization. It is therefore extremely misleading to compare the rate of progress made by some modern nations with that made by ancient peoples like the Indo-Aryans who, having been completely cut off from the outer world and surrounded by savage neighbours, had through their unaided exertions to develop a civilization of their own consistently with their peculiar genius. One need not therefore be surprised to find the slow growth of civilization and the slow rate of progress of the Indo-Aryans during a long period of time. Before the last three thousand years, they had not come into contact with any peoples who might be regarded as their superiors or even equals. They moved in the same old groove cut out by their forefathers thousands and thousands of years ago, carefully and religiously preserving the treasures bequeathed to them by countless generations of their ancestors and developing a unique civilization with unique religious rites and social customs which have no counterparts in any human society on the face of the globe. Only those Indo-Aryan tribes who emigrated to foreign countries from time to time took with them a portion of their culture which having been transplanted in foreign soils, either did not flourish amidst uncongenial environments or was transformed into something else beyond recognition. But this process also helped to uplift the then ancient world and to spread civilization over Western Asia, Egypt and Europe.

It is against the law of Nature to produce continually or in quick succession without sufficient rest and recuperation. And this law also holds good in the case of human communities. It is wrong to suppose that the Aryan mind has always been capable of producing new and fresh fruits. This is reading history on a wrong line. The Indo-Aryan mind has undoubtedly produced new and fresh fruits, but only after sufficiently long intervals as is evidenced by the production of the different Vedas which bear unmistakable internal evidence, both geographical and historical, of having been composed in different periods, separated from one another by long stretches of time. The *Brāhmanas* were composed when the Vedic rituals became too complicated to be easily understood from a perusal of the *śrutis* and they were followed by the *Sūtras*, the *Aranyakas* and the *Upanishads* not surely in quick succession but after long intervals covered by thousands of years. This shows the gradual and natural growth of the Aryan mind. Nothing can be more misleading from a historical point of view than to apply the measure of progress made in modern times within a limited period to the circumstances of ancient times, which were so different from those of our own.

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In the face of these facts discoveries and opinions of scientists, is it at all an absurd thing to try to trace back the growth of Indo-Aryan civilization to hundreds of millenniums?

The learned Professor finds it difficult to accept my views mainly on the ground that if the Aryan mind 'had reached the highest development' hundreds of thousands of years ago, how is it that it has remained practically stationary and 'unproductive and barren' during untold millenniums? "Its growth and development," says he "which we were wont to admire has extended over such a vast period that it becomes insignificant in comparison with such nations, as for instance the Germanic ones. For they were certainly still barbarians less than two thousand years ago and in spite of that they

now complete and in some respects even favourably, with the Indo-Aryans who had developed we are told, a marvellous civilization hundreds of thousand years ago. I am afraid, it will not at all be possible for me in this short article to enter into an elaborate discussion on this important question raised by Dr Sten Konow. Nevertheless I will attempt an answer as brief as possible. In the first place I have nowhere said in my book that the Aryan mind 'had reached the highest development in Rg Vedic times. All that I have said is that the Aryans during this period, after emerging from the state of a nomadic existence, "attained a comparatively high state of culture." (P 557) Further, 'the Rg-Vedic hymns were composed during a long period "is there a distinct reference in the sacred Scripture to hymns that had been composed in the early and the middle ages and to hymns that were composed in the later age of Rg Vedic times (Rv III 32 13). The language of the ancient hymns also underwent a thorough change and had to be recast in the more refined dialect of the later age. In fact, the old hymns came down to the Aryans of the later age in new graceful robes' as a Rishi has felicitously expressed the idea. All the hymns that we find in the Rg Veda were collected and redacted in comparatively recent times not certainly according to their sequence and dates of composition but according to the happening to fall in with certain groups and we need not therefore, be surprised if we occasionally come across certain hymns that bear in them the stamp of modernity along with hymns that are admittedly more ancient.' (P 557) The above extracts from *Rig Vedic India* would go to show that the development of Rg Vedic civilization extended over a long period of time consisting of three ages. Of course we do not know anything about the extent of each age but we may safely surmise, considering how slowly did early civilization move that each age must have extended over some thousands of years. We should always bear in mind that progress was necessarily extremely slow in early human, or for the matter of that early Aryan society on account of its complete isolation from and the absence of communication with the outer world which also by the way, had not made much advance towards civilization. And this brings us to the question raised by Dr Sten Konow about the improbability of the extremely slow development of the Aryan mind during an enormously long period of time. Certain modern nations it is true, have advanced by leaps and bounds on the path of progress, and attained a high degree of culture in the course of a few centuries by coming into contact with the glorious high cultures of peoples who, in their isolation, had developed it by their own independent exertions slowly and laboriously through long untold centuries, nay in millennia. The history of modern Japan may be cited here as an instance. She has taken less than three-quarters of a century to come to the front rank of the civilized nations of the world. If left to herself and her own resources in her island home, she would probably have taken millennia to reach the present stage of her development. The Germanic nations also owed their present culture and civilization to a successful assimilation of the high Roman, Celtic and Slavonic cultures with which they had come into contact but not to themselves.

in their splendid isolation they would probably not have advanced during the first two thousand years much beyond the stage of civilization as revealed in the ancient kitchen-middens. The aboriginal tribes like the Juangs the Pulis, and the Mundavars of Southern India are still in the stone age of civilization on consequence of their isolation though other Dravidian peoples like the Cholas and the Pandyas attained a high culture thousands of years ago through their having come into contact with higher Aryan culture and civilization. It is therefore extremely misleading to compare the rate of progress made by some modern nations with that made by ancient peoples like the Indo-Aryans who, having been completely cut off from the outer world and surrounded by savage neighbours, had through their unaided exertions to develop a civilization of their own consistently with their peculiar genius. One need not therefore be surprised to find the slow growth of civilization and the slow rate of progress of the Indo-Aryans during a long period of time. Before the last three thousand years, they had not come into contact with any peoples who might be regarded as their superiors or even equals. They moved in the same old groove cut out by their forefathers thousands and thousands of years ago, carefully and religiously preserving the treasures bequeathed to them by countless generations of their ancestors, and developing a unique civilization with unique religious rites and social customs which have no counterparts in any human society on the face of the globe. Only those Indo-Aryan tribes who emigrated to foreign countries from time to time took with them a portion of their culture which having been transplanted in foreign soils, either did not flourish amidst uncongenial environments or was transformed into something else beyond recognition. But this process also helped to uplift the then ancient world and to spread civilization over Western Asia, Egypt and Europe.

It is against the law of Nature to produce continually, or in quick succession without sufficient rest and recuperation. And this law also holds good in the case of human communities. It is wrong to suppose that the Aryan mind 'has always been capable of producing new and fresh fruits. This is reading history on a wrong line. The Indo-Aryan mind has undoubtedly produced new and fresh fruits, but only after sufficiently long intervals as is evidenced by the production of the different Vedas which bear unmistakable internal evidence both geographical and historical, of having been composed in different periods separated from one another by long stretches of time. The *Brahmanas* were composed when the Vedic rituals became too complicated to be easily understood from a perusal of the *mantras* and they were followed by the *Sutras*, the *Aranyaks* and the *Upanishads*, not surely in quick succession, but after long intervals covered by thousands of years. This shows the gradual and natural growth of the Aryan mind. Nothing can be more misleading from a historical point of view than to apply the measure of progress made in modern times within a limited period to the circumstances of ancient times, which were so different from those of our own.

The putting forth of a stupendous amount of energy invariably succeeded by a period of inactivity.

income. Moreover cotton and therefore yarn were comparatively dearer in most parts of India in those days of no transport facilities. We have evidence that machine-made cloth is enabling our agricultural classes to clothe themselves more fully and easily in these days of higher grain prices than three centuries ago. But I am persuaded that the village population and town labourers alike in the Gangetic valley (as well as those of the Krishna and Godavari) at least were better fed in Akbar's time than now. No doubt they lacked the resources which modern civilisation has given their descendants for combating a local famine with the surplus produce of distant places and had not the same amount of garnered wealth for resisting famine as they now have in certain provinces. But in normal years they enjoyed the full advantages of Nature's lavish bounty in the absence of export, the existence of many free pastures and water-courses from which they could add to their income (as the English village labourer used to do before the enclosures of the middle 18th century). Dairy products were cheaper, purer and distributed more widely and to a lower stratum of society even 50 years ago than now. Fish (which in Bengal is the most important item of food for all after rice and before dal or vegetables and in other provinces is eaten by the numerous lower castes), was more plentiful and in many places could be had for nothing from the many neglected streams and tanks like the things of Nature. It has now become a luxury even for the middle class in our towns.

In fact the population was sparse and the lower classes benefited by reason of it. Life also was simpler for all, hence the vanquished in the struggle for existence—the weak the infirm the unsuccessful in business did not find it so hard a world to live in as now. There were certainly greater colour of gaiety in life then and that implied rude plenty in normal years. When *akal* (famine) or the great Mother (pestilence) desolated the land there was no help for it: man bowed his head to divinity but raised it after the storm had blown over. [Here I must warn the student against accepting the picture of misery given in Vidanuram's poem *Chandi* as typical of 17th century Bengal any more than the vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman is universally true of 14th century England.] The chief gain of the lower classes—and indeed of all classes—in British India has been security of property and freedom of production and service. The wealth of the upper grades of our town labourers is now certainly greater and their standard of living higher than in 1600. But the lower grades of town labourers and peasants even when richer in money are no better off than in 1600, probably worse, as they have new wants to supply and live in an overcrowded bustling world that has no place for the frugal life of the medieval farmer.

Regarding the higher official classes in Akbar's time, Mr. Sairan observes—

When Mr. Moreland speaks of Akbar a higher officer is consisting largely of foreigners (pp. 69 and 29), the student has to bear a correction in his mind. These men were foreigners by birth no doubt but they made India their home and most of them broke the bridge for a return to their ancestral Iran or Turan. In Akbar's reign (and the remark is even more true of the 17th century) whenever a Central Asian Persian or Turkish soldier or minister came to India in search of fortune he thereby banished himself for ever from his homeland. There was the greatest rivalry between the Great Moghal and the rulers of Turan and Iran for several generations. Every adventurer coming from these countries to India was a deserter in the eyes of his native king. Such men had usually given offence to their kings before leaving home (in *shirak*) and subsequently found the greatest difficulty in bringing to India their wives and sons in law left behind at home. Witness the cases of Ali Mardan Khan the Persian and Husain Pasha (created Islam Khan by Aurangzeb) the Turk. These refugees could not leave India: they bred and multiplied here and therefore after one generation they ceased to be foreigners. Even the Moghal imperial family forgot its central Asian origin. We have a significant anecdote in which Aurangzeb complains against an officer saying: 'He is a *rasal*—a Turk and the Emperor replies with a smile: 'We too are Turks (*Muhammadrak—em!*)'.

### Parts of India in the 17th Century

Mr. K. Krishnamacharya writing in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, gives a brief account of an interesting Sanskrit work named *Visvaguṇā darsa* by Vankatādhvārī, who 'belonged to the latter half of the seventeenth century'.

This *Visvaguṇā darsa* is therefore a record of the times when the Mogul Emperor Aurangzeb was reigning at Delhi amidst ominous misgivings that his empire was tottering under his very throne and when the great Marhatta hero Shivaji was laying the foundations of his Empire in the south.

The observations recorded in *Visvaguṇā darsa* are mostly socio-religious, and partly political also. Though the whole of India comes into view, it is the Southern India that claims the major part of the attention of the author. The Eastern the North-eastern, the Western parts of the country do not receive any attention at all.

The plan of the work is simple though:

original two Brahmins Krisanu and Visvavasu undertake a pleasure drive in their *Amnra* and pass through the several notable places in the land. As they pass they indulge in a lively discussion of the things they see. Krisanu has a critical eye and is a shrewder observer than Visvavasu and as such he is struck more with the defects than with the merits of the things he observes. But his friend is tolerant to a fault and sees something praiseworthy in whatever he sets his eyes upon. While Krisanu is humorously pessimistic Visvavasu is seriously optimistic. For our purpose Krisanu is the surer guide of the two but we do not mean thereby that we shall not avail ourselves of the good services of Visvavasu.

Before they take leave of our blessed earth Visvavasu assures Krisanu that life in this planet does not after all deserve condemnation even in the age of Kali since it is not devoid of attractions in the midst of its countless disappointments.

Some of the observations of the Gandharvas as summarised by the writer of the article, are quoted below.

Venkataadhwari rather we must say Krisanu is struck with the seemingly defective side of *Ichara* (the socio-religious observances) of the people of the Northern India as against those prevailing in the Southern India. The *Seravritti* of the Brahmins and the consequent laxity in their socio-religious observances have their own share of condemnation at the hands of Krisanu. He does not approve their indifference to *drishti dosha* in the matter of meals nor of their neglect of the mutual untouchability of individuals as practised in the south.

Visvavasu on the other hand recognises something good in their life. He is not blind to their sacrifices for the sake of the motherland by way of accepting services under foreign kings even under humiliating conditions and thereby controlling the political machinery for the good of the people. A laxity in observing one's own caste principles and practices does not matter much in the eyes of Visvavasu when one is engaged in an unselfish service of one's own fellow-caste countrymen. That the people of the north strictly avoid *pariyashitannam* (the food a day after it is cooked) unlike those of the extreme south does not escape his attention.

For the Curjars Visvavasu has nothing but a whole-hearted admiration. Their love of commerce and their trade in precious gems are highly commended. He is not probably aware of the economic aspect of the trade in gems from the point of view of India. The somewhat painful effect on the young wives of the traders of the inevitable absence of their lords on commercial tent for years together is sympathetically touched upon. Our friend has no patience with those effeminate creatures who refuse to stir out of their circumscribed corners. He has

in invaluable lesson on the experiences of tant travels.

The warlike spirit of the Maharashtras its rightful share of the critical eye of our Gandharva youth.

Visvavasu asserts that the destructive actions of an army on its expeditions against the foes of the land the Mlechchhas are to be tolerated in consideration of the good services it renders to the country by freeing it from its aggressive foe even as the unpalatable savour of a royal medicine intended to rescue the patient from a deadly disease. He has even a good word to say of the manly spirit of the Mlechchha army.

The profession of the average Brahmin in the Andhradesa as a Karam or a petty clerk under rich landlords of other castes has no attraction for Krisanu and he therefore indulges in a denunciation of the country. But his friend Visvavasu does not trouble himself about this and readily finds a word of praise for the land in that it enjoys a glorious possession by way of the symmetrical type of the average Andhra woman as of the exquisite and delicate type of the Gurjara woman.

The Tirupati God is put down for a merciless usurer that sucks the very life blood of his devotees by extracting from them his overdue accounts with a compound interest.

Incidentally Krisanu hits upon the seemingly incongruous practices of the *sanyasins* who happen to be the Heads of the various religious Muttas. Their luxurious ways of life do not commend themselves to him. He will have nothing to do with their lugly paraphernalia. But Visvavasu does not see much of wrong therein on the other hand he upholds their luxury as a real necessity for the itinerant life of such *sanyasins* consecrated for the propagation of their faith.

The European settlers at Madras are spoken of as not caring a straw for the Brahmins. It is really gratifying to learn that the western friends of those days had an enviable reputation for their love of truth their partiality to justice and their skill in the manufacture of wonderful articles.

At the sight of the fortress of Gingee Krisanu falls into a rage against kings in general and condemns them for their avarice which knows no law and which leads them very often to battle-fields even at the cost of their own life with all its channels of pleasure. But Visvavasu only reminds Krisanu that the so-called misdeeds of kings on which he has been expatiating are after all their manly virtues deserving commendation.

While at Srirangam Krisanu is reminded of the unholy life of the servants of the temples in general. He wonders if there can be sanctity at all in the idol worshipped by men whose private life cannot with any show of decorum be described as decent. He does not tolerate the nefarious practice of putting the

praisadams on sale But Visvavasu assures him that mountains of sin are swallowed up by the only virtue of a life dedicated to the service of God With all the oratorical skill of Visvavasu we confess we are unconvinced, and record our vote in favour of Krisanu

## Rabindranath Tagore in Franco

The *Collegian* in its "World of Culture" section gives the following account of two lectures given by Rabindranath Tagore in France

### Tagore and French Publicists

Distinguished publicists of France have come in touch with Rabindranath Tagore at the dinner at *Cercle Interallie Paris* given in his honour on April 24 and also in the *Laur de Cassation (Palais de Justice)* where on April 25 he gave a lecture on "Public Life in India" The poet's message was rendered into French by interpreters At *Musee Guimet* Tagore was presented with a medal of *Republique Francaise* by Emile Senart, member of the *Institut de France*

### Explosion from Asia.

'Asia,' said Tagore is today the continent of repressed personality And from an atmosphere of repression you can only expect an explosion That explosion is inevitably coming to a head The submerged humanity of the Orient will react to the pressure from the 'aliens in the only manner' recognised by the laws of Nature

### A League of Peoples

"Does the League of Nations propose to be a league of peoples?" demands Tagore 'That is the only question of importance from the standpoint of an Asian internationalist,' says he 'For in Asia today (excluding Japan) there are no powers but simply peoples. If you are interested merely in establishing a league of powers the peoples of Asia who have no place in your scheme can but have one logical alternative And that is known to every student of human nature

### Democracy in Hindu Folk tradition

Speaking on "In Indian Folk Religion" at the *Musee Guimet* under the auspices of the *Amis de l'Orient* Tagore gave a discourse on democracy in Hindu popular life. The lecture dealt with the element of personality and love in Sakrasinha's teachings the doctrines of *mahakaya* and *bodhi-vidaya* in the Mahayanism of Nagarjuna the songs of Jnanadasa the medieval poet and with the refrain of Vaishnav poetry which declares God's love as finding its finality in man's love.

## The Rights of the Individual in Indian Poetry

The supreme sacredness of the individual in his relations with the Deity is according to Tagore the first article in the rights of man enunciated by the folk mind of India If Thy love can be complete without my love, I have nothing to do with Thee' Such says the poet is the attitude of the Hindu to God revealed in India's literature through the ages

### The Bauls of Bengal

The principal theme of Tagore's lecture at *Musee Guimet* was the Bauls of Bengal The bauls constitute a class of folk poets who even in our own times continue to be seekers of eternal light although not supported by metaphysics Gagan the unlettered young poet office peon was one of this camaraderie, in whose song on *The Man of My Heart* Tagore finds the great message of democratic consciousness which is India's permanent contribution to human development

## Interest in India Abroad

A few more items of interest relating to India are extracted below from the *Collegian*

### Indian Association in Germany

An India Information Bureau and News Agency has been established at 27 Burgstrasse Berlin Authors journalists directors of libraries and publishing houses are requested to furnish the bureau with literature

### Medical Education in France

In Paris medical students are permitted' says Balwant Singh L.M.S. (Lahore) of Kashmir Medical Service to take a round of all the hospitals in the city They get a chance to watch the work of the greatest specialists in each line The system in France is thus more efficacious than in England where the work of students is confined within the walls of the hospital at which they are enrolled In the second place hospital practice is compulsory in France at the very first year, whereas in England (as in India) it does not commence before the third year In the third place, in France practising physicians who wish to attend hospital service are offered the facilities solely for the asking but in London a fee is charged which ranges from £1 to £3 per month.

### Child Welfare Work

Under the auspices of the social service league of the Community Church of New York which is presided over by John Haynes Holmes one of the most liberal minded political and social thinkers of the United States exhibitions and conferences on child welfare work were held in

May from the 8th to the 15th. Lectures on the children of China and Japan were given by Chinese and Japanese scholars. India was represented by V. S. Sukthankar.

#### Tagore in Franco.

In *La Revue Mondiale* (March) there is an essay on Tagore by Helene Miropolsky. The writer devotes her consideration mostly to the poet-novelist's *La Maison et le Monde*. At Strasbourg in April Tagore was offered a royal reception by the University where in addition to giving a lecture on the treatment of Nature in Hindu literature he announced the project of a cosmopolitan university which is on at Polpur.

#### Hindu Influence in America.

The people of the United States have begun to take an "intensive" interest in the movements of India. In the state of Massachusetts alone there are just at present over twenty "Hindu" centres, half a dozen among which are located in different wards of the city of Boston. The centres are named after Chandragupta, Akbar, Sher Shah, Washington, Dande Mataram and Tilak. Publicists like the mayor of Cambridge, the city which is proud of its Harvard University, James M. G. Fay, late American consul-general at Brussels (Belgium), are specializing in the Indian question.

#### Labour's Coming Power.

*Labour* reproduces from Mr. B. P. Wadia's "Labour in Madras" the following paragraphs, laying down the lines along which we are to work to arrive at the solution of labour problems:

In the coming legislation the fact to be remembered is that labourers are the prime consideration. In creating machinery we must bear in mind that it is put together to relieve the tension of the labourer's life, and not to facilitate the hoarding of profits at the expense of human suffering. Let it not crush men, women and young persons in the name of growing industries of the country. The legislation must not be undertaken from the employer's point of view; nor must we be swayed by the dubious talk of growing industries. What good is it to a State to gain wealth out of misery and lose the soul of happiness which a contented citizenship yields? Are we going to be benefited by the lesson afforded by the utter failure of the economic and industrial system of the age which is now fast closing? Let me repeat, therefore, to our educated legislators: Do not mistake men for machines and remember you are legislating for human beings.

Next in the solution of general problems it is absolutely necessary to recognise the fact that the old system has broken down. It is no more

a question of increase of wages and decrease of hours; it is no more a question of the utility of the weapon of strikes and lock-outs. It is a new orientation—the abolition of every vestige of slavery, of any kind whatever, from the body politic of the system as a whole, which tarnishes the life of labour; the introduction of proper and adequate safeguards for the control of production and of produce, economically and organically; the full but also the only legitimate recognition of Capital by a deprivation of its power to exploit labour and accumulate profits; the full measure of the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship to be secured for labouring class as for others; the recognition of the factor of growing importance in reference to the internationalism of Labour.

Let us not deceive ourselves with exploded theories of profit sharing and the like; let our legislators endeavour to lose their Indian provincialism and look abroad at what is happening—in Italy with the metal-workers, in Great Britain with the builders in their new guild, in Georgia with its new socialist state, in Russia as described by Mr. H. N. Brailsford.

#### Headmastership by Rotation.

In the *Educational Review* of Madras, Mr. K. Krishnamacharya proposes that

The Headmastership of our schools, at any rate of the smaller High Schools and of those that have not Headmaster-Managers, should go by rotation, every year, to the Assistants of the highest academic qualification, with no substantial difference in the actual amount of teaching work, as entrusted to the Headmaster and to the Assistants. While the Headmaster is busy with his 'official' routine in his leisure hours, the senior Assistants must, in their leisure hours, share with him, and among themselves the responsibility of Supervision in the respective subjects they are conversant with. The general administrative responsibility is to lie with the Headmaster, whoever occupies the position for the time being, and the details of administration, like the scheme of studies, the time-table, the periodical examinations, the prescribing of text-books, etc., may be worked up in consultation with the members of the staff, according to their equipments, general as well as special. The Teachers' Associations of the several schools are expected to assist their Headmasters by their valuable co-operation.

We refuse to believe that the Headmastership of our High Schools requires anything more than an average intellectual equipment, coupled with an honest sense of the amount of one's own duty, and a sympathetic insight into the duties of others and also a moral courage that gives no quarter to considerations not quite



edifying when dealing with friends and foes as well. This we can safely expect unless other wise warranted by contrary experiences in their relations to one another, in every one of the Higher Assistants who have stood the test of general educational qualifications.

He meets some possible objections thus

Objections there may be raised to our suggestion that by the annual change of the Heads the something which goes to create the permanent character of the administration of the schools would be in danger of becoming ineffective and that this would encourage indiscipline in the staff and students. Our answer is that having been brought up under the system of one man rule for a long time some of us may now honestly feel it impossible to perceive that the apprehended danger is after all not substantial, and that even in the experimental stage the healthier effects of the proposal would be realised. With the disappearance of distrust and destructive criticism and with the positive presence of mutual trust and co-operation among the members of the staff the question of the discipline of the school is assured. Again since every question of importance is to be settled by a reference to the Council of Teachers at any rate of the Higher Assistants the continuity of the administrative experiences of the Head can be maintained unbroken.

Before we close we must explain ourselves why we have been partial to the method of Rotation in preference to that of Election. To be frank the method of Rotation strictly avoids even the extreme cases of a few unfortunate members that may happen to fail to get through by Election. A dejected member of the staff will be led to believe his life miserable and it will be next to impossible to make him turn out cheerful work. A dejected member will be a source of irritation to the buoyant spirit of the youngsters and will thereby prove to be a fruitful source of indiscipline. Failure, even if it comes to that in a responsible position is more a corrective than anything else but failure to get to the responsible position even after a determined attempt has its unhealthy reaction on the psychology of the individual. Of the two we choose the healthier one.

### The Spinning Wheel and the Co-operative System

Mr R. K. Kulkarni contributes an article to the *Powmby Co-operative Quarterly* to show how the spinning wheel movement can be best organised and popularised on co-operative lines. Says he

India is essentially a country of villages

Recent available census figures show that only 9.5 per cent of the population live in towns having not less than 5,000 inhabitants. Agriculture is the main prop and standby of the people. The village agriculturist grows all the food necessary for the village population, the smith works at his anvil to make the few iron utensils the weaver picks his handloom in his little hut and the potter turns his wheel in front of his cottage. The carpenter, the leather worker, and the shoe-maker supply the wants of a simple village folk. The village is almost self-sufficing and is in itself a self-contained economic unit. The structure of village society still rests to some extent on status and this picture of the village organization still largely represents life in tracts not yet brought into contact with the outside world by the railway. India is now almost universally in the throes of a great economic revolution. The old rural economic organization has received a rude shock and is fast crumbling to pieces under the impact of western industrialism.

Without entering into the controversy whether small industries can hold their own against capitalistic production with all the cheap and labour saving appliances the latter can command it must be obvious to every serious thinker that the community cannot however afford to dispense with the intellectual and imaginative forces in life which go with the existence of skilled craftsmen and small workshops. The survival of village industries has not only a moral value to the country as a whole but it is also a means of preserving a large class of craftsmen from sinking to the level of coolies and wage-earners. There is a clear economic gain when so many thousands of citizens are enabled to remain in their native villages exercising an art in which they can take an honourable pride instead of being driven into the ranks of a city proletariat.

He next observes

The most important of our cottage industries that needs rejuvenation at this moment is the spinning and weaving industry on which more than 28 lakhs of the population still anyhow contrive to eke out their scanty subsistence. Two-thirds of our artisan population may be fairly said to be dependant for their daily bread upon this industry. Apart from professional weavers home-spinning was followed in times gone by, as a supplementary calling by women among agricultural communities. It is eminently suited to the conditions of village life. Our agriculturists are in a majority of cases owners of small plots of land and the methods of dry cultivation they follow keep them engaged only for a part of the year. They remain idle for nearly half the year and the rougher varieties of clothing which an agricultural establishment needs for work in

fills and other rough wear can be easily manufactured by themselves in their own village. The poverty of the Indian ryot is almost proverbial and many starve for want of supplementary occupation. When India was forced to give up home spinning she had no other occupation to which she could turn. The ryot has grown poor because of this inability to utilize his leisure well. If the peasantry have spinning to add to their slender resources they can fight pauperism on an economic basis and withstand the ravages of famine.

His scheme is in outline as follows:

Members of the agricultural and weaving classes and their families preferably women, who promise to take to spinning may, in any village, be allowed to group themselves into a co-operative society and asked to contribute a small mutual working capital. To start with, the number joining the society should be in each case 20 at least.

### The Suppression of Women in the East

There is a Note in the July *Bulletin of the Indian Nationalist Society* which, in spite of the rather sweeping character of its statements and denunciations, contains a large amount of truth. It must be remembered that in bombarding an enemy town, it may not be possible to make exceptions in favour of the righteous citizens. Here is the Note:

From Constantinople to Peking women have been suppressed. They do not get a chance of inhaling pure abundant air of the outside world. They are forced to live in seclusion, are deprived of their birth right to enjoy the largesse of the beauty, the splendour and the beneficence of nature. The growth of their mind is stunted, their mental horizon is abridged and the progress and advancing knowledge in the world is kept back from them. They are shut out from social and intellectual intercourse with the other half of humanity. They have become strangers to nobler and braver impulses of nature. They are made to feel the shame of their sex and to regard themselves as weaker vessels. The protective instinct which pervades and thrills all living creatures is crushed out of them; they have to conceal their faces beneath the veil and turn themselves into grotesque caricature of human beings. All these injuries and misfortunes have been heaped upon them only because the pigeon-brained, addle-pated men have yielded themselves to the injunctions of religions. These selfish, self-minded men are no better than human ichthyosaurs, half fish and half lizard.

The Easterners have suffered extinction intellectually and politically owing to their bias against the natural law which calls aloud for the liberation of man and woman in every sphere of life. Woman by instinct is more moral and stronger in preservative virtue than man. It is the false religions which have for long ages influenced the minds of the women and have turned them into timid creatures. Even in Europe, the woman has not obtained her fullest emancipation. She is still regarded as the seducer of men like the mythical Eve with her apple. She is still tied to the conventional morality of religion and is ostracised by the society if she pursues ethics divorced from religion. She is still condemned by the church and the decadent mediocrity, for the natural impulse to take her place by the side of man in all the departments of life. They still command her to return to the kitchen and the nursery. The time is coming fast when education in Europe will be released from the dead hand of the church and the woman's brain will expand and attain its full bloom; and she will at last feel herself a natural, ethical being, cleansed of all the impurities of past ages.

Woman, it is said, is fond of vulgar gossip and is a monger of scandal; that she is cruel and uncharitable to her own sex. It is true it is disgusting. It turns man from the woman. Give her fresh air of liberal education and thought, let her mind ramble in nature—study and receive the fragrance of morning thought of an universal life, remove her from the mephitic atmosphere of drawing rooms and from the iron cage of the zenana—and she will emerge a cleaner and healthier being. Man is not much above woman in this crime. He too requires to be trained and given freedom of thought equally with woman.

### How to Use a School Library

Mr P. A. Narayanaswami outlines the following scheme in the *Educational Review* to make school libraries really useful to the pupils—

Let us suppose that a High School student can read thirty volumes a year. That makes ninety volumes during the three years of his High School course. The right course to adopt in that case is to select the ninety best books from the High School students' point of view and to make him read them. The books have of course to be divided into three groups according to the year in which they are to be read. The thirty Fourth Form books should be distributed to the thirty pupils of the class and redistributed after stated intervals. And the teacher in charge of the class should see that the pupils read them.

Of course arrangements will have to be made.

made for special cases. For instance a class may contain more than thirty pupils. In that case two or more copies of at least some of the thirty books will have to be provided. The only condition is that during the year all the pupils in that class should have read the thirty books assigned to that class. Then again there might be some extraordinary students demanding more reading matter. They should be directed to read not only with the class in this scheme but also from the general library.

In the selection of these ninety or hundred books the utmost care is necessary. Prominence should wherever possible be given to the classics of all time. This would go a great way to develop a sound taste in the pupils. Language style and thought are other features to be considered. This consideration would result in the complete rejection of certain books now allowed to be read—or rather gone through—by the students and in the adoption of adapted editions of others. The great point to be considered is however the nature and the degree of the pleasure the books would afford to the pupils. It should be remembered here that a healthy relish for sound literature should be created in them. And the last point to be observed is that the list is subject to revision every year to satisfy new conditions and new ideals.

The various graded series now published by leading houses both in England and in this country under the general editorship of able educationists should make the task of selection easy to any real teacher.

### Why America is not in the League of Nations

In the *Hindustan Review* Mr Sudhindra Bose tells the reader why America is not in the League of Nations. Says he—

In the first place there is a general apprehension that a membership in the League would keep America involved in European wars continuously. A little while ago as many as thirty wars were being waged in the world with the League of Nations in full operation and with a membership of twenty-seven nations. Indeed the League utterly failed to prevent—if not actually encouraged—one of its own members (Poland) from engaging in one of the most unjust and imperialistic wars which have disgraced Europe this century.

Here in Geneva at the Headquarters of the League of Nations, I have been told again and again by some of its highest officials that the League will bring about world peace. Their arguments are, however, far from convincing. They ignore some very fundamental facts. For how can there be peace so long as the

oppressed peoples so long as there are nations held in bondage to a conquering race so long as there are subjugated countries groaning under economic slavery. Moreover, the Carthaginian peace treaty imposed upon Germany and her allies is bound to breed new quarrels and make it impossible for Europe to settle down to peace and work. The existing boundaries writes *The Chicago Herald and Examiner* and political systems set up by the treaty are to be maintained by blockade and military force employed against any people dissatisfied with the rule of the principal powers. Indeed, the League will make the world safe not from war but for war.

The next reason mentioned by Mr Bose is—

European countries have not yet risen to the point of governing for the benefit of the governed. In spite of the high sounding words and unctuous phrases in the Paris document the dominant motive of the imperialistic countries is not service. There would be no scramble for mandates if service was the predominant idea says Mr William Jennings Bryan the peerless leader of the Democratic Party in his organ *The Commoner*. But service is not the predominant idea, it is commercial advantage and we would at once become involved in the schemes of the commercial nations each seeking an advantage over the other. We should not do justice to any of the rivals without offending the others and we could not favour outsiders without doing injustice to domestic interests. Commercial imperialism will reign supreme. Political imperialism will go on blithely as before. And the technique of imperialism in the countries of rich resources will remain the same to-morrow as to-day. But what is this technique from the American point of view? It is, as set forth in the terse language of *The New York Nation* "to emphasise internal disorder the peril to investments the insults to foreigners to intervene benevolently on behalf of order and justice and to annex the territory for the sake of its inhabitants and the cause of democracy. Subject peoples become a sacred burden exploitable raw materials a public trust and great possessions great responsibilities. The League of Nations will, in short, become a camouflage machine of political and economic conquest. Hence it is that the American people with liberal sympathies look upon the Covenant with doubt and suspicion."

That America was given quite insufficient voting strength is another reason.

Provision has been made by which subjects of vital interest could be appealed from the Council to the full League, but there England has six votes and America only one and the decision is binding. It is rather strange that the United States with several millions of more

English-speaking people than there are in the whole of the British Empire, should have one vote, while English no less than six. Moreover on matters where the United States is a party to the controversy before the Council America will have no vote at all and hence will lose even the veto power.

Another reason is the practical nullification of the Monroe Doctrine.

There is only a scant reference to the Monroe Doctrine in the Covenant. It provides that nothing shall nullify regional understandings, such as the Monroe Doctrine. Now the Monroe Doctrine is not most emphatically a regional understanding. It covers the entire New World. Continents are not in any political sense regions, says a recent Paris edition of *The Chicago Tribune* and the Monroe Doctrine is not an understanding. It is an assertion. It has stood without the asked for consent of any nation. It has stood as the peace protecting policy of the United States and it has operated for nearly a hundred years to keep North and South America from European complications, aggressions, conquests and wars. It is a tried instrument of peace.

Now this great Doctrine under the treaty, is to be interpreted by the League! How absurd! America has always interpreted the Monroe Doctrine alone. It is American policy. No one has ever attempted to interpret it, and no one will ever be given that right even by the most remote implication.

America minds her own business just as she wants others to mind theirs. But the Covenant through its prerogative to interpret the Monroe Doctrine would have this altered now.

Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations makes the League virtually a military alliance.

This article generally called 'the heart of the Covenant' is

'The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.'

Under this plan if the United States enters the League it will be obliged to protect the territorial integrity of member nations by its own physical resources. What does this really mean? It means that the United States becomes involved in all the European disputes and accepts the obligation to put its armed forces at the disposal of a League the majority of whose members have their own ambitions and are out of touch with the needs and habits that move the American people. It means

in short, American troops to Europe Africa and Asia whenever the next outbreak occurs.

The treaty has set up something like ten new sovereignties in eastern and southern Europe. The treaty having apportioned a huge part of the remaining inhabitants of the earth among France Italy Greece Japan and England, wishes to obligate the United States for ever to preserve these territories as established. This arrangement, observes Senator Cummins is an immoral, destructive and impossible obligation for a free country to undertake. It will make weak people weaker, and oppress people more heavily oppressed. It will destroy the power of the subjugated nations to revolt against tyranny. As the League is now constituted, all the countries would unite to protect any League government against civil war or revolution. Had there been a League of Nations it would have prevented the United States from leaving England it would have forbidden the French peoples from changing their most abominable monarchy into a magnificent republic. 'If government were perfect everywhere,' writes an American journal 'a league to keep everything as it is would be all right. But is government perfect anywhere?'

There is another objection against Article X.

Moreover, Article X threatens to impair the sovereignty of the United States. Under its provisions a Supreme Council assumes to direct the American government how to meet its obligations and determine whether it must send troops overseas.ashed to its logical conclusions this dangerous article takes from the American Congress its constitutional power to declare war. It will involve the United States in war without the consent of the Congress. Americans will never surrender their sovereignty.

From this it will be evident why almost the entire body of patriotic American liberal opinion is opposed to the League of Nations. It will violate the sovereignty of the Republic. Then too the League is nothing but an organization of the victorious nations to safeguard the spoils. But America has received no spoils of war and America does not need the League of Nations to safeguard anything she has. After all the League is a nice little game of imperialistic European diplomats.

### The Black Drongo or King Crow

*The Agricultural Journal of India* for July contains an interesting article on the Black Drongo or King Crow, from which we learn

The Black Drongo or King Crow is one of

our most common and familiar birds occurring specially in all cultivated areas and being fond of perching on any suitable upright twig or other support from which it can swoop down to secure its prey, either on the wing or on the ground. The prey consists almost wholly of insects and practically wholly of injurious insects so that this bird is most distinctly a valuable ally of the farmer and deserves every encouragement and protection.

The Larger Ratchet tailed Drongo (*Dissemurus paradoxus*) occurs in practically all the more hilly parts of India and Burma is black glossed with blue with a tuft of feathers on its forehead and which has a really fine song and, according to Oates is perhaps the best singing bird of the last.

The Black Drongo is the commonest bird seen near dwellings in the Plains and any jet black bird about the size of a bulbul with a long forked tail seen in cultivated areas in the Plains is likely to be this bird.

The late C W Mason examined the contents of twenty seven adult and four young birds at Pusa and Mr D Abreu has recorded the contents of seven birds at Nagpur and these records show that the food consists entirely of animal matter, practically wholly of insects and in an overwhelming proportion of injurious insects such as crickets grasshoppers moths bugs and insect larvæ.

The Drongo is protected by law throughout the whole year in Delhi the United Provinces Bengal Assam and Burma. It is as already remarked a most useful bird which deserves every protection and encouragement. The latter aim can be attained in the case of cultivated areas by the provision of suitable perches for the birds to rest on.

All this is very interesting and might be useful too to peasants if they were told what the bird is called in the vernaculars of Delhi, the United Provinces Bengal Assam, and Burma. This suggestion of ours has been made several times but in vain.

### Cane Sugar Danish Chemist's New Process

The Agricultural Journal of India has extracted the following paragraphs from *Production and Export*

A young Danish scientific chemist Mr Schmidt has devised a process says the Copenhagen correspondent of *The Morning Post* which probably will introduce great changes into the cane sugar industry. By his new method the troublesome process of refining the sugar juice by means of lime is avoided.

The juice rolled out of the canes is purified in the course of one treatment into a syrup clear as water which is ready for evaporation into pure sugar. In Mr Schmidt's invention the lime is replaced by an exceedingly comminuted charcoal which is churned into the raw sugar juice and combines with the components contained therein in a far more complete way than in the lime refining. A perfect result is obtained by filtering the product. The charcoal for the process is supplied by the combustion of the refuse product resulting from the filtering the producing process thereby becoming continuous as the refining of the sugar juice is effected by components contained in the juice itself.

Mr Schmidt's invention is the result of a long series of experiments carried on in the sugar mill in Java where he is employed and it is believed that it will greatly increase the quantity of sugar obtained from the canes as well as simplify the producing process [*Production and Export* April 1921]

### Returned Indian Labourers from Fiji.

Mr F E James describes in the *Young Men of India* the excellent service rendered to Indian labourers returned from Fiji and other places overseas by the Indian Emigrants Friendly Service Committee. The condition of these emigrants has been very deplorable and help is still urgently needed. Mr James says in part in the concluding passages

There still remain in the depot some 70 people mostly from Fiji. There is uncertainty about their return, but if they stay in India it will be the duty of the committee to see that they are happily settled and that there is no danger of their falling into the sad plight in which so many of them were first found.

(3) About 40 were absolutely destitute. Fifteen have been provided for in Calcutta by the Bhatia Volunteers the rest were sent on to their relatives at the committee's expense.

(4) Three little children arrived whose parents had died on the voyage. These were placed in a home in Calcutta.

As I write these lines our workers are meeting the Ganges which has just arrived from Fiji with 900 emigrants on board and the Chenab is already in the river with 900 passengers from Jamaica.

An appeal for funds has already been made in the Press. The money received has almost entirely been used up and still the need is pressing. The daily expenses amount to about Rs 75 and unless this can be raised by public subscription the unfortunate

emigrants cannot be rescued from the semi-starvation which is their present lot. The money required can be easily raised if the public will but try to visualise the horror of whole families reduced to a state of utter helplessness and gradually losing members by illness or exhaustion. The question of feeding the people stranded at Garden Reach of giving them a safe shelter against rain and sun, and of making the necessary arrangements for medical relief cannot wait. Once more we appeal to our countrymen for funds to assist in adequately feeding and caring for the unfortunate colony returned emigrants. Donations of money or food will be gratefully received by Mr W R Gourlay Government House the Secretaries of the Indian Emigrants Friendly Service Committee, 2, Chowringhee and the Editor of the Servant.

### The Dangers of Industrialisation.

In an article in the *Young Men of India*, Mr C F Andrews describes the injury done to the rural population of India by industrialism and town life. We will give three extracts from his article.

It has been my duty, in recent years to make a very careful investigation into the new industrial life of India at the different centres both in the great Indian cities and in the smaller rising townships where growth of population has been rapid. I have also been called upon to investigate conditions of labour, under indenture among those who were sent abroad from India to Fiji, Ceylon, Malaya, South Africa and other places.

The facts and figures presented by these investigations have been so startling as a revelation of festering moral evil that for a long time I hardly dared to credit them or to give them full publicity. But they have now been proved by independent enquirers to be true and the time has come to state them clearly.

The truth is that the old domestic morality of the Indian agricultural life is breaking down in every direction, wherever close contact with the larger city life and even with the smaller townships owing to new industrial conditions has occurred.

Only a few weeks ago I was engaged in investigating the conditions in Matibury beyond the Kadderpore Docks where returned emigrants from Fiji have drifted and those Indians whom I could trust and who were among my personal friends in Fiji have told me that after living down in Matibury they have found a depth of vice which even the Fiji Indian coolies can hardly equal.

Again I have made a series of investigations into the social conditions of the little town of Bolpur which has been growing as a railway centre in this rice district of Bengal. I have

found an increasing moral break-down not only in those who have come in for trade purposes and left their wives behind them in the villages, but also in the student life, which has been obliged to congregate in different quarters called 'messes' situated in the very centre of the bazar. It has been almost impossible for them to cope with this evil.

I will give one more instance. While I was living in Perambur, among the mill labourers in Madras seeking some means to settle a great strike, I made enquiry into the proportion of men to women and the moral conditions in this over-crowded quarter. I found that the proportion was even lower than the proportion in Fiji. The men vastly outnumbered the women. When I asked one man why he walked in from his own village six miles every morning and went back six miles every evening, he told me that it was not 'safe' to bring his wife to Perambur, and I fully understood what he meant by that word 'safe' owing to my previous haunting experiences of evil in Fiji.

People talk glibly about the coming industrial expansion in India. Do they realize at what a cost, that expansion is already being carried out in many of our great cities? They tell us that by this means India will become prosperous. Have they never heard the words ringing in their ears—

What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul, or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?

I wish it to be clearly understood that this is a world-wide phenomenon. It is not confined to India only. In order to refresh the memory of my readers about facts which I have already mentioned let me give again a brief statement, by a contemporary writer of the conditions which prevailed a century ago during the Industrial Revolution in England itself. I shall summarise the account as follows—

The physical status of the families of the manufacturing classes in England was reduced to the lowest point by the rapid industrial change. The moral conditions were even worse. Children of tender age were reduced to physical wrecks. Young girls were ruined before they reached the age of thirteen or fourteen. Family life became impossible. The barracks in which the labourers lived reeked with immorality.

Here in bare cold naked details we have a picture of a sudden moral blight sweeping over England from which she has never really recovered. The figures about venereal disease in England which have recently been published, show the truth of this conclusion. They are disconcerting to read but the times have gone by when it could be regarded as advisable not to mention them in public. Disease cannot be cured by being glossed over or by surface healing merely. The root of the disease must be discovered and this lies not merely in the

corruption of the human heart but also in the corruption of the human conditions

### Ten Tests of a Town

K T P in the *Young Men of India* is 'indebted to an American Journal for the following ten tests of a town —

Questions that people ask about *YOUR* town before they decide to make it *THEIR* town

#### 1 Attractiveness

Shall I like the town—its 'atmosphere' ? Does it have the beauty of shaded streets and other beautiful features ? Is it a quiet roomy airy well lighted town ? Does it have attractive public buildings and homes ? Is it well paved ? Is it clean in every sense ?

#### 2 Healthfulness

Will my family and I have a reasonable chance to keep well in that town ? How about its water supply ? Its sanitary system ? Its methods of milk inspection ? Its health department ? Its hospital ? Is it without any congested district ?

#### 3 Education

Can I educate my family and myself in that town ? How about its public schools—present and future ? Its institutions of higher education or of business training ? Its libraries ? Its lecture and concert courses ? Its newspapers Its postal facilities ?

#### 4 People

Shall I like the people of the town ? Are they 'home folks without false exclusiveness' ? Are they neighbourly and friendly ? Is the town free from factionalism ? Does it have strong religious fraternal and social organisations ?

#### 5 Recreation

Can I have a good time in that town ? I and my family ? How about the theatres museums gymnasiums parks etc ? Are there active agencies for providing good entertainments athletic contests etc ? Are inviting opportunities for pleasure drives afforded by well paved streets ?

#### 6 Living :

Can we live reasonably and well in that town ? Are the best of modern conveniences available for its residents—electricity gas telephones etc ? Are the housing and shopping conditions favourable ? Rents taxes and prices fair ? Hotels good ? Home and truck gardens and dairy products plentiful ?

#### 7 Accessibility :

Can we go and come easily ? Does the town have adequate railroad connections and train service ? Street car lines ? Inter-urban lines ? Well marked automobile routes and hard surfaced roads ?

#### 8 Business

Can I make good use of capital in that town ? Are there good banking facilities ? Manufacturing interests ? Up-to-date stores ? Good shipping facilities ? Favourable labour conditions ? A prosperous farming territory ? Fair real estate values ? Reasonably cheap power ? Active co-operation among business interests ?

#### 9 Employment

Can I get a job in that town at fair pay and with good prospects for the future ? Can I count on co-operation from organisations making it their business to help introduce and establish new commercial interests and to welcome new citizens

#### 10 Progressiveness

Shall I find that I am in a live town having a progressive city government, active civic organisations modern fire protection and a pull together spirit in everything a town with a future ?

There is no town in Bengal, not even Calcutta which can stand these tests

### The Protection of Cows

The following is from a speech of the Shankaracharya of Sharada Pitha, printed in the *Indian Humanitarian*

The All India Moslem League at the meeting held at Amritsar had passed a resolution protecting the cow and with the cooperation of their Mahomedan brethren which had been so happily brought about by Mahatma Gandhi it was possible for them to achieve the object they all had in view. Moslem religion did not order the killing of cows while the Hindu religion absolutely prohibited it. In fact, both the religions were not opposed to each other. The one was neutral and the other prohibited slaughter and their reconciliation was possible. There might be some people under the impression that Moslems had given up their opposition to Hindus in the matter of cows for political reasons. That was a wrong impression, and he wished to place before them the fact that long before those considerations came into India long before the Khalafat question came before the world the late Amir of Afghanistan when he came into India appealed to the Moslems to respect the feelings of Hindus with regard to cows and abstain from slaughter. Their Puranas again told them that the Moslems (Yavanas) came into this world for the protection of cows.

## "A New Contribution to Shaivaito Art."

The January (1921) issue of *Rupam*, which like the previous issues is a sumptuous production, has for its first article a paper on Mr. Nanda Lal Bose's contribution to Shaiva Art. His pictures of Shiva are original in conception and treatment, and possess great spiritual significance, as a look at the illustrations accompanying the article will convince the reader. The writer of the paper, who is the editor of the journal, observes :

Apart from all questions of religious or theological reforms, one cannot for ever go on ruminating on the self-same forms of Shiva and Kali. If the concepts underlying these images have not lost all their potentialities, and are dynamic with new values for our present and future life, it should renew itself in newer and modern forms and shapes. When the form gets worn out, and its contents are worth preserving, we should not discard the contents, but find a new vessel in which to deposit the old "wine." And it is the function of the artist to find a new incarnation for the heritage of a great national idea, when the old form of it becomes insipid, wearisome or threadbare, or otherwise loses its significance.

This function Mr. Nanda Lal Bose has well performed.

There is truth in the following observations of the writer :—

The attitude of the modern educated Indian towards the heritage of his national epos, and the pictures in which it has been couched is born of a weariness of its hackneyed form rather than of a quarrel with its contents. And if it has outgrown the naivete of many of its religious beliefs and dogmas, it cannot yet prove to be impervious to its intellectual and philosophical appeals, couched in however unreal myths and symbols. A symbol is symbolical of something which it apparently is not. Every myth or symbol veils in its stated facts a deeper meaning—a suggestion of the real and spiritual essence and truth of things. And some, at least, of the much despised "pauranic" legends are the embodiments of large generalisations from life which are true for all times and have universal qualities or values capable of application to all conditions and ages. Many an imagery of the Indian "purana's" are only convenient, popular, and, sometimes, temporary forms to couch an universal concept. The stories of the exploits of Rama and Arjuna, which fill the epos, stand on a somewhat different

footing from the symbols of the "pauranic" myths, and their cultural values are slightly dissimilar. But even the legendary heroes have their uses in modern life. They may help to raise the eyes and the thoughts of men to beings superior to themselves, instead of keeping them lowered upon ugliness and trivialities. No human being can be uplifted by thoughts of coal shares and bank balances. Even the modern man of the twentieth century, deeply engrossed in his pet pursuits, sometimes pants for a way to escape from his "life" and its environments and seeks "images" other than the one he is accustomed to worship. As has been remarked by a recent writer: "It is one of the great functions of art to keep the race-genius on a steady course of development. And in the epic heritage given to each race in its early years, the Guardian of the World lays, in the lap of the Baby, the seed of an undying knowledge in a form, which, however absurd may seem the 'content' in dark times, for its beauty alone, is welcomed and celebrated and perpetuated." The duty of an age is not to reject the epos of its country; but to recover what is of permanent value, and to assimilate and develop its greatest potentialities.

In the opinion of the writer,

The true type [of the image of Shiva], according to the national conception, is a youth with a slim waist, who is above the attacks of all passions and is the eternal type of a Yogi, of transcendent powers of meditation, the serenity of which could only be symbolised by the majesty of the Himalayan peaks. As the latent repository of immense destructive powers, the very picture of the cosmic energy of nature from which all creations replenish their youths, the conception could hardly be pictured in the image of an old man by any artist who apprehends the true character of the conception.

Nanda Lal Bose's Shiva is thus described :

His Shiva is not the hero of folk-legends, nor the image of the sectarian worshippers, but the symbol of great fundamental truths—Shiva as the incarnation of the destructive energy in nature, Shiva as the spirit of meditative contemplation, Shiva as the embodiment of peace and goodwill—the receptacle, so to speak, of old Indian racial ideals. That Bose has been more responsive to the calls of his old racial concepts, and has been more impervious to the impressions of the ephemeral phases of modern life, may be due to his individual inclination and preferences, which are somewhat opposed to the tendencies of the time. But need we regret the fact that Bose has not been moved by the "stories" of factory life, or the gleam of the automobile, the epic of the tram car, or the



tragedy of the races? As the modern interpreter of older forms of thought he is nevertheless a modern artist and one among us sharing many of our views and many of our experiences. In the guise of his mythic theme Bosc comes with a message to modern life much as that of Blake, Burne Jones or Watts, that it is conched in an old imagery may delay its acceptance but will not discount its real values. We shall indeed be misjudging his aims if we think that he is persuading us to relapse into old and idolatrous habits of thought. We are indebted to him for recovering our racial imagery from the pitfalls of narrow religious dogmas and presenting the same in a new, and in some sense original dress suited to the spirit of the times which will not bend its knees to an image of Shiva but will never refuse to bow to all fundamental truths and philosophical concepts underlying the Shaivite imagery or for the matter of that of any form of imagery. The new life under new conditions is yet to frame its new images for which the Poet Laureate of Asia has given us some real earnest

In the field of Art these images are yet to come. Many of our friends contend that they have already come. It can only come after deep and coherent national thinking. The conditions are yet too disconcerting and depressing to open the way to a great national vision. In the mean time our artist has given us old symbolisms in new dresses—symbolisms which embody many original institutions in science—many experiences of deep and abiding spiritual values many laws of ethics which are true for all times. It yet remains to be seen if the works of Bosc will succeed in persuading the modern generation to face its valuable heritage and to help it to create an ideal for the future. Our artist will justify his mythical indulgences if he succeeds in teaching cockneys morality and the deeper truths of life and induce clabmen to consider their destinies.

We shall try hereafter to call attention to some of the other articles in the January issue of *Rupam* as also to the April issue.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### The White Man's Attitude Towards other Races

Dr Gilbert Murray, Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, observes in the *Century Magazine*

If ever one were tempted to accept Mr Balfour's description of the life-history of the human race as a brief and discreditable episode in the life of one of the meaner planets it would be when one reads of the dealings of the white races with the colored races.

But there was a time when Europeans thought and felt differently with regard to the people of Asia and Africa.

Think of the romance and majesty with which the medieval travellers endow the rulers of Cathay or the Indies and the respect, almost amounting to awe with which they speak of Arabian Science. Think of the romantic poems written in the eighteenth century about African princes treacherously enslaved.

The professor then mentions the opinion of Condorcet that there would be great possibilities of advance if statesmen or educators with the enlightenment of the revolutionary age in their minds were to set to work upon an unpoiled people in a state of nature.

And there he says is Africa waiting! Let all the nations of Europe recognise their joint responsibility. Let them take Africa as a sacred trust for civilisation and see what heights the backward but unspoiled natives can attain. He believes that it can and will be done. All that is necessary is firmly to exclude from Africa the speculator, the trader, the soldier and—I fear he also added—the priest.

Then came a change in the ideas and feelings of the white man.

How shall we explain this puzzling and reactionary change that seems to have taken place? What may be said to account for this slump in the white man's respect for other races? I think in the Middle Ages there was no clear superiority in the strength and material resources of the Western nations as compared with the East. In science indeed the Arabs were definitely our superiors. When it came to a fight the power of the West was by no means certain of victory. Even in the sixteenth century it is not certain who would have won the fight if it had come.

What was it that chiefly altered the balance between West and East between the white Christian European culture and that of the East—of the colored people of the Moslem and the pagan of Asia and Africa? Roughly speak

ing it was mechanical invention and the industrial revolution. The wars of the last half of the eighteenth century had a great effect. They showed how easily troops with Western arms could beat those without. And by the end of the nineteenth it is taken for granted that white troops with artillery and machine guns can deal with ten times their number of colored troops who have not had access to the arsenals of the West.

That is obvious but the writer thinks it would probably be true to conjecture that an economic change had also taken place as powerful in its effects as the change in military efficiency.

Certainly in the eighteenth century and earlier it was a common experience for Western imaginations to be dazzled by the riches of the East and we know how the first generation or two of nabobs, heavy with the spoils of the pagoda tree upset the course of politics in England. Whereas at present it is the English or American traveller who dazzles the Eastern peoples with his rich apparatus and his power of drawing checks. The wealth which imposes upon the imagination is not in the East but as far West as London or even as New York or Chicago.

This change of proportion has been brought about chiefly by a process of adding to one side while leaving the other alone. But there has been also a definite depression of the trade of the East.

At present the disparity between the military equipment and strength and the material resources of the West and of the East (*minus* Japan) is such that

It is no longer a case of fighting not of hard fighting or even of easy fighting it is a case of eating. It sometimes seems as if the West like some enormous saurian some alligator of antediluvian magnitude had slowly gazed upon the colored civilizations in various parts of Africa and the East till its slow brain gradually rose to the conception that it was hungry and they were good to eat then the great mastodons set to their work.

Of course in saying this the Professor writes that he is leaving out of account a very important element in the intercourse of West and East or of white man and colored.

I am leaving out the work of missionaries the work of independent philanthropists and most important of all, the work of good Government servants. They have always checked and modified this process.

Summing up Dr Murray says

We have then two contrary tendencies in the modern world. One is the economic

exploitation of the helpless territories and nations by the strong ones a process which has enormous historical impetus behind it and is at this particular moment stimulated by the exceptional economic hunger of the European world, the other is that consciousness of the earth as one great city and that acceptance of duty toward our fellow man which may now be normally expected of a civilized and educated man. The question is which of these two contrary tendencies both greatly strengthened by recent events is going chiefly to prevail?

Among the factors which may bring about the acceptance of duty toward our fellow man the professor sets some store by Article XXI of the covenant of the League of Nations the article on mandates.

[It] has been signed by the representatives of forty two nations and is part, we may almost say of the statute law of the world. Of course it directly affects only the new territories transferred in consequence of the war. It will act on the other territories only by way of example. But in the new territories the idea of possession is definitely abolished and that of trusteeship substituted the well being and even the development of the native races is recognized as a 'sacred trust for civilization'. The mandatory is debarred for making personal gain out of his trust. Not only the slave trades but even the traffic in arms and the liquor traffic are forbidden. And by another clause even the trade and commerce of the territories must be open on equal terms to all members of the league, which will probably include if not the whole world at least the principal trade rivals of the mandatory. To clinch the matter, an annual report must be sent to the League of Nations to show how each mandatory is carrying out his trust and submitted to the scrutiny of a special mandates committee of the league.

Does the Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford then expect that the Mandate Article will lead directly and easily to the betterment of the lot of colored peoples? He himself asks

Will this wonderful article be sincerely and honestly carried out by all the mandatory powers? Of course not. The interested parties will exercise overpowering pressure to prevent anything of the sort. As a matter of fact the great powers while remaining firmly in military possession of the territories have spent the last two years in refusing to accept any draft mandates proposed to them. The league disheartened at last asked them to draw up their own mandates and submit them to it for approval. This also they refused. And the league eventually asked them to draw up their own mandates and act upon them without

submitting them to anybody subject only to the annual report. This they accepted but did not carry out. By the time the assembly met no draft mandates were ready.

Then came an unanswerable protest from America—a protest equally unanswerable from Germany—an indignant series of letters from the mandates' sub-committee of the assembly. Eventually Great Britain has produced two mandates for Palestine and Mesopotamia and France one for Syria, which were laid before the committee with the express stipulation that no public comment should be made upon them. Evidently they are not documents of which their authors are proud. The public will know all about them in time and then the fight will come: the protest on behalf of the natives is no longer left to small and unimportant bodies. It is definitely taken up by the assembly of the league which has not only spoken a severe censure on the conduct of the great powers but has laid down unanimously two principles which the powers were and are specially seeking to evade: that no mandatory may use its position to acquire monopolies and special economic advantages and that no mandatory may increase its own military strength by means of its mandated populations. The reports have to be sent in to the league before next September.

There are the lists set, there is the fight that is coming. I hope it will be a handsome one.

Professor Murray's hopefulness is due to two considerations. Professional interest is a very powerful motive in human affairs. For the first time in history there is in the assembly of the league a representative assembly of able men drawn from all quarters of the globe united by a professional interest in the welfare, concord and wise guidance of the world as a whole.

Some few persons may have seemed to have a sub-current of national feeling which they never forgot but for the most part the person (in the recent assembly of the league at Geneva) speaking about typhus or the arms traffic or the traffic in women and children or the prevention of various wars really had their minds devoted to the thing they were talking about. They were really thinking internationally: they were genuinely interested in the public good of the world. And this not because they were all more high minded men than are normally elected to national Parliaments but because the common good of the world was the business on which they were employed and had set up in them the normal stimulus of professional interest.

The other consideration will be understood from the following passages:

All causes which depend for their success on

the continuous operation of lofty motives are foredoomed to failure. Good government consists largely in so arranging matters that the great serious masses of ordinary every-day motives reinforce the good ones. In a well governed society a certain decent level of social behaviour is generally maintained because things are deliberately so arranged that it is easier to maintain it than not except when the pressure of passion or temptation to the square inch is unusually great.

The Professor maintains that the future just and humane treatment of Africa and the East has not been left to depend merely on the operation of lofty motives on ideal grounds.

Under its present constitution the league has succeeded to a remarkable degree in mobilizing for the cause of justice and good government a very strong phalanx of ordinary workaday motives of the kind that rule in ordinary man in daily life. It has the assembly which is led by every motive of professional interest and *amour propre* to see that it is not made a fool of and the principles of the covenant of which it is the supreme guardian are carried out. And many a Government which has hitherto been worried by strong private interests into conniving against its better instincts in various methods of semi-slavery or expropriation or industrial exploitation of its subject peoples will in future find itself turned in the opposite direction by the still greater and more searching worry of having to explain under cross-examination, before the eyes of an unsympathetic commission representing fifty nations why it has omitted to perform various duties to which it is pledged and why it has done various discreditable things which it had solemnly promised not to do.

No doubt the league does not possess and may not even in the future possess the power to impose its will on the mandatories—the power of physical compulsion. But that does not make the writer despondent.

The world has not yet sounded or measured the immense power of mere publicity. I do not mean advertisement in newspapers. I mean the mere knowledge that your actions are to be known and discussed and particularly that you will have to answer questions about them face to face with your questioner.

We have attached great importance to publicity work at home and abroad—publicity not only of our wrongs and wants, but of our achievements as well, perhaps more of the latter than of the former. The writer's concluding note is a note of hope.

On the whole I think, it looks as if we were

moving in the direction of realizing upon the earth something like the one great city of gods and men. It will have like other cities its [?] citizens as well as its good. But with the progress of knowledge assisted by certain social lessons which have been lately learned at a fearful cost I think it will become with a measurable time almost impossible for a decent and intelligent statesman to profess absolute indifference to the welfare or suffering of other parts of the human race. I think that some consciousness of ultimate solidarity among the peoples of the earth has really begun to penetrate the minds of ordinary practical politicians and secondly that a sense of the moral duty of the strong and advanced nations to help the weak and backward instead of being confined to discontented groups of unimportant people in various countries is now definitely and comprehensively recognized in a great public treaty to which all the most interested governments have attached their signatures and will be regularly supported and asserted by the greatest existing organ of international opinion.

Dr Murray does not attach any importance to force. Says he —

Let us not look to force. Force is against us and there is no siller spectacle than the sight of the weak appealing to force against the strong. We have no force. We have only the power of putting facts and questions before the public opinion of the world. Then the world—that is to say chiefly the electorates of the great nations—will be able to say whether they wish their governments to do justly or unjustly to be world plunderers or world builders whether all mankind are to be citizens of the one great city or whether some are still animals *ferre nature* which may legitimately be hunted for their skins.

So the nature of the future treatment of the coloured races by the whites is to depend ultimately upon the sense of justice and humanity of the electorates of the great nations. While so few individuals in all countries and ages have been known to be actuated by lofty motives men in the mass have not hitherto been generally actuated by altruistic motives. The ability to act in a self sacrificing manner depends upon change of heart upon what religious men call conversion. How is this change of heart to be produced in the electorates of the great nations? It may be true that 'all causes which depend for their success on the continuous operation of lofty motives are foredoomed to failure' but it is also no less true that no cause can triumph if lofty motives do not at all operate.

Ordinary every day motives should no

doubt 'reinforce good ones'. But the question is how these good motives are to be generated. To this there is no reply to be found in the professor's address.

It is defective in another respect. Professor Gilbert Murray does not say even in a single sentence what the duty and the attitude of the weak and backward coloured races should be. Are they for ever to depend for their salvation on the mercy of the white man? Is it possible for any man to rise and strengthen any other man if the latter will not exert himself to the utmost to raise and strengthen himself? We think not. How then can the weak and backward races rise and strengthen themselves? Dr Murray rules out the use of force. We agree that it is silly for the weak and backward to think of using physical force for the betterment of their lot. But that is not the only kind of force. Soul force is the last and best resource. The weak and the backward ought to combine and to resolve even at the risk of being maltreated in all imaginable ways and ultimately killed not to submit to enslavement and exploitation to any extent or of any kind. They ought to increase their knowledge of the world and of themselves discipline and purify themselves and be thoroughly self respecting.

### Asia as a Teacher.

Erich Everth has made the publication of three recent German works the occasion for an article on Asia as a Teacher" in *Europäische Staats und Wirtschafts Zeitung* a Berlin Liberal Economic Bi-monthly. The books are Kayserling's *Diary of a Philosopher's Voyage Round the World* Spengler's *Decline and Fall of Western Civilization*, and the painter Paul Cohen Portheim's *Asia as a Teacher*. The writer says —

Since the war the people of Europe have longed for peace not only political peace but inner spiritual peace. Avers on to controversy and abhorrence of violence characterise this new attitude. Our Western world is weary, not weary of life but of strife and hatred. Indeed our peculiar society and civilization have been found wanting. They were ceasing to function normally even before this tragedy. However the result has not been apathy and callousness but new restlessness and new wants—a farer vision beckons to another shore. People are exploring the needs of the human soul which have remained untouched by Europe's torn and stained skin to the typical European. Men are looking to the East unconsciously and therefore secretly. It is not a mere

fashion. The world of Asia draws us with its promise of something new and something that will liberate. We are learning to love the gentleness and the wisdom and the tenderness of the ancient and lofty culture of the Far East. We can study that culture oblivious of the enmities which divide Western nations. Today, Germany welcomes as a gospel of salvation, as a glad message, the unwelcome doctrines of Far Asia, the priestly mentality of the Indians and the Chinese, and particularly the self-sufficient social repose of the Chinese people, their strong family spirit, their clan ties, their communal industry, their powerful collectivist civilization, their peaceful domestic history, their long experience with self-government, and their Confucianism—that ideal guide to the conduct of a good citizen. Germany is conscious of a similar outpouring of sympathy toward Holy Russia—not toward the chaotic, barbaric Russia which is now on top, and which has always existed side by side with the other—but toward the Russia of the spirit of great poets and writers, in whose works the Russian is revealed as the most brotherly man in Europe.

The above does not represent the mentality of all Germans.

It is true that unflinching champions of 'pure German instinct,' of 'the do and dare spirit' condemn such tendencies as 'a spiritual infection produced by the narcotizing opiate of Asiatic philosophy, and predict that they will hasten our decedence. Quite the contrary. From these distant sources we may draw inspiration for a new life. Furthermore it will profit us now to learn how to accept the inevitable for we are forced, and shall be forced hereafter, to resign our selves to many inevitable sorrows and hardships. We must, however, seek for and discover in the spirit of Asia inspirations instead of apathy, regeneration instead of decadence.

The sources of Europe's knowledge of Asiatic thought are thus indicated.

Our knowledge of Asiatic thought has now extended beyond the field of literature, but still letters remain the most convenient bridge to it. Rabindranath Tagore has succeeded Lafcadio Hearn, whose books upon Japan were widening the vision of many Europeans only a decade or so ago. Leaving aside the question of how completely and accurately these writers portray the spirit of the two nations they describe, and allowing for their own European prepossessions, there still remains enough of the characteristic gentleness and tenderness of the East to soothe our nerves. Furthermore, Asia has for many years now played a role of increasing importance in the fine arts. Toward the end of the last century, Japan attained a political status which brought it within the sphere of Western civilization. Japanese painting fruitifies European impressionism. More recently India has become another focus of art interest. We are giving deeper study to Indian sculpture and architecture.

The writer holds that—

In philosophy as well as art, a certain Orientalism has begun to manifest itself. India has influenced Western philosophy for a century, particularly through Schopenhauer, and even more recently through

Deussen's researches into the history of philosophy. The great religious philosophies of India are metaphysical ways of expressing a typical and constant conception of human life. They are by no means limited to India and their comprehension and mastery do not require a direct knowledge of India. These philosophies constantly win new adherents, in all nations and all ages,—not appealing to everyone but only to certain temperaments and to certain states of sentiments in the individual or in society. Such a favoring condition of sentiment is now succeeding through the Western world and particularly Germany. Popular interest is not turning so strongly toward the ideals and teachings of Asia out of mere weariness of the world and of life—which superficial thinkers are so ready to ascribe to Buddhism—but in search of satisfaction for positive spiritual needs.

Some idea of Paul Cohen Portheim's views is next given.

He says: Artificial divisions create contrasts, and from contrasts spring suspicion, aversion and hatred. Hatred is, in final analysis, merely lack of understanding, misunderstanding. That is naturally assuming a good deal, for there are natural contrasts which cannot be eliminated and there is hatred which is justified and not based on error. But the author is right in his idea that we are all kinsmen that there is a fundamental unity beneath our variations, that we should seek for that unity in order to conquer hatred. He calls this seeking to discover our higher unity 'universalism,' because it is an effort at a universal understanding and he believes that individualism is the principal obstacle to such a state of mind. However, individualism is, in his opinion, the typical form under which Europe conceives human existence. Europe has raised, reason above sentiment, and reason analyzes and distinguishes, while sentiment, or intuition or mysticism, identifies or assimilates the object of its thought with the thinker, and brings them together. In this respect, the book is close kin to Spengler's. The author recognizes that our theories of knowledge are determined by the age in which we live and the fashion of the time. Europe's philosophy has culminated in a fight of all against all, which reached its *reductio ad absurdum* in the world war. Asia possesses the secret of a path out of this impossible situation toward mutual harmony and world reconciliation. He believes that an understanding of the Asiatic as well as the European philosophy of conduct, and a synthesis of the two, are the principal tasks demanded of our age.

Paul Cohen Portheim thus compares "the two fundamentally different views of life [Western and Eastern,] with each other."

The spirit of the West is active, individualist, intellectual, because it is a spirit which craves for power. It conquers and subdues nature through modern science and inventions. It pins its faith to organization and machinery. Its highest type is the ruler, the master, the man of power, the victorious warrior. He cites as examples: Alexander, Caesar, Napoleon, Bismarck, and our great captains of industry and trade. This is partly the result of our faulty philosophy of history, but that very defect is

itself characteristic. 'To be sure, the West has also had its intellectual and spiritual heroes, but it has only recognized the greatest of them, like Leonardo da Vinci and Goethe, cloudily and half under compulsion. They are in fact, strangers to the Western world precisely because that world perceives that they are super personal and universal. This is too one-sided a view, but it contains a large element of truth—it seems to us the decisive truth for a true diagnosis of the European mind today. In contrast to this the East represents passively universalism intuitively. The Asiatic is conscious of his close brotherhood with nature, with the plants and animals. He does not try to master them, but to live in spiritual and sensuous harmony with all living things to merge himself in nature. To be sure the Western man who possesses a vivid consciousness of nature feels this too; but there is a great difference in degree. The Asiatic mind has developed this attitude more deeply and broadly than the typical European mind. 'When man identifies himself with the universe completely, he attains a state of indescribable happiness, Nirvana. Therefore the Indian sages teach 'Destroy all that in you which separates you from the universe.' The I is the cause of all suffering and evil. Destroy the I.' The European likewise understands this. He is not solely egoist but like every living being has altruist impulses. The European, like the Asiatic, knows the freedom which comes through renunciation. Still this truth is relatively less recognized by us.

#### Some summarizing and criticism follow

Our author predicts the eventual victory of Eastern 'universalism' in Europe and believes that a synthesis of the two philosophies will enable humanity to attain its highest possibilities. He thinks that even in the Russia of today, amidst its chaos confusion and barbarity, the ideals of the East will eventually be victorious, and that thus a transformed regenerated European society may arise closely related with the East. Personally, I consider this unlikely. None the less we can, without surrendering completely to Asia's influence draw profit and pleasure from a sympathetic study of its teaching. It would not be desirable were it possible for all the differences between the East and the West to cease. Absolute uniformity would be deadly. Life itself consists in reaction and struggle. None the less the Eastern pacifist ideal is needed to correct our Heraclitan joy in war as the sum of existence, our Hobbian conception of society as a place where man is a wolf which preys on his fellowmen, our Darwinian theory that even civilization is but an ordered struggle for the survival of the fittest, our tacit endorsement of Nietzsche's glorification of battle.

#### Principal Herambachandra Maitra on "The Unity of Great Minds"

Principal Herambachandra Maitra's address on "The Unity of Great Minds," delivered in London at an "At Home" given by the National Indian Association, is reported thus in the *Inquirer* of London:—

Principal Maitra's lecture on Wednesday was delivered in admirable English, and listened to with great interest especially by a number of Indian students who were present. He dwelt on the significant fact that seekers after God, whether of the East or West, when trying to express their thoughts about God and to enter into communion with him use one common language as they are dominated by one common aspiration. The universal testimony is that nothing in life is of value unless it leads to the knowledge of God. A Unitarian minister in America had told him that it was through reading the Sacred Books of the East that he was converted to Unitarianism, and he quoted one writer after another—Wordsworth, Shelley, Carlyle, Goethe, Plato, Schopenhauer—to show that, whether they are familiar or not with the Vedas, the Bhagavad Gita, the Upanishads, their highest spiritual ideals were in absolute harmony with those of the religious thinkers and philosophers of the East. Principal Maitra quoted in this connection a sentence from a recently published book by a great German writer "We shall have to learn by hard experience that our aim in life must not be happiness, but fulfilment, that we must live not for our own sake but for the sake of all." If sentiments like these were reflected upon by politicians, they would impart to their controversies the spirit of righteousness and help us to realize the dream of Plato that the State should be governed by philosophers. Referring to the official League of Nations the lecturer said that what we require is an *unofficial* League, an alliance of all the thoughtful and devoted and righteous men and women throughout the world. This alliance would not need to be put on paper—it would be a Treaty written on the tablets of their hearts.

#### The Danger of Exclusive Material Development

The *Inquirer* of London writes —

The part played by Viscount Shibusawa in the development of Japan has been an important one. Seeing as a young man, that the West's advantage over the East was then in material equipment, he returned with a resolve to devote his life to the improvement of his country's business and industry. For forty years he worked as a pioneer in these matters with success which was phenomenal, and then, feeling that his principal task was over, and the new direction had been taken, he decided that another task awaited him. 'It is not enough,' he writes, 'either for an individual or a nation, to concentrate solely upon the acquisition of wealth.' He, therefore, at the age of 77, retired from business and is devoting his remaining years to the correction of the tendency towards an exclusive materialism which he saw was the danger of Japan's new condition.

### Making Towns Fit to Live In.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman tells us in the excellent article in the *Century Magazine* how we can make our towns fit to live in and of what we ought to be proud of in our 'home town'. A few paragraphs are reproduced from it below

Suppose we live as so many of us do in an ordinary medium sized town. Our city book should inform us that a normal town with the number of inhabitants our town has should have such and such functions adding to the simple requirements of the small village those other and more varied functions which the larger population of our town requires and can support. Such a list for our ordinary medium sized town might run somewhat as follows:

1 Smithy 2 Store 3 Post-office 4 School  
5 Church 6 Dressmaker 7 Milliner 8 Barber 9 Drug-store 10 Moving pictures  
11 Court house 12 Jail 13 Fire-company  
14 Hotel 15 Hall

Certain banner towns should be listed in the book and attention called to this or that point in which the several towns excel. Particular prominence should of course be given to the one town that point by point stood supreme among the towns studied to date. Now, what are the points upon which we should base such a judgment of towns? Just as a starter we might suggest these:

1 Health 2 Beauty 3 Virtue 4 Public spirit  
5 Educational facilities 6 Social facilities  
7 Administrative efficiency 8 Administrative honesty  
9 Progressiveness 10 Minimum prosperity

The health and beauty listed would not mean the health and beauty due to natural advantages but the efforts made by the town to improve in these matters.

Civic virtue and public spirit might perhaps go under one head measuring the proportion of citizens actively interested in the affairs of the community and the quality of their service. For instance any one working in any store shop school, mill or other form of public service and not doing honest work lacks civic virtue just as much as if he were in an official position. We live and die by the services of our fellows whether elected or not. A man who builds dark tenements or who owns and rents such tenements lacks civic virtue. So does the packer who sells bad meat the worker who does poor work or the selfish and ignorant who robs the public by stealing flowers in the parks.

### The Status of Women in China.

It is a pleasure and an encouragement to read in the *International Review of Missions* that,

One of the most outstanding effects of the Revolution in China over nine years ago was its influence on the status of women. There is new status of women in China although as yet it does not touch the vast majority of her women. And what may be said of the womanhood of China is probably true to a greater or less extent of the women of Japan India the Near East Africa and other non Christian lands.

Everywhere in China one sees signs of the new era—women's clubs and societies magazines for women edited by women women's conventions for improvement and self assertion. There is also a new attitude toward women on the part of men. This is not by any means universal or even general but a few of the best and most enlightened men are willing and anxious to accord a new place to women. They take an interest and a pride in the accomplishments of the women folk and encourage them in their ambitions. In this matter we may certainly count upon reaction. Nevertheless much will have been gained.

Another indication that a new day has dawned for Chinese women is seen in the craving for education among the under privileged adult women. It is pathetic to see sometimes the eagerness with which those whose early chances have been few, grasp every opportunity to learn. This great hunger for something better in culture and life than they have known is full of significance for the future. Undoubtedly these women will see to it that their daughters have a better chance in life than they themselves have had.

The new status of women in China is particularly evident in the large increase in the number of girls schools both under government and mission control and in the remarkable increase in the attendance at such schools.

As a proof of this increase an educational report, dealing with West China for the years 1913-1919, points out that, "while the increase in boys (in the schools registered in the Union) had been about threefold the increase in girls was over sevenfold."

Great numbers of China's women are asking for liberty for education, for amusement, for power even for political rights. But the great majority even of the upper and middle classes are without the training which could enable them to use power, and lack the moral safeguards to character which would allow them to enjoy greater liberty with safety to themselves. No one can fail to appreciate the dangers of this transition period it has the elements of tragedy in it. New China is ready to concede much in the matter of the position rights and privileges of women and in the time of rapid changes following the

not surprising that some Chinese women have been thrown off their balance

Two signs of the times are, a new emphasis on primary schools—the foundation work, and a new emphasis in girls' educational work upon household science and kindred subjects.

The following concluding observations are noteworthy—

The real progress of China or of any other non-Christian land may be measured by the progress of the women. The countries of the Orient will never be able to take their place beside the nations of the West until a higher status for women is assured. Moreover the great Woman's Movement of the Occident will never be complete until the women of the Orient stand side by side with their western sisters. 'The strength of a chain is in its weakest link.' As one writer puts it just as Dante measured his advance in Paradise not by consciousness of ascent but by the evergrowing loveliness of the face of Beatrice so China may well measure her steps of progress not by railroad mileage nor industrial development but by the new beauty, the new mental and spiritual graces glorifying the faces of her women.

These general observations are true. But it appears to have been assumed by the writer that the status of Western women is in every respect better than that of the women of the East and that Western women are in every respect superior to Eastern women,—at any rate, there is nothing to show in the article that the writer is aware of anything that the woman's world of the East can contribute for the betterment of woman's status lot and character throughout the world.

### The Futility of Punishment

Dr Frank Crane's editorial note in the June *Current Opinion* on "Punishment" deserves to be widely read and pondered and hence we extract the greater portion of it below.

Spare the rod and spoil the child said the ancient wisacre. And ever since then we have accepted punishment as the natural and logical cure for evil.

To encourage goodness reward it to discourage badness punish it. That is ordinary commonsense.

There's only one trouble with it  
It is not true.

No there's more than one trouble with it. For it is not only not so but it will not work. It never did work and never will work.

Of all the real goodness and virtue in mankind since the world began not one ounce of it was ever created by the hope of reward or pry of any kind.

And of all the wrong-doing that has been prevented among men since the day of Cain not one man has ever been held back from evil by fear of being hurt.

He may have been restrained from committing some certain form or act of evil but it was only to break out somewhere else and do evil as before.

The trouble with Deneb [a highway robber] was that he was a sick man a moral pervert for to have your mind desires and will out of order is just as much a pathological situation as to have your liver out of order.

We don't beat a man who has the earache nor send one to prison who has the smallpox. We isolate the patient if he is dangerous but at any rate we try to cure him in an intelligent way.

Punishing a criminal never cured him. Any warden will tell you that the penitentiary is not to reform criminals but to punish them.

There should be no prisons. Every one of them should be a hospital.

They should be run not by turnkeys and police but by physicians who have specialized in psychical diseases.

Society is absolutely fundamentally wrong on this question. All punishment is wrong. For the simple reason that it does no good.

To punish a man or a boy for a crime is precisely on a level with kicking a horse in the belly when he balks and makes you angry, or chopping the piano with an axe because you bumped into it.

*It gratifies your vengeance.* That's all.

Cure not hurt! That is reason.

But says the objector are not the fear of pain and the desire for pleasure the very first teachers? Do not children so learn?

Yes it is fundamental. But it is a law of animals and governs human beings only as they are animals.

In the complicated condition of civilization this law is wholly inadequate. If all that held people back from crime was the fear of the sheriff the city would be burned up and drenched with blood before to-morrow.

It is the Invisible Policeman that really protects us. It is Conscience—a sense of decency self respect and an innate desire to do right—that makes the streets safe.

Anyone who thinks he is secure just because a few bluecoats stand around is foolish. It is something inside the breast of Everyman that protects us.

You can subdue animals by fear and you can keep savages in a state of subjection by



fear, but fear can never save civilization

Our Real Police are the teachers in the school house the priests and pastors in the church and most of all the mothers in the home

These rule spirits And we are spirits not apes

If the people in New York City did not almost all of them instinctively desire to be honest if they all were determined to steal to rape to kill and to burn if they got a chance the whole regular army of the United States could not save the city from becoming a hell within a week

To be sure the idea that the way to stop crime is to punish it seems commonsense but the greatest and densest errors in the world are the errors of the commonsense

We used to torture criminals We have got far enough along to see that does no good We still punish by prison and killing and we haven't grown up enough yet to see that is equally futile

What to do then? Let all crimes go unpunished?

I have given the answer

Change your prisons into hospitals Cure heal help and quit trying to put out fire with gasoline

### German Preparations for Industrial Competition

*Current Opinion* informs its readers how Germany has been 'beating its swords into ploughshares'

One of the marvels of modern industry has been the transformation since the armistice of the great Krupp Works at Essen Germany from a war factory to a peace factory On the Krupp pay roll in 1914 were 42 000 men and women and in 1918 the number had increased to 115 000 of whom a quarter were women and girls from all parts of Germany Within a month after the armistice this great army of temporary workers had been dispersed with a month's wages and the staff reduced to pre-war proportions In the succeeding months the essential parts of the war machinery were destroyed by the actual process under the supervision of the Allied Commission and the whole of this costly equipment was scrapped later to be re-smelted and worked up into locomotives agricultural and textile machinery and motor vehicles.

Official writes a correspondent of the *Creston Science Monitor* from Essen who had devoted themselves to the design of armaments began a concentrated study of locomotives and other machinery The firm had always produced certain heavy parts for locomotives and was equipped one of the largest

of the Hindenburg shops for the mass production of two standard types of good engines for the government Within a year the transformation was complete

Here there are no fewer than 30 stands all at the normal rate of production one complete locomotive can be finished every day Two shops of this capacity would be sufficient for the ordinary engine building program of the British railway but Germany having handed 3 000 engines to the Allies has of course tremendous arrears to make up

In other new shops we read intensive experimental work is being carried on in the design and production of textile and agricultural machinery tractors and commercial motors The aim of the firm is so to cheapen production by standardized methods and organizing output on a huge scale that it will be possible to cut out the American and British agricultural and textile machinery manufacturers from the Central European market

One vast shop where 80 000 shells were produced each day has now been divided in one-half is installed the most perfect automatic electrical milling plant for locomotive wheels tires and similar products The other is being fitted as a foundry which for size and perfection of equipment will have few if any rivals in the world When it is finished the older foundries will be scrapped and the entire works turned to industrial purposes

### Disarmament (I) in Europe

The following note from the *Living Age* shows how Europe is preparing for world peace

Jean Longuet contributes an ironical editorial to *Le Populaire* summarizing the progress of disarmament under the League of Nations on a basis of statistics recently presented to the House of Commons by the British Under-Secretary of War At the present time there are actually under arms in Europe 3 000 000 men France and its Allies have 2 300 000 Of those France proper keeps more than 800 000 men under the colors Poland 600 000 Yugoslavia 200 000 Czechoslovakia 140 000 Roumania 100 000 In addition Belgium maintains an army of 100 000 on an active footing and Greece 200 000 On the other side Germany's military burden has been lightened to maintaining 100 000 soldiers Austria has 30 000 Bulgaria 33 000 Hungary 35 000 The last figure Longuet mentions is certainly an understatement the true number of troops maintained by the Budapest government being nearer 150 000

Italy with a population equal to that of France and twice as large as that of Poland has wisely reduced its forces to

maintains an army of 200 000 Holland has reduced its army to 21 000 Norway to 15 000 Sweden to 76 000 Switzerland maintains merely a militia of nominally 200 000

Longuet says that these figures ought to be posted on the house walls and boardings of every town and village in France

### The Conversation of Monkeys

An incident which apparently corroborates the contention of the American zoologist, Dr Richard L. Garner, that the higher monkeys possess a limited vocabulary, is reported to have taken place near Calcutta, and is described in the *Living Age*

Two Englishmen killed a female jet faced monkey of the species called *langurs* and took her little one to their bungalow. The next morning the hunters found their dwelling surrounded by fifty or sixty monkeys which presently went away, but returned for three successive days always visiting and caring for the little captive and driving the servants away from him.

Finally an old male approached the little monkey and endeavored to release him but was driven away with shots. After his fourth repulse the simian knight-errant was received with an outburst of cries and gesticulations. One of the Englishmen thus describes the incident:

The small band of female monkeys to which allusion has been made swore at the old fellow and gesticulated wildly at him while he began to grin and wave his arms about as though to compose their anger and beseech their consideration. Whether what was said to the old fellow was a volley of abuse or a shower of encouraging words or both alternating I cannot say but a few seconds afterwards seeing he did not return to the charge he was suddenly taken hold of by the stout old ladies and beaten mercilessly. It was a merry sight and he had our sympathy for he alone knew what it was to have four revolver bullets whizz past his ears. The laboring seemed to give him fresh courage as he returned for a fifth time to finish his work. We fled again and he retired this time never more to return for the enraged dames caught him once more and after beating him soundly chased him out of the colony altogether.

Deciding that the persevering devotion of the monkeys ought to have its reward the captors carried the little *langur* out to the band which ceased chattering immediately and allowed him to approach. A female took the captive from his owner's arms and holding her

own young one to a neighbor, proceeded to care for him tenderly.

### Teaching and Research in the Modern British Universities

The *London Times*, after describing the phenomenal increase in the number of students in modern British universities in all faculties, leading to 'laboratories improvised from empty houses and army huts,' notes that 'unhappily, the increase in their staffs has borne no relation to that in the number of their students.'

Unhappily, the increase in their staffs has borne no relation to that in the number of their students. Dislocation in the supply of men trained for university lectureships 'growing competition among industrial firms for such men as are available and the most potent reason of all the financial limitations of the universities themselves have made any commensurate addition impossible. Laboratories are not elastic and with the inadequacy of existing buildings the duplication of lectures is far from uncommon. So far the staffs have sacrificed themselves to these changed conditions with a devotion which has had to best its own reward but research has been seriously hampered and the loss of time for research and independent work has been the loss of what in the past was the only inducement to take posts notoriously underpaid. Before the war a university junior lecturer received on first appointment a salary of 150 pounds with the goal of a possible professorship at 100 pounds a year even now lecturers usually begin at only 300 pounds and the professorial chairs which exceed 800 pounds are in the minority. It is indeed surprising that so much research has been able to thrive it has done so mainly in vacations and at week ends and the intense and disinterested keenness in research can only be measured by the difficulties which attend it. On this point professors express themselves very strongly temptations to enter industry for science men at least have become more and more seductive industry offers better salaries and often better facilities for independent work and already the universities have lost to industry some of their most progressive teachers.

### Dean Inge on White and Coloured Races

No wonder that an article by Dean Inge in *The Quarterly Review* has excited an unusual amount of comment for its thesis is that under a regime of peace, free trade and unrestricted immigration

the coloured races would outwork, under live and eventually exterminate the Whites

The European American, and Australasian labour movement has produced a type of worker who has no survival value. He must be protected from competition and this protection rests in the last resort on armed force and war. The abolition of war and the establishment of a league to secure justice and equality of treatment for all nations would seal the doom of the white laborer. It is a question however whether the migration of capital will not produce in the end the same effects as the free migration of races. Asia will be industrialized, India and China and Japan will be full of factories equipped with all the latest improvements and under skilled management which for a time will be frequently White. Wealth will become so abundant in Asia that the Asiatic governments will be able without difficulty to maintain fleets and armies large enough to protect their own interest and to exact reparation for any transgression of international law by the Whites. The policy of immigration exclusion will therefore become powerless. Dean Inge predicts that the competition of the Orientals will force upon us a general simplification of life. Certainly a long step has been taken in the direction Dean Inge suggests during the recent war.

### A New Race Theory

*Frankfurter Zeitung* introduces an article with the above title, with the following editorial note: 'Dr Gradenwitz presents so many excellent ideas in the following discussion that we welcome the opportunity to publish it although his introductory remarks upon materialization should still be strongly queried. The article begins thus —

In the beginning was the thought. And the thought remains to-day the father of all things not only in human action but in nature in history in the destiny of the individual and in the destiny of nations. Thought creates forms in a far more direct way than our materialists imagine. It controls evolution and events. I propose to show that thoughts that the mental operations of men have been an important and perhaps the most important force producing races. I do not undervalue the importance of heredity but I insist that it is only one factor, and that its influence great as it may be is overtopped by the influence of mentality.

He brings forward three groups of

argument to support this thesis, beginning with the third namely, some recent experiments with certain remarkable phenomena made by Dr Von Schrenk Notzing and the Paris physician, Dr G Gelev.

These gentlemen have submitted the much debated phenomena of mediumistic materialization to strictly scientific tests which exclude all possibility of voluntary or involuntary deception and which are recorded not only in the evidence of witnesses but also permanently upon photographic plates. It has been shown that when a qualified medium is in a deep hypnotic trance he or she can exude a fine plastic substance organically part of the medium capable of moving and of assuming form indeed of taking on the shape of familiar persons. What the medium thinks or what is suggested to the medium from without is directly expressed in the outlines thus matter assumes.

These 'supernormal phenomena' are in more than one respect remarkably analogous to certain normal phenomena with which we are all familiar. What we call normal is no less marvelous and unexplained than what we call 'supernormal'. In either case thought is not the product of matter but its first cause. It is the thought either of the individual or of some higher all-embracing mind which informs plastic matter organizes it and gives it life.

The writer then asks —

Are the differences in races so profound as to destroy the brotherhood of mankind? Are they on the other hand so superficial that they can be grouped under card index headings? Men of commonsense will naturally say that races are neither of these things. Race stands for a complex of qualities, not only physical but also spiritual and mental—for a certain common way of thinking and feeling.

Now are we to assume as scientists have hitherto that this common way of thinking and feeling is the result of physical similarity and that this physical similarity is to be explained by the theory of heredity? Is not the similarity of physique first and foremost due to a similar way of thinking to a similar mentality? I leave it to the reader to decide the question for himself bearing in mind the following historical examples.

How did the Romance races originate? Through Rome's sending its colonists and officials to the countries? It is reasonable to assume that these settlers were in all cases given in a of cases more numerous than the natives whom they took up their abode and imposed their racial type upon the native population so as utterly to eliminate the characteristics of the latter?

No. The

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numbers but they did in culture. The Romance races did not arise through the physical absorption of the native races by the Romans but through the transformation of the natives by Roman thought. Roman culture and Roman mental life gradually influenced the physique of the population and caused it to resemble more closely the type of the Roman settler until finally the two became identified. Naturally intermarriage contributed somewhat to this.

Other examples too have been given.

Another interesting example is the Anglo Saxons. For the most part it is true they are of Germanic origin. Yet the English people have developed an independent and characteristic race type distinct from that of other nations of Germanic origin.

The Hungarians are Mongols in an ethnographic sense. But they have become civilized Europeans and their race type is essentially European. The same is true of the Finns. All the Mohammedan nations bear a physical resemblance to each other due to their mental relationship.

Dr Gradenwitz concludes —

Race degeneration is not necessarily due to corruption by lower race elements. So long as mental degeneration does not occur, so long as the race psyche is vigorous, foreign elements are assimilated and no amount of intermixture will destroy the purity of the race.

Let me add to these facts of experience, to which I have appealed thus much more. First, it is a matter of common observation that husbands and wives in the course of years very frequently come to resemble each other physically and that the growing harmony in their views and habits of thought expresses itself in their physical features. Another fact which no one will dispute is that the form and expression of countenance reflect the character and the life history of its possessor. This is something that cannot be explained except by assuming either that our mental habits are the product of our faces or that our mental habits stamp themselves upon our faces. A third fact of this kind is the common observation that people engaged in certain vocations and the members of certain religious sects and social castes often resemble each other physically to a striking degree. Similar pursuits calling into play similar thoughts are recognizable in the features of those who follow them.

The influence of thoughts upon the plastic matter from which human races are created may express itself in two ways. It may change the features of individuals to conform with the mentality of their environment and it may influence the unborn child by giving it the features already stamped by their thoughts upon the parents.

From what has preceded I believe I am justified in the conclusion that race is not something fixed and unchangeable, not a rigid barrier between man and man. In the same way that individuals by self-cultivation may raise themselves above other individuals or by degeneration may permit themselves to fall below the level of their fellows, so races may be in the ascendant or on the decline. Race pride based on mere heredity is therefore an absurdity.

## Experiences in Soviet Russia

Reviewing a German book entitled "Three Months in Soviet Russia," *Frankfurter Zeitung* thus introduces its author:

We now know in a general way how things look in Soviet Russia. We are aware that they are very bad. Yet there are many people who still insist that these unfavorable accounts are colored to influence opinion. This can hardly be said of a book written by a man who is himself a Bolshevik. I refer to Arthur Holtscher's *Three Months in Soviet Russia*. Holtscher is a writer of high rank, among whose works is an excellent book upon the United States which shows that he possesses in an unusual degree the faculty of seeing things and of describing vividly what he has seen. Always a radical in politics he has become an outright convert to Bolshevism during the last few years. He visited Russia and left the country a Bolshevik. He cherishes the conviction that the Red Star of the Soviets is the beacon light of salvation and he says this frankly in his book. But precisely for this reason—because we are reading the testimony of a convert to Bolshevism—what he says is most interesting for it confirms everything that we have heard hitherto regarding conditions in Soviet Russia. Holtscher has made an honest effort to tell the truth. His absolute faith in the future of Bolshevism makes it possible for him to describe frankly and without reserve the Russia of to-day, and it is a sad enough picture which he draws.

Holtscher went to Russia as a correspondent of the United Press. He tells us that representatives of the foreign press reside in Russia in houses under military guard. Felt slippers and spies sneak through the halls and the greasy imprint of unwashed ears circles every keyhole. People are at the mercy of any clothes-closet *Troquemada*. Before leaving the country every bit of written and printed paper in a man's possession must be submitted for inspection to the Extraordinary Commission. A man hides everything he knows of importance in his own memory in order to guard it from the misunderstanding and stupidity of spies and boundary guards.

The author's experiences and observa-

tions have been thus summarised, in part, by the reviewer

Bolshevism seeks to liberate the masses nevertheless—'This liberation of the masses is not to be taken literally for if liberty means self-direction freedom of movement, *doke far nate* when the impulse seizes one then liberty does not exist in Russia Everyone suffers from its absence—not the intellectuals alone those who suffer most are the working people of Russia' The conditions under which the Russian workers live to-day are summarized in this sentence 'The workingman's liberty to move about and to choose his occupation no longer exists' This system is unable to provide its people with the mere essentials of existence

The people are bowed down under the fearful weight of centralized control Art is in utter chaos Artists are starved not only physically but also mentally Painters sculptors musicians with whom I talked in Russia suffered greater hardships than all their material privations imposed from being utterly cut off from contact with art of the rest of the world in spite of all the efforts which the People's Commissioner for Popular Enlightenment makes to lift, or to relieve the stringency of the intellectual blockade Fearful indeed is the fate of the educated classes Holtscher speaks of their ruin

As we all know trade has been suppressed Still there is an immense underground and illegal traffic and a few shops remain open Holtscher occasionally bought something in these places to eke out his Communist fare The children have relatively a more comfortable time The care taken of them is the only ray of light that enters the great Russian prison

In the matter of religion the Bolsheviks have had precisely the experience which any man understanding this side of human psychology would have predicted It was their first idea to exterminate religion and the result has been according not only to Holtscher but other observers as well that religion has steadily grown stronger Its influence which never was weak in Russia has become more powerful than ever

### Germany To day

Hermon Ould asserts in *The Venturer* that 'Two years ago Germany offered an excellent soil for the planting of pacifism' 'Two years ago What of to day?' The answer is —

Pacifism has undoubtedly a less firm hold upon the people to-day than it had two years ago The events since the armistice have one added to uproot the growth of pacifism

which had been so hopefully planted Gradually as the adamant attitude of the Allies and particularly of France became more certain and the apparent power of force became more manifest, the difficulty of advocating a pacifist philosophy became greater That League of the Conquering Nations which was the illegitimate offspring of Wilson's Fourteen Points offered abundant scope for cynicism and the German League of Nations (*Deutsche Liga für Völkerbund*) which was established to press for Germany's inclusion in the League is not only declining in power but is itself divided into two sections which are mutually antagonistic the one political in its aim and the other spiritual or philosophical The Bund Neues Vaterland another pacifist organisation confesses to a similar slackening of support

The growing conviction that France seeks not a just agreement with Germany but her destruction has fanned to a flame every spark of nationalism which was left in Germany, and groups of people who are essentially pacific become uneasy in the face of the unyielding policy of the Allies

One thing however is quite clear—that Militarism in the prewar sense is all but dead

But however dead militarism as a theory may be militarism as a possible necessity still has its adherents What is the use asked a prominent statesman in Berlin 'of the disarmament of guns unless it is accompanied by the disarmament of the heart?'

### Why Women are needed in Legislative Assemblies

American women are very proud of Lady Astor, the American girl who is the first woman to sit in the British Parliament *The Woman Citizen*, in which she tells why she believes women are needed in legislative assemblies quotes some of her telling epigrams

Don't think you are going to get perfect government until you are perfect people

I have heard women ask why should no men sit in the House of Commons I feel that somebody ought to be looking after unfortunate children Mine are fortunate That steals me to go to Commons to fight my best not only for women and men but for children

Her article in *The Woman Citizen* is quoted below almost in its entirety

There has been a good deal of discussion in the newspapers and journals on whether there is such a thing as a woman's point of view Of course there is on such questions as morality But I further and say that it exists on many

more general problems too that women do look at things from a different angle and deal with them in a different way from men.

So long as women are different from men, so long is there a need for them as women in all departments of public service.

Men recognize this difference themselves. They know though they can't always explain that their mothers had a peculiar and special influence on them. It was something, quite unlike their fathers. And it is that same peculiar quality which women can and must contribute to politics today.

Man after all is only half man and yet he has often acted as if he were the whole of mankind. Government by half the community only is neither democracy nor justice nor common sense. Women do not claim to be a superior sex. But they do claim to be human beings on an equality with men with a share of the same natural rights and therefore a share of the same duties and responsibilities. And as men have their own virtues and characteristics to contribute to government and administration so have women.

Men for instance have on the whole got the habit of team work. This is particularly true of Anglo-Saxon men and is due without any doubt to the big part that organized team games play in their education. The fact that it isn't yet wholly true of women is I am sure largely because of this lack in the education of so many of them.

But without this feeling of playing a corporate game women will not make good. Women do need to learn more about the strength of a long pull, a strong pull and a pull all together.

But I see no reason whatever why they should not learn it. If the cave man had to learn tribe law there is no reason why woman now she is emerging from the cave stage shouldn't learn it too.

Then again men pride themselves on their balance. This is a very useful gift. But sometimes they are so well balanced on that center point of gravity that they become perfectly motionless. Women's intuition is needed to come to the rescue here and give them the necessary prod to set them moving again.

Women's moral courage too sometimes has come to the rescue of man's physical courage. Woman's mercy to the rescue of man's justice. This is a thing that every woman knows.

If these different qualities of ours are needed to complete the home and the school and the professions they are needed just as much in politics and in legislative assemblies. After more than a year's experience I am a firmer believer than ever before in the work that women can and should do in Parliament. It is not enough to say that representative women will be consulted on laws affecting women and children. There are almost no laws that do not

affect women and children directly or indirectly. And women have their own contributions to make on questions of tariffs as well as on questions of baby-clinics.

## Do Women Work Harder than Men?

The answer is given in an article in *Popular Science* *Siftings*.

Household drudgery is hard work. Nobody denies that. Is it as hard as or harder than the physical labour that men perform?

The U.S. Government States Relations Service has been making a study of this matter. It is particularly interested in finding out just how much energy is consumed in the performance of the various household tasks which the average woman is obliged to undertake.

For instance a certain amount of energy is consumed in taking care of a baby. How much is it?

The experts had made to order a life-size model of a year old infant—a doll of wood—for which an outfit of clothing was provided including a shirt, two underskirts, a knitted jacket, socks, boots and bonnet. A woman dressed and undressed this manikin seven times in two hours not in haste but doing the job in an ordinary way. The amount of energy she expended per hour was exactly measured. To accomplish this she was put into an airtight case the size of a small bathroom, with walls of heavy plate glass. Oxygen supplied from a tank kept the air fresh inside. So completely was the box with its temporary occupant under scrutiny so to speak with the help of electrical and other ingenious contrivances that even the woman's breath was analysed.

The main problem however was to determine the amount of heat given off by the woman's body for this was the exact measure of the amount of energy which as an engine she developed.

A calorie is the amount of heat required to raise the temperature of a pint of water four degrees Fahrenheit. Thus the energy expended in dressing and undressing the wooden baby for one hour was equivalent to the amount of heat needed to raise a quart of water from freezing point to seventy degrees of the thermometer.

The experts declare this to mean that baby dressing is to be classed as 'moderately heavy labour.' But they confess that the test was not altogether fair inasmuch as the dummy child weighed less than four and a half pounds whereas a live year old infant would weigh three or four times that much. Furthermore it does not seem to have occurred to them to consider that a live baby while being dressed and undressed makes the task more difficult by constant wriggling. How many calories one might ask for the wriggles?

of industrial occupations. It reads: "The term 'vocational' comprises all occupations recognized in the census list including agricultural, industrial, commercial, homestead and professional callings."

The second paragraph recognizes vocational guidance as merely one phase of the guidance needed by youth and names the others as "connected with ethical life, health, recreation, citizenship and home life." It recognizes that all of these belong to education in the public schools. But as the vocational life occupies one half of the waking time of active individuals and because of the fact that much of the world's dissension today in ethical, political, international and industrial affairs is based upon lack of knowledge regarding duties and responsibilities in occupational relationships, vocational guidance becomes very important.

The great aim of vocational guidance is summarized thus in paragraph 7: "All vocational guidance should help to fit the individual for vocational self-guidance and also for the co-operative solution of the problems of occupational life."

Under the heading "First Steps in Guidance" are the following paragraphs, which provide a program for the elementary schools:—

The home and school programs should include a combination of play, handwork, co-operative activity and academic work—the whole being varied enough to represent life's demands and concrete enough to secure an effective response and successful accomplishment by each individual child.

On the basis of individual differences revealed in the social life of the child, progress in school subjects and in standardized tests, children should be classified into schoolroom groups. All group classifications should be regarded as tentative, being largely for the purpose of efficient learning and teaching.

For all children before the school leaving age there should be provided a wide variety of try-out experiences in academic and aesthetic work, gardening, simple processes with tools and machines, elementary commercial experiences and co-operative pupil activities. Such try-out experiences are for the purpose of teaching efficiency in every day tasks, broadening the social and occupational outlook of the children and discovering to them and the teachers their interests and abilities.

Teachers of all subjects in schools and colleges should make a definite effort to show the relationship of their work to occupational problems just as they now relate them to other phases of life activity such as the cultural, recreational, ethical, civic and social.

Drifting thru school is a common evil in all educational systems. The life-career motive, whether temporary or permanent, should be

encouraged as one of the motives in the choice of a curriculum and of certain elective subjects within a curriculum.

The miscellaneous working experiences of children before and after school on Saturdays and in vacations should be studied and supervised. These experiences should be made to aid the child in understanding his environment and in discovering his vocational aptitudes and interests.

## 'Education Emptying the Harem'

The *Literary Digest* gives a photograph of the graduating class of the American College for Girls at Constantinople and states:—

Education is emptying the harem in Constantinople that ancient battle ground of the Crescent and the Cross and to the American College for Girls whose scope and influence extends among all the nationalities represented along the Bosphorus is due we are told a large part of this reformation. Tho it has known famines, massacres, epidemics, revolutions and four wars including the last and greatest the College lived through them all and is to-day a little haven of education in a great lump of ignorance and bigotry. The institution has almost 500 young women enrolled in the College and preparatory departments and is giving them a complete liberal education in accordance with American ideals and standards.

## Race War in U S A

### In Tulsa, Oklahoma U S A,

The rumor that a colored boy was to be lynched brought a crowd of armed negroes to the jail to prevent it. With the white mob and the black contingent one another somebody fired a shot and the result was a pitched battle with scores of casualties, the burning of the city's negro section and the addition as the *New York Evening Post* remarks of a ghastly chapter to the record of a national disgrace.

If the Tulsa collision had occurred at Vera Cruz the American people would have deplored the lawlessness of the Mexicans and found it shocking. Remarks the *New York Times* and the Nashville *Tennessean* think that the crime of Tulsa will make many of us hesitate before we condemn other races as being unequal for self-government. "It is not the first race riot within recent years to occur outside of the Mason Dixon line," notes the Wilmington *Evening News* which recalls the following facts:

In East St. Louis, Ill., which is distinctly a Northern city, 125 persons were killed on July 7, 1917. In Washington, D. C., seven persons were killed and scores injured in the riots which began July 19, 1919. A few days later, beginning July 26, in Chicago, which is certainly not a Southern city, 38 persons were killed and 500 wounded. On October 2, the

in one year in Elaine Ark.—which calls itself Mid Western—30 persons were killed and hundred were wounded in the street fighting. Three days before that in Omaha Neb. which is certainly Western three persons were killed in race riots and many wounded. The mayor of the city was hanged by rioters but cut down in time to save his life.

Before martial law was established and peace restored by the National Guard more than a score of blacks and nearly half as many whites had lost their lives more than 200 of both races were wounded more than a million and a half dollars worth of property was destroyed and thousands of negro families were homeless.

## Lynching in America

*The Asian Review* says that according to the report published by the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People

Sixty five persons (including one woman) were lynched during 1920. Of the victims thirty-one were hanged fifteen shot fifteen burned alive two drowned one strangled to death and eight done to death in some unknown manner. The causes which called forth this manifestation of "white civilization and humanity" were jumping a labor contract, connection with a moonshiner still, a dangerous escape of murderers, assaulting a white man threatening to kill a white man and election day disturbances. It should be remembered in this connection that the cold blooded murder of a white man in the election riots at Osceola, Florida, whose only offence was that they had the temerity to approach the polling booth to cast their ballots during the elections last year, not included in the above figures. Although the law qualifies the negroes to be voters in actual practice they are debarr'd from exercising this right by the systematic selfishness of the whites.

*The Asian Review* quotes the following account of the lynching, before trial of Henry Lowery a coloured man accused of killing a white man and his daughter at Vidalia Arkansas—

He was chained to a log and then burned alive. The Memphis, Tenn. Press a daily managed and edited by white Americans, published in its issue of January 27 an account of this horrible deed.

"More than 500 persons stood by and looked on while the negro was slowly burned, to crisp. A few women were scattered among the crowd of Arkansas painters, who directed the gruesome work. Not once did Lowery beg for mercy despite the fact that he suffered one of the most horrible deaths imaginable. With the negro chained to a log members of the mob placed a small pile of leaves around his feet. Gasoline was then poured on the leaves and the carrying out of the death sentence was under way.

Each by each the negro was slowly rocked to death. Every few minutes fresh leaves were tossed into the funeral pyre until the blaze had roasted the negro's bones. The flames were then away his skin from

a member of the mob stepped forward and saturated the body with gasoline. It was then only a few minutes until the negro had been reduced to ashes.

Even after the flesh had dropped away from his legs and the flames were leaping toward his face Lowery retained consciousness. Not once did he whimper or beg for mercy. Once or twice he attempted to pick up the hot ashes and thrust them in his mouth in order to hasten his death. Each time the ashes were kicked out of his reach by a member of the mob.

Words fail to describe the sufferings of the negro.

The emergence of a spirit of forcible resistance on the part of the Negroes as the *New Republic* styles it need not cause surprise. This paper observes

We shall never understand the militant attitude among Negroes unless we try to put ourselves in their place. Suppose that America were mainly a black man's country with nine Negroes to every white. Suppose that the blacks held all the offices controlled the police and the courts owned practically all the property monopolized all the trade business and professions. And then suppose that in addition to exploiting the whites the Negroes sporadically rushed together in mobs and tore white men away from their families, beat them unmercifully shot them down or hanged them or even burned them at the stake on charges of crimes that black men's courts would have dealt with not too gently if there had been any semblance of proof. Finally suppose that in some cases the burning of a white man was widely advertised in the press a holiday declared, and a curious rans put on for the benefit of those who wished to view the spectacle. What white man's there among us who would not get a gun and urge all other white men to do likewise?

Whatever it is or is not the spirit of collective resistance is abroad in the Negro population. And that presents a grave challenge to America. Shall we go on about our other affairs as heretofore declaring complacently that the race problem is one that can never be solved? Or shall we address ourselves seriously to finding a modus vivendi under which the Negro will be assured of his ordinary rights as a man? The problem is not an insoluble one. There are hundreds of communities South and North, where the two races live together on terms of cordial goodwill. What has been done in some communities can be done in all. If we attack the problem in a spirit of common sense and common justice.

Whilst commonsense and common justice are certainly needed, the problem will not be solved until there is a radical change of heart, and that is possible only if there be LOVE.

## The Great College Illusion

Call it the college illusion or the city illusion it exists to a greater



an India than in America, where the New Republic writes —

The great college illusion is the faith that the accumulation of buldngs "courses" degrees, and students characteristic of the last fifty years is a progress in education. In other words the illusion is that you can attain the purpose of education without trying to attain it, without knowing definitely what it is without seeking till you find the definite means that will secure it that you can attain it by letting it take care of itself. Most briefly, the phidic faith in question is that we are educating (without test to prove it) because we are going through the forms.

Even in America the complaint is that colleges do not train the judgment.

Let us turn to intellectual education. More than one form of intellectual training obviously is requisite for life. But the most beneficial, the most essential is the training of judgment. For by judgment life is steered, and how inexperienced how fatuous is the ordinary steering! What tragedy on all sides calls aloud for the training of judgment! Good judgment is of course in part a natural gift, that is one student, apart from training will have more of it than another. But only in part a good judgment is always a trained judgment trained usually by experience. And because there is no systematic training of judgment there hardly exists such a thing as a judgment good on all sides. Such a mind would be trained in caution will have that exact ignorance and power of inquiry which is the next best thing to exact knowledge. A man is perhaps judicious in his own field if experience has pressed and natural faculties have aided. What is needed is a training in versatile judgment as the most precious single benefit that the college can bestow.

Do our colleges confer on their students any fraction of this "most precious single benefit?"

### Independence of the Philippines.

Professor Dr. Nuchiro Matsunami of the Tokyo Imperial University discusses the question of Filipino independence in the *Asian Review*. The five paragraphs quoted below contain the essence of his views.

The question naturally arises 'Are the Filipinos qualified for independence?' My answer to the query is in the affirmative. The indispensable requirements for an independent nation are land, people, wealth and political organisation. All of which the Filipinos are fully possessed of. As for their country it is almost as large as those of England, Japan and Italy who rank among the five big powers of the world. It is true that the Philippines are a little smaller than Japan or England but they are somewhat larger than Italy.

In population the Philippines have a population larger than the Netherlands, Belgium and Austria, as well as Argentine and Chile which have succeeded

from Spain, indeed, larger than Canada. To be more accurate, the population is twice as large as that of Australia, the population of the Philippines being more than ten millions while that of Australia is only 4,900,000.

The revenue and expenditure of the Philippines total each more than one hundred million yen. The figure is larger than the expenditure of Japan when she first opened her Diet because then Japan's annual expenditure was only eighty million yen. On the other hand, the foreign trade of the Philippines amounts to four hundred million yen both in imports and exports. And there are indications that these figures will steadily grow every year.

Last but not least important is the political organisation of the Philippines which is more advanced in some points than that of this country. For instance in the Philippines, universal suffrage has long been adopted, while provincial governors are elected by the people. Furthermore the members of the legislature are Filipinos elected by the people, and all the important posts in the government, with the exception of the post of Governor General and Vice Governor General are filled by the Filipinos. The education too has progressed remarkably, and the university is the most advanced and perfect in this part of the world except those in Japan. In addition to the already existing university the Philippine government is planning another university. The judicial power is also enjoying absolute independence and the presidency of the supreme court is always filled by Filipinos.

The Jones Act passed under Democrat administration provides explicitly that America will grant independence to the islands when a stable government is established by the Filipinos. Now a stable government has been established in the Philippines. Therefore America is bound to grant independence to the Filipinos in accordance with her promise.

### Education for Freedom.

Mr. Norman MacMunn, B.A., Chief Adviser to the Children of Tiptree Hall, contributes a very suggestive and thought-provoking article to *Child Life*, under the above heading. Says he —

Some would free children but don't know to begin. The clue to freedom lies not in pious abstractions and exhortations but in giving scope for activity, and the path to activity is to abolish the greater part of existing class-teaching and provide material for self-teaching, mutual teaching, and teaching through groups small enough to give the individual a chance to expand. The material must be made in recognition of one of the most certain, but least respected laws of Nature that a child's work is its play, and its play its work.

The child as well as the genius, who works unwillingly is working only in empty name. It is dead work and dangerous work for the habit of unwilling work is as easily formed as the habit of sheer idleness and is hardly less perilous. The spirit of joyful play-work persists as we have now proved and it is the best of all work, because it engages the whole mind, conscious and unconscious and builds up that imagery

## Counting Electrons

Another scientific conquest described by *The Scientific American* is the counting of electrons

For a long time physicists have been puzzled because they debated how many angels could stand on the point of a pin. Prof. R. A. Millikan of the University of Chicago gives science an answer to a modern problem that is more or less comparable with this one when he isolates and measures an electron and he has recently been catching individual atoms and counting the number of electrons which each one has lost when an alpha particle from radium shoots through it. Science for some time has decided the indivisible atom into its constituent parts and identified these as electrons but Professor Millikan is the first to catch and exactly measure the charge carried by each one of these.

These charges are so small that the number of electrons contained in the electricity which courses through a 16-candle power lamp filament and for which we pay one hundred thousandths of a cent is so large that if three million people began to count them at the rate

of one a second without stopping to eat sleep or drink it would take them ten thousand years to finish the job.

An electron weighs according to Professor Millikan very nearly one billionth of a billionth of a billionth of a gram. Divide this by 500 and you get its weight in pounds. But Professor Millikan has these electrons well under control. He can count the exact number of them which he has caught in a minute old drop of oil quite as much certainly as he can enumerate his fingers and toes.

## Diagnosis by Wireless

A third achievement noted by the same journal is diagnosis by wireless.

Palpitation and other troubles of the heart may be diagnosed even though the patient be far removed from medical facilities—say in middle of the Atlantic Ocean—by application of wireless. The notable discovery of Major General George O. Squier, Chief Signal Officer of the United States Army.

## TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

[ Translated from the German and sent from Berlin by Prof. Meghnad Saha, D. Sc. ]

THE sixtieth birthday of Rabindranath Tagore, which he celebrates in Europe far from his Indian home affords his German friends and admirers welcome occasion for ex-

pressing from the German side thanks and sympathy for his genial attempt to create a new spiritual bond between the two chief parts of the world Asia and Europe. More successfully

than any other man in Morning land or Evening land has he enabled us to see clearly the force which binds different peoples together which resides within the human soul when it is aware of its worth its depth and its solidarity.

It has not fallen to the lot of any other living poet and thinker that so many people simultaneously in the land of the Ganges and in the distant lands of Europe from the south to the high north have listened with rapt attention to the harmony of his thoughts the melodious ring in his poems and to the force of his sentiments. There has been continuously increasing response to the deep prophetic and passionate words which he has announced in his *Sunset of the Century* and his *Nationalism*.

In Germany even amidst the most difficult



TAGORE WEEK AT DARMSTADT

During Tagore Week at Darmstadt thousands of people from all parts of Germany flocked to the garden in front of the palace of the Grand Duchess and the Poet used to deliver short discourses to them in English which were interpreted to them in German by Count Keyserling. The first of these presents a morning scene on one of these days.

times when faith in the spirit of humanity is put to the most severe test the number of Rabindranath Tagore's friends is large and they are inwardly impelled to give a perceptible expression to their feelings of silent thankfulness.

Acting on the report that Rabindranath Tagore stays in Europe during his sixtieth birthday and that he has expressed a desire to get acquainted with Germany the undersigned have formed themselves into a committee and have placed themselves in connection with the German learned men writers and publishers. Through this co-operation they are in a position to make a good collection of German books written by contemporary German writers and published by German firms and offer it as a present from the German nation for the library of Rabindranath Tagore at his home Shantiniketan.

The present is an expression of the great respect in which the creator of this library is held in Germany—a testimony to Germany's appreciation of India's cultural work and to the part played by the present generation of Germany in the creation of the cultural world.

The names of the authors and publishers on whose behalf we beg to reach you this gift are contained in the enclosed list.

The books shall speak to all in India the homeland of deep sense who wish to instruct themselves about Germany and her share in human culture.

(Signed)

Count Bernstorff Starnberg  
Geh. rat. Prof. Dr. Rudolf Eucken Jena  
Geh. rat. Prof. Dr. Adolf Harnack Berlin  
Gerhardt Hauptmann Berlin  
Conrad Hausmann Stuttgart  
Hermann Hesse Montagnole  
Geh. rat. Prof. Dr. Hermann Jakob Bonn  
Count Keyserling Darmstadt  
Prof. Dr. Heinrich Meyer Benfey  
Frau Helene Meyer Franck Hamburg  
Dr. Richard Wilhelm Tsingtau  
Kurt Wolff Munich  
Stuttgart 3rd May 1921

# TAGORE

[Translated from *Hamburger Zeitung* Saturday Evening's Paper May 21st, 1921]

Was there not perhaps just a slight touch of a feeling of sensation in us when last night we were waiting in the hall of the University to see the great Indian face to face?

If there was such a feeling in us—for we can not help being Europeans—it disappeared the very moment Tagore entered the hall. A mystic power drew us up from our seats to greet this man in silence. Seldom did the mystery of communion become so manifest.

(About outward appearance)

"We become conscious of what seems

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN BERLIN

The Indian Poet and Philosopher leaving the University after one of his lectures.

something almost incomprehensible that in this man's life there is no moment he does not feel the union with the infinite.

Thus he stood there and spoke to us out of the simplicity of his heart. And his very first words were characteristic. The greatest event of our century has been the meeting of the East and West. (Follows a short outline of the lecture.)

This representative of an old noble family has become a prophet of spiritual Bolshevism under the sign of freedom attained through self-conquest and self-dedication. Thus from an ancient world a new channel has broken into our life, bringing about a new circulation in the idea of Christianity which with us had fallen into corruption.

Never did we poor disunited children of this century feel a greater longing for harmony than we do now. Pining in hell, visions of some



Rabindranath Tagore in Berlin

R. Samuels

Der indische Dichter verläßt in der Vorlesung an der Universität

# RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN BERLIN

The Indian Poet returning after his lecture in the University

[ From Dr. Helt Sp. egg ]

I stand still to be gained hunt our dreams  
A man came to us from another world Never  
were we riper for his coming—nor worthier of  
it The farewell to him yesterday showed it

Hundreds of people were waiting outside the  
University to see Tagore once more He came—  
and the hands were stretched up to him in  
silence

Longing? No fulfilment One moment of  
fulfilment Thus new men come to know that  
they are one great community

This silent homage was the expression of a  
unanimous

We shall never forget this high symbol

When we come to believe that we are in possession of our God because we belong to some  
particular sect it gives us such a complete sense of comfort that God is needed no longer except  
for quarrelling with others whose idea of God differs from ours in theoretical details

Having been able to make provision for our God in some shadow land of creed we feel free to  
reclaim all the space for ourselves in the world of reality ridding it of the wonder of the infinite  
claiming it as trivial as our own household furniture Such unlimited vulgarity only becomes  
possible when we have no doubt in our minds that we believe in God while our life ignores Him

—RABINDRANATH TAGORE

## NOTES

### Rabindranath Tagore's Return

We welcome our revered and beloved poet Rabindranath Tagore most cordially back to the Motherland with the hope and prayer that God may in the fulness of time vouchsafe perfect fruition to his great idea of an international university which is to promote world-culture and human amity and solidarity.

### Rabindranath Tagore's Reception in the Continent of Europe

The Vienna correspondent of the London observer wrote to that paper under date June 26 1921 —

I cannot remember any living poet who has been received with such unanimous and profound reverence and praise by the Vienna public and the Press or who has made such a deep impression by his personal appearance as this great Bengal writer and thinker.

From the accounts published in the continental press it would appear that not only in Austria but in Sweden Holland Germany France etc too the reception given to the poet was of this unique character. No contemporary man of genius statesman or sovereign has received such an ovation in all these countries of the West. This was certainly due in great part at any rate to the poet's genius his lofty spirituality and his breadth of outlook and understanding overstepping the boundaries of race clime and creed—in one word to his personality. The poet himself however is not disposed to take it as a mere personal triumph. He would seem to take it rather in the light of the West turning wistfully to the East for light and hope strength and solace in the hour of tribulation uncertainty and despondency caused by the bankrupt of that phase of Western civilization which is typified in its nationalism militarism capitalism industrialism and racial arrogance.

Whether it is India or India's poet who has been honoured the fact should not make us slothful and vain. It should

rather be a call to us to lead worthy lives. For it is not every oriental or every Indian who in his life and spirit is the embodiment of the spiritual heritage of the Orient in general or of India in particular.

### Taxation in Ancient India

Our modern bureaucrats who talk glibly of taxation are in the line of apostolic succession to the bureaucrats of ancient India who seemed to be equally energetic in the matter of imposing taxes which others had to pay. And curiously enough the people of those times were as afraid of a new tax as their degenerate modern prototypes. In the *Questions of King Milinda* (S B E S Vol XXXV, ch IV 28) we find the Bactrian King Menander propounding a dilemma for the solution of the venerable Nagasena. The King enquired how he was to reconcile the saying of the Ariat that all men are afraid of death with his other saying that he himself was beyond all fear. The venerable Nagasena replied as follows:

Suppose I King a King had four chief ministers faithful famous trustworthy placed in a high position of authority. And the King on some emergency arising were to issue to them an order touching all the people in his realm saying Let all now pay up a tax and do you as my four officers carry out what is necessary in this emergency. Now tell me King would the tremor which comes from fear of tax on arise in the heart of those ministers?

No sir it would not?

But why not?

They have been appointed by the King to high office. Taxation does not affect them; they are beyond taxation. It was the rest that the King referred to when he gave the order—I let a pay tax.

Just so O King sit with the state-ent that all men tremble at punishment all are afraid of death. In that way sit that the Ariat's remark is removed from every fear.

### Reflections on Recent Events in Chandpur and Chittagong

On the eve of the inauguration of the Reforms His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay tried to impress upon the public in various

gubernatorial speeches that the reconstituted Government of Bengal would be more Indian than English in character, in as much as out of the seven members of his cabinet, as many as five would be Bengalis. He complained that those who had joined the Non-co-operation movement failed to understand the real significance of this tremendous change in the inner constitution of the government. Events have shown, within this brief space of time, how illusory is this change of which so much has been made, and they have also proved the truth of the prophesy, of the N. C. O.'s that the new Government would only be the old autocracy writ large, with an added power for mischief in that it would be able to point to the Indian element in the cabinet in vindication of its reactionary policy.

The night assault of the Gurkhas upon a number of weak, unarmed and destitute coolie men, women and children at Chandpur, so soon after the Punjab atrocities, has been possible under the new regime; the whitewashing of the same, by Sir Henry Wheeler, presumably after consulting the cabinet, has also been possible; and so also the implied enunciation of the policy that by refusing to repatriate the coolies it was the duty of the Government indirectly to lend a helping hand to the white tea-planters of Assam. And the Bengal members of the Government, both Executive Councillors and Ministers, who are supposed to be responsible to the people, were just as if they were not there at all, and the Government seemed, to all intents and purposes, as if it was run, as of old, entirely by a handful of unsympathetic foreigners who considered it their duty to back up their local officials at any cost.

The demand of a bail of Rs. 10,000 from each of those young men at Chittagong who were arrested for having acted as pickets or N. C. O. volunteers or on like charges, showing the shameless vindictiveness of the Government's trusted local administrators set over the people to see that every one receives fair play in any conflict of interests, the arrest of leading citizens of Chittagong like Mr. J. M.

Sen Gupta, Barrister at law, without the local authorities being able to formulate a single charge against them; prosecutions and persecutions of men who organise perfectly legal labour strikes or speak out their minds against official oppression in all parts of the country; demonstrate that in spite of the reforms we stand just where we did, and that the Indian element in the Governor's cabinet is impotent for good, while by lending the support of their authority to the reactionary measures of the Government, they may do much mischief.

The fact is, that the limbs of the Government are the same old bureaucrats who ruled the districts with an iron hand in the pre-reform days, and interpreted and carried out the policy of the Government in the midst of the people among whom they were placed in the way best suited to their despotic leanings. By raising an outcry as to the difficulty of their serving in India under the new constitution, they have succeeded in considerably increasing their salary, and from a recent question in Parliament we find that they are not satisfied with even this increase, but like *Oliver Twist*, they are still crying for more. The alarm was raised by the Anglo-Indian press that under the new conditions the Civil Service would lose its attraction for most of its members, and there would be wholesale resignations. While there has not been, so far as we know, a single resignation in Bengal owing to the introduction of the reforms, the alarm has not only enabled the Civilian to put the screw on the Government and obtain a handsome addition to their emoluments, already unrivalled in the world, but has served the purpose of compelling the Government to treat their acts and opinions with the utmost tenderness and deference. And so it comes about that the old evil traditions of the bureaucratic machine continue in full vigour, and mofussil administration runs in the same old vicious groove.

And yet every day the government of the country demands greater and greater sympathy and tact and statesmanship, as even he who runs may read. The old

tactics of divide and rule, which formed the stock in trade of the average Civilian, the old aloofness from the 'political movements which agitate the bosom of Indian public life, the old implicit reliance on force and repression for the maintenance of order and the old outworn creed of regarding order and not progress as the *summum bonum* of civilised administration, the old emphasis on the doctrine of prestige as affording the sole sufficing justification for any administrative blunder or crime—all this will simply *not* do any longer. The whole outlook on Indian political movements must be radically transformed before any official, white, black or brown, can claim to be a successful administrator in these strenuous days, and no official panegyric, unsupported by solid achievement, will go down with the public.

All the information from Chittagong points to the fact that the demonstration in the court premises in honour of Mr. Sen Gupta when he was brought there under arrest was so unique as to defy description. If the charge against him was being a member of an unlawful assembly, well, such an assembly was there before the very gates of the official *sanctum*, but the officials would simply not see it, for it was absurd to think of finding room in jail for even a thousandth part of that vast concourse of people. The moral defeat of the local authorities was thus complete. The sea of human heads that covered the court premises and the hillside and the main streets leading to the court building was composed of spontaneous visitors from the town and the countryside, most of them illiterate Muhammadans, and the cries of 'Victory to Liberty', 'Victory of Swaraj', that rang out amidst deafening cheers, the patriotic songs, expressing unalterable determination to fight freedom's battle, that broke forth in chorus from a thousand throats almost within the precincts of the court room itself, the salutation of the martyrs by the taking of the dust of their feet by hundreds upon hundreds, their refusal to plead and readiness to go to *hajat*

and Mr. Sen Gupta's scathing denunciation of the quality of British justice before the trying Magistrate himself—all these are indications which ought to convince the most confirmed bureaucrats that their ideas of administration are hopelessly out of date and with such ideas, they are totally unfit to cope with the present situation. To-day, except among official subordinates, *darbarr*, and other seekers of favour, there is none so poor as to do them reverence, whereas the popular leaders who have proved their love by the measure of their sacrifice are greeted with a reverential enthusiasm which even kings might envy. All this proves to demonstration that the official hold on the mass mind is virtually extinct, and the prestige on which the bureaucrat has so long nourished his vanity is gone, never to return, unless the Government can supply a new race of administrators to supplant the old stock of effete bureaucrats who had sailed so long in smooth waters that they had well nigh forgotten the art of navigating the ship of state. The country will need administrators, even after she has attained swaraj, but nothing short of the very best will serve the purpose in these strenuous times.

Lord Reading, it is claimed, is out to do justice to India. The travesty of justice in some recent trials of white men for rape and murder ought to show him how ridiculous it is to claim it for the British law courts in India. The Criminal Procedure Code itself makes the most humiliating distinctions between black and white in the matter of choosing the forum and empanelling the jury. The recent incidents at Chittagong should furnish further illustration, if any were needed, to prove so self-evident a proposition as the truth of the Non-cooperator's indictment of the law courts in British India.

### The Chandpur Incident.

A good deal of regret has been expressed by His Excellency the Governor and others, for the unfortunate victims of the cholera epidemic in the coolie camps at Chandpur.

and the amount of public indignation roused by the Gurkha assault at the Chandpur station yard which resulted in no deaths, has been contrasted with the comparative absence of it at the steamer strike (which by the way many publicists including ourselves have unjuvically condemned at the earliest opportunity) which by preventing the homeward journey of the coolies contributed so largely to the mortality from cholera. The explanation of this phenomenon is however quite simple to the student of human psychology. The coolies who died of cholera had all their wants attended to by Bengali volunteers and a few Europeans who nursed them like brothers. Every thing that those volunteers did showed that they felt that the coolies were their very kith and kin and the self respect of the people of Bengal was not therefore wounded or outraged in any way by their death from cholera—while the wanton outrage on the unfortunate coolie men women and children unmistakably betrayed the real temper and attitude of the bureaucrat who scarcely regarded the coolies as human beings whose feelings had to be considered far less respected. As Mr Andrews has said no English official however high placed he might be would have dared to treat a body of navvies in England in the way these coolies were forcibly hunted out of the railway platform at dead of night without any previous notice and with all the lights out. For sheer callousness the attitude of the officials towards these Indian labourers at Chandpur would be hard to beat. It is this callousness to Indian suffering this outrage to the self respect of Indian manhood and womanhood which was felt as a deep humiliation by the entire people of Bengal irrespective of class or creed. Mr K C De the Commissioner who was primarily responsible for the incident was no doubt a Bengali but for the time being he was more a bureaucrat than a countryman of the coolies and he was probably more or less under the leading strings of others who were not their countrymen. The insignificance of the universal condemnation of the Gurkha assault as compared with the milder

resentment caused by the loss of life resulting from the compulsory detention of the coolies at Chandpur lies in the total indifference to Indian feeling which is betrayed and not in the actual amount of physical injury involved. It should also be remembered that the causes and consequences of the strikes were not quite clear to the public from the first leading to the centering of public feeling solely or mostly round the outrage on the coolies. That national humiliation may cause greater resentment and indignation than an appalling death roll is also evident from the fact that public feeling is coming more and more to centre round the infamous 'crawling order' than the Jallianwala Bagh butchery.

While on this subject we are reminded of the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee which says the Committee conceive that the habit should be carefully fostered of joint deliberation between the members of the executive council and the ministers sitting under the chairmanship of the Governor. There cannot be too much mutual advice and consultation. Shortly before the Reforms were ushered in barely six months ago His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay took pains to point out in several of his speeches how completely Indianised the Government would be under the new regime with 2 Indian executive councillors out of 4 and 3 Indian ministers who would jointly deliberate on all matters of policy. Has this Indianised Government deliberately decided that Indian self respect may be humiliated with impunity by letting loose a pack of mercenaries when such a course is likely to benefit or uphold the prestige of the European trading or planting or ruling community? If so is not the Indian character and complexion of the government a delusion and a snare, as the Non co operators have always held?

Though we have tried to explain why more indignation has been roused by the assault on the coolies than by the disease and mortal ty physical suffering and material loss caused by the strikes we do feel that public opinion ought to have condemned the strikes



more strongly and persistently than it has done.

### Addenda to 'Social Life in the Mahabharatan Age—IV'.

[Add, after the last paragraph of the article, where the *ahimsa* doctrine is referred to, the following paragraph]

Vincent A. Smith,\* following R. Shama Sastri, thus describes the effect of the *ahimsa* doctrine on caste:

"The sentiment in favour of respecting an evil life technically called the *ahimsa* doctrine, had a large share in fixing on the necks of the people burdensome rules of conduct. That sentiment, which is known to have been actively encouraged by Jain and Buddhist teachers from about 500 B. C., probably originated at a much earlier date. The propagation of *ahimsa* necessarily produced a sharp conflict of ideas between the adherents of the doctrine and the old-fashioned people who clung to bloody sacrifices, cow killing and meat-eating. Communities which had renounced the old practices and condemned them as revolting impurities naturally separated themselves from their more easy going and self-indulgent neighbours, and formed castes bound strictly to maintain the novel code of ethics. The Mahabharata, as already noted, contains many inconsistent passages which indicate the transition from the ancient ideas to the new.

### Convocation Addresses Half a Century Old.

More than half-a-century ago Sir Henry Sumner Maine delivered addresses at the convocations of the Calcutta University which contain passages full of wise observations and the enunciation of true principles. Here is what he said regarding the importance and need of educational endowments—

#### EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS

"I think that if ever there was a country in which we might expect the wealthier classes to have the ambition of perpetuating their names by University endowments, it is in India. There seems to me to be no country in which men look so far forward or so far backward, in which men so deliberately sacrifice their lives to the consideration of, what their ancestors have done before them, and of what their descendants will do after them. I may surprise some of you by saying this, but it is my fixed opinion, that there is no surer, no easier, and no cheaper road to immortality, such as can be obtained in this world, than that which lies through liberality expending itself in the foundation of educational endowments.—Sir Henry Sumner Maine, Address as Vice Chancellor of the Calcutta University, March, 1864 (printed at p. 250 of the *Village Communities*, London, John Murray, 1891.)

\* *The Oxford History of India*, 1919, p. 39

The other day Lord Reading spoke pompously and diplomatically of racial equality. But equality is not in the gift of any person or nation. It must be self-acquired. And one of its means of acquisition is strenuous intellectual effort and the consequent attainments and achievement. This view is supported by what Sir Henry Maine has said.—

#### UNIVERSITIES AS FOUNTAINS OF INTELLECTUAL LOCALITY

Depend upon it, very little is practically gained by the Indian when it is proved beyond contradiction, that he is of the same race as the Englishman. Depend upon it, the true equality of mankind lies, not in the past; but in the future. It may come—probably will come—but it has not come already.... Meantime the equality which results from intellectual cultivation, always and at once possible. Be sure that it is a real equality. No man ever yet genuinely despised however he might hate, his intellectual equal. In Europe the only community which, so far as I see, is absolutely undivided by barriers of race or nationality of prejudice, of birth and wealth, is the community of men of letters and of science. The citizens of that republic have before now corresponded with each other and retained their friendships, while the deadliest wars were separating their fellow-countrymen. I have heard that they are even now corresponding in the midst of the bloody conflict which desolates America. The same influences which can overpower the fierce hatred-bred by civil war can assuredly beat down the milder prejudices of race and colour, and it is as fountains of such influences that I believe the Universities will count for something, if they do count for anything, in the history of British India.—*Ibid.* p. 254

That education and intellectual growth do not always destroy error was observed by Sir Henry and dwelt upon in the following passage:

#### STUDY OF THE SCIENCES OF EXPERIMENT AND OBSERVATION NECESSARY FOR THE SPREAD OF TRUTH AMONG INDIANS

"So far from intellectual growth being in itself certain to destroy error, it constantly supplies it with new weapons. We may teach our students to cultivate language, and we only add strength to sophistry, we teach them to cultivate their imagination, and it only gives grace and colour to delusion. We teach them to cultivate their reasoning powers, and they find a thousand resources, in allegory, in analogy and in mysticism, for evading and discrediting truth. Unchecked by external truth, the mind of man has a fatal facility for ensnaring, entrapping, and entangling itself. But happily, happily for the human race, some fragment of physical speculation has been built into every false system. Here is the weak point. Its inevitable destruction leaves a breach in the whole fabric and through that breach the armies of truth march in.—*Ibid.*, Address delivered in March, 1864, p. 270.

It has been our misfortune to meet with as credulous persons among Indian students of science as among students of the arts.

Sir Henry stated his reasons for thinking that Indians should devote greater attention to science than they have done

In contrast to England and India, in comparing the East and the West we must sometimes bring ourselves to call evil good, and good evil. The fact is, that the educated Indian mind requires hardening. That culture of the imagination that tenderness for it which may be necessary in the West, is out of place here for this is a society in which for centuries upon centuries the imagination has run riot and much of the intellectual weakness and moral evil which afflict it to this moment may be traced to imagination having so long usurped the place of reason. What the Indian mind requires is stricter criteria of truth and I look for the happiest moral and intellectual results from an increased devotion to those sciences by which no tests of truth are accepted except the most rigid.—*Ibid.*, Address in March 1866, pp. 275-6

It appears from the extract given below that the founders of the Calcutta University wanted it to be an aristocratic institution, but their hopes have not been fulfilled

#### THE SUCCESS OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY DIFFERENT FROM THE SUCCESS ANTICIPATED

I do not know which was more astonishing—more striking the success of the students, who, if not now, will soon have to be counted not by the hundred, but by the thousand; or the keenness and eagerness which they displayed. For my part, I do not think anything of the kind has been seen by any European University since the Middle Ages. The truth is that we the British Government in India, have for once in a way founded an institution full of vitality we are creating rapidly a multitudinous class which in the future will be of the most serious importance for good or for evil. And so far as this University is concerned, the success is not the less striking, because it is not exactly the success which was expected the language which Lord Canning once employed in this place in the early days of this University. Lord Canning's most emphatic words occurred in a passage in which he said that he hoped the time was near when the nobility and upper classes of India would think that their children had not had the dues of their rank unless they passed through the course of the University. Now there is no doubt that that view involved a mistake. The founders of the University of Calcutta thought to create an aristocratic institution and inspired of themselves they have created a popular institution. The fact is so, and we must accept it as a fact whatever we may think of it.—*Ibid.*, Address delivered in March 1866 pp. 279

Educated Indians should not resent the

following criticisms but try to profit by the truth they contain:—

#### SIR HENRY MAINE'S COMPLAINT AGAINST EDUCATED INDIANS

'If I had any complaint to make of the most highly educated class of Indians—the class I mean which has received the highest European education—I should rather venture to express disappointment at the use to which they sometimes put it. It seems to me that not seldom they employ it for what I can best describe as irrationally reactionary purposes. It is not to be wondered, and I see plainly that educated Indians do not conceal from themselves that they have, by the fact of their education, broken for ever with much in their history, much in their customs, much in their creed. Yet I constantly read, and sometimes hear, elaborate attempts on their part to persuade themselves and others that there is a sense in which these rejected portions of Indian history, and usage and belief are perfectly in harmony with the modern knowledge which the educated class has acquired and with the modern civilisation to which it aspires. Very possibly this may be nothing more than a mere literary feat, and a consequence of the over literary education they receive. But whatever the cause there can be no greater mistake, and under the circumstances of this country, no more destructive mistake

I would not be understood to complain of the romantic light in which educated Hindus sometimes read their past history. It is very difficult for any people to feel self respect if they have no pride in their own annals. But this feeling which I quite admit to be healthy when reasonably indulged, becomes unwholesome, and absurd too when pushed to the extravagant length to which I sometimes see it driven here. Although there is much in common between the Present and the Past there is never so much in common as to make life tolerable to the men of the Present, if they could step back into the Past. There is no one in this room to whom the life of a hundred years since would not be acute suffering if it could be lived over again. It is impossible even to imagine the condition of an educated Indian with some of the knowledge and many of the susceptibilities of the nineteenth century—indeed, perhaps, with too many of them—if he could recross the immense gulf which separates him from the India of Hindu poetry if indeed it ever existed.

I myself believe that European influences are in great measure, sources of these delusions. The value attached in Europe to ancient Hindu literature and deservedly attached for its poetical and philological interest has very naturally caused the Indian to look back with pride and fondness on the era at which the great Sanskrit poems were composed and great philosophical systems evolved. On the educated native of India, the Past presses with too awful and terrible a power for it to be safe for him to play or palter with it. The clouds which overshadow his household, the doubts which beset his mind, the impotence of progressive advance which he struggles against, are all part of an inheritance of nearly unmixt evil which he has received from the Past. The Past cannot be coloured by him in the

without his misreading the Present and endangering the Future.

"A similar mistake is committed by educated Indians, when they call in ingenious analogies and subtle explanations to justify usages which they do not venture to defend directly, or of which in their hearts they disapprove..... There are Indian usages, not in themselves open to heavy moral blame, which every educated man can see to be strongly protective of ignorance and prejudice. I perceive a tendency to defend these, sometimes on the ground that occasionally and incidentally they serve some slight practical use, sometimes because an imaginative explanation of them can be given, sometimes and more of tenor the reason that something superficially like them can be detected in European society. I admit that this tendency is natural and even inevitable. The only influence which could quite correct it, would be the influence of European ideas conveyed otherwise than through books, in fact through social intercourse. As educated society among Indians has become larger, it has been more independent of European society, more self-sufficing, and as is always the case under such circumstances, its peculiarities and characteristics are determined in part, by its least advanced sections. I must impress this on you that, in a partnership of that kind, in a partnership between the less and more advanced, it is not the more advanced but the less advanced, not the better but the worse, that gains by glossing over an unjustifiable prejudice, a barbarous custom, or a false opinion. There is no greater delusion than to suppose that you weaken an error by giving it a colour of truth. On the contrary, you give it pertinacity, and vitality and greater power for evil."—*Ibid*, Address delivered in March 1866 pp 288-93, Village Communities

[Throughout the above extracts we have substituted the word 'Indian' for 'native']

### Calcutta University Finance

In the mass of literature with which Calcutta University loyalists are now flooding the columns of some dailies on the glories of their university, it is somewhat significant that little or no reference is made to the question of the financial administration of the University. Only one Post Graduate Lecturer refers to it, but only to inform a benighted public that the University very properly declined to give the Government of Bengal any information on the subject in connection with certain interpellations which were put in the Bengal Legislative Council. For the sake of the University it were very much to be wished that the information he gives about its attitude was not correct. The Government of Bengal, much less the Bengal Legislative Council, is

not the Post-Graduate Department of the University, that it should be sought to be fooled in this way. What did the M. L. C.'s ask for after all? One of them wanted particulars about the now notorious transaction about the pledging of two lakhs of Treasury Bills out of the Fish Market Fund, to which Mr Charu Chandra Biswas gave publicity in his letter to the press. No information was asked for as to what had taken place behind the scenes, but only the resolutions of the Syndicate and the Senate on the subject were wanted. The published proceedings ought to contain the information, but the University would not furnish even its published resolutions to the Government. And what are the reasons, pray? If the aforesaid lecturer is to be accepted as an authority (and his appears to be an inspired voice), every Corporation has its own rights, and Government has no authority to pry into its financial concerns, although the corporation may owe its very existence to legislation by Government! Well, this may be Post-Graduate logic, but it does not deceive the public. The present head of the University makes it a grievance that Government and the public of Bengal do not support the institution with grants and donations. Let the University take Government and the public into its confidence in the way it has done, and the response will be overwhelming indeed!

The University may have declined to vouchsafe any information, but unfortunately for it, the shady and suspicious character of the transaction in question is not unknown to the public. Here is in fact the resolution of the Syndicate authorising the transaction.—

"Resolution 73, dated November, 15, 1920—

The Registrar made a statement on the state of the cash balance on this date and reported the steps he had taken to arrange for payments during the remainder of the current month and December.

Resolved—That the action taken by the Registrar be approved, that the proposal contained in the letter of the Bank of Bengal No 26708, dated the 12th October, 1920, be

accepted, that the Registrar be authorised to make the necessary endorsements, and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Bank with the counter-signature of the Hon. the Vice-Chancellor."

No information is given regarding the Registrar's "statement," the steps he had taken, "the proposal" of the Bank of Bengal, etc. Will any honest man of business (we do not ask the Post-Graduate Lecturers concerned) tell the public if this is the proper way of conducting financial business in a public institution? But we forget, the Calcutta University, according to the implications of some of its recent resolutions, is not a public institution. Is it then a private *zemandari*? The real reason for concealing the transaction was, of course, the fact that the fund in question, out of which the Treasury Bills were going to be pledged, was one which the University had no authority to deal with in this way. It was the Fish Market fund which the University held on the distinct undertaking that nothing was to be spent out of it without the previous sanction of the Government. The Council interpellations were directed specifically to elicit information about the character of the fund and the term and conditions on which it was held, and also about the competency of the University to pledge it in the way it did. Well, no answers were given. The Minister stated that he had made a reference to the University, and as soon as he got the information, he promised to lay it on the table. The Minister had no suspicion at the time that the University would refuse point blank to supply the information, as it has since done. It may be interesting here to quote the terms of the Syndicate resolution:—

"The University emphatically repudiates the imputation about the mismanagement of the finance and Trust Funds or the financial administration of the University generally, and maintains that the University has not exceeded its powers in respect of its financial transactions. *No information as to the finances of the University which is not contained in its published proceedings will be supplied by the University for publication.*"

Comment on this would be probably superfluous. We are only surprised that members of the Senate coolly accept all this without a word of protest! "The University repudiates the imputation," but here was no "imputation," but a definite allegation regarding a definite transaction. Instead of indulging in strongly worded generalities, it would have been more to the point if the Vice-Chancellor had attempted a reply to the specific charges which were brought against the University.

Another set of questions asked in the Bengal Legislative Council related to the Audit Reports on University accounts, which under the Act of Incorporation are submitted every year by the Accountant General of Bengal. The M. L. C., who put the questions asked when the audit reports for the last three years had been forwarded to the University by Government, and what action the University had taken thereon. These were specific questions, which admitted of specific answers. But what was the University's reply?

"The audit reports as also the correspondence with the Government of India on the subject have never been published either by the Government or the University."

For downright evasion, this would be hard to beat. First of all, there was no question of making public the correspondence on the subject of the audit reports. Secondly, the most damaging fact that one of the Audit Reports was received by the University in November 1919, and another in December 1920, but that to neither had the University cared to send any replies, much less take any action thereupon, was deliberately suppressed. Fortunately, the Minister had independent information on the subject, and he frankly told the Council the real facts, and more than that, he laid the Audit Reports on the table for members of the Council to read, mark and inwardly digest. Needless to say, of course, the contents of the reports are not very complimentary to those who are charged with the administration of

University funds, "emphatic repudiations" notwithstanding.

More cool than the above resolution was the following resolution which was passed at a subsequent meeting, when the Syndicate had before them a letter from the Bengal Government enquiring when replies to the Audit reports of 1917-18 and 1918-19 might be expected :—

"Resolved—That the attention of the Government of Bengal be drawn to the fact that, apart from the question whether audit reports should be published, as Act VII of 1921 had come into operation on the 27th March, 1921, papers relating to matters which had taken place at a time when the Bengal Government had no concern with the University should not have been published without the consent of the University, especially as the comments of the University upon the reports had not been received."

Will some member of the Bengal Council now demand an independent enquiry into the financial administration of the University ?

### The Force of Public Opinion in Ancient India

The Mahavagga was already in high repute in circa 350 B.C. In Mahavagga VI, 36, there is a story of a certain Malla of Kushinara, a friend of the venerable Ananda, the well known disciple and companion of the Lord Buddha. His name was Roja, and he was not a believer in the doctrine of the Eightfold Path. When the Blessed One came to Kushinara, the Mallas came out to welcome him. Roja also came, and Ananda congratulated him on this. Thereupon Roja replied :

"It is not I, O Ananda, who am much moved by the Buddha, or the Dhamma, or the Samgha. But by the clansmen a compact was made to the effect that whosoever went not forth to welcome the Blessed One should pay a fine of five hundred pieces. So that it was through fear of being fined by my clansmen that even I went forth to welcome the Blessed One." (S B E. S., vol. XVII, pp 135-36)

A man who had the moral courage to withstand the prevailing craze in favour of the new doctrine had yet to succumb to the force of public opinion to the extent of coming out to receive the promulgator of the doctrine.

The sequel shows that Ananda was deeply mortified at the Malla's reply, and told the Buddha that he was a very distinguished and well known person, and great would be the efficacy of the adherence given by well-known persons like him to the doctrine and discipline, and requested the Lord to convert Roja. The Buddha thereupon preached the doctrine so effectively to Roja that he was forthwith converted.

### Rabindranath Tagore at Berlin University

Reuter's telegram relating to Rabindranath Tagore's lecture at Berlin University, which was reproduced from London papers in India, may have created a wrong impression. What really happened may be narrated very briefly. The Rector of Berlin University telegraphed to the poet inviting him to deliver a lecture at 12 o'clock noon on the 2nd June. The University authorities issued tickets for the lecture. There was a great rush of people. Two hours before the lecture, the hall, corridor and staircase were packed. The street was crowded by thousands. The Rector received the poet, the crowd outside making way. For half an hour the poet could not reach the hall, which was on the first floor, on account of the crowd on the staircase. The Rector made repeated appeals to the crowd, but to no purpose. They could not go out on account of the people behind. The Rector then threatened that he would bring in the police. This was resented by the crowd. Dr. Hernack requested them to be quiet and they quietened down. A distinguished professor of medicine appealed to the crowd saying that it would bring shame on the Berlin University if the poet were not able to enter the hall. He said he could not ask the public to go away, as they were the guests and the professors and students were the hosts. He volunteered himself to go out and appealed to the students to walk out with him. With this, he raised his hand and walked out, and 500 or 600 students followed him. The poet promised to meet the students a second time.



Rabindranath Tagore at the Berlin University

the lecture was over some 14 or 15 thousand people were still standing in the street and they cheered him wildly as he passed out. There was not the slightest discourtesy to the poet throughout. The temporary disorder and inconvenience were caused by the great rush of people eager to have a look at him and if possible to hear him.

As an indication of the poet's popularity in Germany it may be stated that in the course of three weeks the first edition of fifty thousand copies of the German translation of *Sadhana* which is a religious not a political work was sold out while one lakh and fifty thousand copies of *The Home and the World* in German have been sold in the course of six months. *The Home and the World* is very popular in France also where several editions of it have been sold out in a short time.

#### Proposed Deputation to British Guiana

London July 21  
In the House of Commons at question time

Mr. Wood stated that the Government of India proposed if a suitable personnel were available to send a deputation to British Guiana in the autumn to consider the question of Indian immigration thither.—Reuter

There is no superfluity of labour in India. Why not try first to man the industries here properly by improving the terms and conditions of work? In some areas ten plantations are practically without labour. Why not calmly investigate and remove grievances? It is only a few regions of India which can be said to be densely populated. Why not promote emigration from the congested districts to the sparsely peopled tracts by proper means? Indians can never work abroad in foreign colonies with self respect and economic advantage so long as they are not fully enfranchised citizens in their own country.

#### Japanese Commercial Mission to India

Tokio July 22

A telegram says that a Japanese commercial Mission is leaving for India in September for a four months' visit to investigate the needs of the

Indian market and to expand Japanese commercial influence there. The mission will carry with them samples of Japanese manufactures, including cotton yarn and cloth.—"Reuter"

Those last words, "including cotton yarn and cloth", make us ashamed of ourselves. Japan does not grow cotton, India does. Yet we are expected to have more and more of our cotton yarn and cloth from Japan. There must be the most intensive and extensive practical swadeshim, if India is not to become an economic dependency of Japan, too, as it has for a long time been of some Western countries.

### Japanese and Indian Military Expenditure

According to the London correspondent of the Indian Daily News,

Sir C. Yate asked Mr. Montagu what is the military expenditure of Japan for the present year, and how that expenditure compares with the proposed expenditure in India of 62 crores, and what is the cost for defence per head of the respective populations, comparing the 77,000,000 of Japan with the 315,000,000 inhabitants of India.

Questions like these involve the suppression of many facts and the suggestion of many falsehoods, and, therefore, those who ask them are practically liars. We must consider first the incomes of Indians and of Japanese per head and then compare the military expenditures of India and Japan per head of population. It is well known that our average income is lower than that of the Japanese. We must consider that the Government of Japan has done a great deal for the industrial and commercial development of that country, compared with which the Government of India has done very little. On the contrary, there are abundant proofs in British-Indian history of the share which England has had in the destruction of Indian industries and commerce. We must consider the fact that Japan's military expenditure is for defending, strengthening, enriching and aggrandising herself, whereas India's military expenditure is for the strengthening Britain's hold on India, and for the aggrandising and enriching of Britain first. We must consider the fact that

every soldier and officer of Japan is a Japanese and that Japan manufactures her munitions of war and her war-vessels, etc., to the best of her capacity. Therefore, Japan's military expenditure does not represent a drain of her wealth to foreign shores. All this is far from being the case with India. We must consider the fact that Japanese officers and soldiers are paid lower salaries than British officers and soldiers in India. We must consider the fact that even the greatest of Japanese civil officers receive lower salaries than even district magistrates in India: the Japanese prime minister getting Rs. 1565 and ministers of State getting Rs. 1000 per mensem. These moderate salaries make greater educational and military expenditure than in India possible in Japan.

### The Press Acts

That the Press Committee have recommended the repeal of some repressive laws against the press is satisfactory so far as it goes. But it does not mean that the press is going to be free. Even after their repeal, sufficiently powerful engines of repression would remain in the hands of the executive, and the Committee's recommendations include some means of repression. The provision of appeals to the High Court is not a sufficient safeguard, as past experience shows. Resort to the High Court, moreover, is too expensive for the majority of newspapers.

Personally we do not see any objection to the name of the editor being printed on each issue of a newspaper. There is no question of modesty involved. Monthly magazines in India and some newspapers already follow this rule. We do not think that the editors of these newspapers and magazines are less modest and more vain than other journalists. In some cases, the printing of the name of the editor may be a disadvantage from the point of view of business. Some papers may lose their importance or prestige, if the names of their editors were widely known, for sometimes even able editors do not personally possess the reputation which their papers possess. There is no reason why they should be unnecessarily

inconvenienced in any way. In order that the names of the editors may be known to Government the devising of other means is quite easy. *The Catholic Herald of India* says —

The Committee recommend that in the case of all newspapers the name of the responsible editor should be clearly printed on the front sheet of the paper. We strongly object to this sort of denudation. Most of the authority many a paper wields is due to the fact that nobody knows the fool who edits it. In our own case it is enough for a recommendation to be urged in this journal to make it impossible for any Catholic authority to carry it out. This matters little as no journal ever acts on the authorities directly but by the insidious circuit of public opinion. But the humiliation of following an advice of the *Herald* will be ten times more degrading if it is ever made public where the advice comes from.

The other day Mr. Montagu said in the British House of Commons that the question of the registration of the names of editors and proprietors of newspapers was being considered. There can be no objection to such registration provided it has to be done not before a magistrate but before an ordinary registrar of joint stock companies or of deeds &c. Such registrars, officers and their clerks &c. are more courteous and less 'frightful' than magistrates and their underlings. Moreover as ordinary magistrates in their courts have to do with criminals by association of ideas one feels humiliated in having to appear before them. This will be understood when it is remembered that hitherto magistrates could demand security from publishers of newspapers on the implied assumption that they were criminals in embryo or *in posse*. If the memory of this personal insult to journalism is to die out magistrates must not have anything to do with printing presses and newspapers and men connected with them unless and until they are accused of any offence.

#### The Treatment of Indian and Irish Leaders by Representatives of Britain

Mr. M. K. Gandhi is the greatest leader of the largest section of the Indian

people. Lord Reading is the highest representative of Britain in India. How Lord Reading saw Mr. Gandhi only after the latter had been made to apply for an interview with his lordship, and how his lordship pompously referred in a public speech to his address not being unknown and informed the public with small minded banter how he had obliged Mr. Gandhi to apply for the interview and granted it, are facts fresh in the public memory.

Mr. De Valera as the President of the Irish Republic, is the greatest leader of the largest section of the people of Ireland. Mr. Lloyd George is the highest official representative of Britain in the United Kingdom. How has the latter treated the former? Did he remind him pompously that the Prime Minister's address was not unknown? Did he tell him to apply for an interview, which would be granted? Ah no. An altogether different procedure was adopted. Reuter telegraphed from London on June 25 —

Mr. Lloyd George has written to De Valera, President of the Irish Republic, saying that Government is anxious that the King's appeal for reconciliation should not be in vain. He therefore invites De Valera and any of his colleagues to whom safe conduct will be granted to come to London and explore to the utmost with the Premier of Northern Ireland, Sir James Craig, the possibility of settlement. The letter says that Government makes the invitation with the fervent desire to end the ruinous conflict which for centuries has embittered the relations between the people of England and Ireland who might live in neighbourly harmony and whose co-operation would mean so much not only to the Empire but to humanity.

Mark the courteous and conciliatory tone of Mr. Lloyd George's letter and contrast it with the strutting attitude and the irritating discourtesy conspicuous in Lord Reading's pompous and bantering reference to the Gandhi interview in his Chelmsford Club speech.

Mr. Lloyd George's action was hailed by the British Press as 'praiseworthy' disregard for personal dignity and forms commonly governing negotiations. In what Lord Reading did there was perceptible a child's anxiety to keep up his personal dignity.

What are all these differences due to?



One cause no doubt is that the Sinn Féiners' fight for freedom is not non violent, it makes use of physical force as well as the force of reason and sacrifice. Though the use of the word "truce" to denote the cessation of British and Irish hostilities shows that Britain was treating with Ireland on a footing of equality, we know that Great Britain has sufficient armed force to crush the armed Irish opposition by exterminating if need be the whole Sinn Féin population. Britishers are deterred from moving towards that extreme step, not by considerations of justice or humanity, but by the fear of what Irish Americans may be able to get America to do and by the fear of the opinion of Europe too and any possible consequent action. A struggle for freedom backed by physical force in the case of a people who have active sympathisers abroad, must be treated as a more serious thing by the British people whose entire history shows that they are themselves prone to the use of physical force when ever necessary, as well as to respect opponents who can successfully resort to it than the struggle for freedom backed only by soul force of a people who have not any appreciable number of active sympathisers abroad. Not that soul force is inferior to physical force. On the contrary, it is superior to it. The unique character of Mr Gandhi's personality and movement lies in the fact that he is convinced (and rightly convinced) that freedom can be won by soul force. India's mission as rightly conceived by Mr Gandhi is to show what can be achieved by soul force. Moreover, it is the only weapon whose use is suited to the circumstances of India. The use of physical force by Indians would not have brought them the amount of success and recognition by Britain achieved by Ireland, because of India's disarmed condition because of the Indians' present-day lower vitality and force of body and mind, and because of their greater mildness and humanity and lesser ferocity and cruelty.

If a 'soul force campaign' had been undertaken by a strongly organised and armed people in preference to an armed

revolt, the genuineness of their belief in its superiority to violence would have been at once admitted by all the world. But as we are a disarmed and disorganised people the world, including Britain, perhaps thinks that our recourse to non violence and avoidance of violence is a virtue of necessity. That may be a reason why Englishmen do not take us seriously.

The right moral for us to draw from the comparison between the treatment of India and Ireland that we have made is that we must be as earnest and brave and sacrificing in our non violent struggle for freedom as the Irish have been in their armed struggle and thereby impress Britain and all the world with the fact that we would be free or not be at all. It is only thus that we can be taken seriously. The secret of success does not lie in killing and getting killed but in the resolve to stake all for freedom and in carrying out the resolve without rest and without haste.

### The Congress Organisation in / Bengal.

'The manner of the election of members to the All India Congress Committee in Bengal,' writes *The Hindu*, "does not appear to have given satisfaction to many." That is true. Other complaints too, relating to the Congress organisation in Bengal have been heard. It is said that there is much cliquism, much manoeuvring, too much of autocracy. Strikes and similar sensational things appear to have almost engrossed the time and attention of many workers to the neglect of constructive efforts like the introduction of the *charkha* and the production of yarn and cloth.

### Bengal and the Tilak Swaraj Fund

*New India* writes:

There are doubts expressed even in Non Co operation quarters as to the genuineness of the statement that Bengal's contribution to the Tilak Swaraj Fund amounts to Rs 16 lakhs. Mr Padma Raj Jain a prominent Non Co operator writes to the *Swatantra* complaining that his repeated requests to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to publish a full and detailed statement of the amounts have been unceremoniously ignored. The two items from

Rs. 3 lakhs to Rs. 15 lakhs was too sudden to be accepted without concrete proofs

The big jump was from a minimum of three and a maximum 12 or 15 lakhs (we do not know the exact figure mentioned in public meetings in Calcutta on the 30th of June) to Rs. 25 lakhs, and that in the course of a night. *Young India* of July 6 wrote:

If Bengal had not leapt from three lacs to twenty-five, in spite of the herculean labors of Bombay's choicest workers India would have failed to raise the crore

This jump could have been accomplished only with the aid of one or more big donations, not by means of collecting small contributions; the period of twelve hours was too short for that. But no such big donations have been heard of. It is to be regretted that no effort has been made to clear up the mystery.

### The Tilak Swaraj Fund.

"India has honoured the late Lokamanya," writes *Young India*, "as she has not honoured any other son before," by contributing liberally and quickly to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. It must be added that the influence of Mr. Gandhi's personality and the rejuvenescence of national feeling have contributed greatly to produce this striking result. What the desire to please the bureaucracy and get some reward and the anxiety not to incur their wrath, could not do for Lord Curzon's Victoria Memorial Fund, has been accomplished without any such incentives.

In answer to the question, "how will the funds be administered," Mr. Gandhi says in *Young India*, "I have unhesitatingly replied, that the officers of the Provincial Congress Committee are responsible and tried men." As we do not know all these officers, we can only hope that Mr. Gandhi is accurately informed. He very properly says:

"If we do not account properly for every pie we receive and do not make a judicious use of the funds, we shall deserve to be blotted out of public life."

He adds: "We must keep accurate accounts, which even a child can see and understand."

Our accounts should be open for inspection even to a child. All hopes for assistance in the future, must naturally depend upon a proper administration of the present trust. We have got in our collections the priceless ornaments of sinless sisters. Many girls have given up all such jewellery as was so dear to them. I know the names of some but I do not care to publish them. They have not cared for publicity. I think them to be so holy, that I would not like to take their names in vain. They have given only for the joy of giving. One widowed sister gave me all the pearls and rubies that still remained with her. My heart wept within me, as I accepted them. Are we fit recipients of gifts like these? A widow never likes to part with her ornaments, she holds them with all the greater tenacity. I put this sister on her guard. I asked her to have them back, if there was the least hesitation or bashfulness in the act of giving. She did not withdraw, she was already fully determined on the step she took. What, if we use money thus obtained negligently, foolishly or dishonestly? We should not only be disappointed in our hope of Swaraj. We should become the ever hopeless denizens of the darkest hell. I trust that the purity of these sisters—their religious fervour—will keep us on the straight path, will not allow our honour to be tarnished, and will lead to the fulfilment of all our desires and aspirations.

In Mr. Gandhi's opinion the fund "ought not to be used outside the purpose of non-co-operation, nor generally for any purpose outside (1) the spread of the charkha and khadi, (2) the removal of untouchability, and hence the elevation of the suppressed classes, (3) the conduct of national schools, where spinning and weaving are a part of the training, and (4) the advance of the liquor prohibition campaign." These are all worthy objects.

The full meaning of "the removal of untouchability" should be explained in detail and its means and methods described.

### Boycott of Foreign cloth.

That the utmost efforts should be made in India to manufacture sufficient cotton yarn and cloth for Indian consumption is a truism; and the larger the quantity which can be manufactured by means of the charkha and the handloom the better. We would certainly prefer to use the latter kind of goods; but the pity is, such goods are difficult to procure, and are sometimes not at all available in the local market. Every householder has neither

the leisure nor the skill to manufacture his own cloth

Mr. Gandhi's advice to householders is,

(3) You should deliver to the Congress Committee all your foreign cloth for destruction or sending to Smyrna or elsewhere outside India

(4) If you have not the courage to give up your foreign cloth you may wear it out at home for all dirty work, but never go out in foreign cloth

Every one undoubtedly has and can exercise the freedom to destroy foreign clothing in his possession or to send it to Smyrna or elsewhere outside India for the relief of those who have no clothes. But we are not in favour of destruction. We should prefer the use of foreign cloth old or new, *in stock*, for the relief of distress. Nor do we see the necessity of sending it out of India. We understand and appreciate the good motive underlying this exhortation. We should certainly all feel happy and breathe more freely if we could feel that all India was clothed in home spun and home woven goods. But there is not enough of such goods to replace all the foreign stuff to be burnt or sent out of the country, nor can enough of such goods be manufactured all at once. Moreover, as the alternative of wearing out foreign cloth at home for all dirty work is allowed, we do not see why foreign cloth must, if not burnt be necessarily sent outside India. Famine-stricken regions in Khulna, Sindh, Kangra, Mirzapur, &c., are sorely in need of cloth. Why not send the foreign cloth meant for destruction or "expulsion" from India, to the ragged and almost naked people of famine stricken areas? —

There are countless persons who have only one piece of cloth each, and that foreign, to cover their shame without any spare cash to buy swadeshi cloth after destroying or giving away this piece of foreign cloth

Let us not aim at sudden and dramatic success for real and lasting success is not generally achieved suddenly and dramatically

The exhortation to wear out foreign cloth at home for all dirty work but never to go out in foreign cloth, is quite well

meant. But there are innumerable householders who do not possess and cannot afford to have different suits of clothing for indoor and outdoor use, and who do not do any "dirty work" at home. Let them wear out their foreign clothing by use at and outside their homes and then they should buy and use swadeshi goods. Giving up one's foreign cloth may not in every case be a question of courage, it may be a question of pecuniary competence.

It is reported that there have long been many non-co-operators who ostentatiously wear *khadi* outdoors but use foreign clothing and foreign articles of luxury at home. Mr. Gandhi's advice may have the effect of encouraging this hypocritical practice though he does not intend or may not have foreseen this result.

There is a Bengali proverb that cattle which have experienced and survived a conflagration get frightened at the appearance of reddish clouds. We in Bengal have had painful memories of the boycott of foreign cloth &c. From the burning of one's own foreign things many proceeded to persuade others to do the same. Persuasion led to reasoning and that to heated discussion. And heated discussion was succeeded by the use of force. And this gave a handle to the police and the executive to do their favorite work of repression, suppression, and persecution. There is no doubt a difference between then and now. Then there was no strenuous propaganda of non-violence under the inspiration and direction of so great a personality as that of Mr. Gandhi. We can only hope that this difference will save the present day boycott movement from striking against the rocks.

In the best of circumstances it should never be forgotten that boycott, though temporarily necessary, is only the negative aspect of the movement, that by itself it cannot clothe us, and that the more important phase is the constructive endeavour to supply our needs by intensive swadeshim.

Mr. Gandhi's Appeal to the Moderates.

Mr. Gandhi has done the right thing.

in asking all Moderates to co-operate with Non-co-operators in such movements as the anti-drunk campaign which have the support of all patriotic Indians irrespective of the party to which they may belong. He is justified in appealing also to Englishmen in India to help in such movements.

### "To Englishmen in India."

The letter in which he does this is addressed to Englishmen in India. He asks them to help us in the boycott of foreign cloth and in the anti-drunk campaign. Whether they will do so or how many of them will do so, cannot be predicted. But it should be comparatively easy for them to render help in the anti-drunk campaign.

The spirit of Mr Gandhi's letter is unexceptionable and admirable. He writes :—

One may detest the wickedness of a brother without hating him. Jesus denounced the wickedness of the Scribes and the Pharisees, but he did not hate them. He did not enunciate this law of love for the man and hate for the evil in him for himself only, but he taught the doctrine for universal practice. Indeed, I find it in all the scriptures of the world.

He then proceeds to say :

I have discovered, the man is superior to the system he propounds. And so I feel, that you as an individual are indefinitely better than the system you have evolved as a corporation. Each one of my countrymen in Amritsar on that fateful 10th of April was better than the crowd of which he was a member. He, as a man, would have declined to kill those innocent English bank managers. But at that crowd, many a man forgot himself. Hence it is, that an Englishman in office is different from an Englishman outside. Similarly an Englishman in India was different from an Englishman in England. Here in India, you belong to a system that is vile beyond description. It is possible, therefore, for me to condemn the system in the strongest terms, without considering you to be bad and without imputing bad motives to every Englishman. You are as much slaves of the system as we are. I want you, therefore, to reciprocate, and not impute to me motives which you cannot read in the written word. I give you the whole of my motive when I tell you that I am impatient to end or mend a system, which has made India subservient to a handful of you and which has made Englishmen feel secure only in the shadow of the forts and the guns that obtrude themselves on one's notice in

India. It is a degrading spectacle for you and for us. Our corporate life is based on mutual distrust and fear. This, you will admit, is unmanly. A system that is responsible for such a state of things, is necessarily, satanic. You should be able to live in India as an integral part of its people and not always as foreign exploiters. One thousand Indian lives against one English life is a doctrine of dark despair, and yet believe me, it was enunciated in 1919 by the highest of you in the land.

I almost feel tempted to invite you to join me in destroying a system that has dragged both you and us down. But I feel I cannot as yet do so. We have not shown ourselves earnest, self-sacrificing and self-restrained enough for that consummation.

But I do ask you to help us in the boycott of foreign cloth and in the anti-drunk campaign.

Mr. Gandhi observes that "we need not hate Englishmen, whilst we may hate the system they have established". This is quite true. Not only need we not hate Englishmen. There are many English authors and artists whom we love and honour for their teachings and inspiration and for the pure joy they give us. They have taught us to appreciate in imagination the charm and the power of many rivers, lakes, mountains and historical spots in Great Britain and Ireland. But our love and respect for such Englishmen do not stand in the way of our striving to win complete independence and of our criticising British misdeeds and wicked British systems and laws with due severity.

### The Indian Association.

There has been some undesirable cliquism, some manoeuvring, in connection with the recent elections in Calcutta of the office-bearers and committee of the Indian Association. We have not the inclination, the detailed knowledge and the space to comment in detail on such affairs. We will only say this that the non-election of Sir Surendranath Banerjea as secretary to the Association is a fortunate circumstance, and it would have been better still if he had not been elected its president. He is now a government servant, and the Indian Association is and has always been an association meant to represent and safeguard popular interests. On principle, no government servant should be a

member or office bearer of this Association. Therefore it is clearly very improper to elect a government servant to fill its highest office. Nobody denies that Sir Surendranath was one of its founders and has rendered it and the people signal service. But as he has chosen to accept government service he should so long as he is in that service forego the pleasure, the honour and the privilege of being the leader of the Association.

To the election of Mr Krishna Kumar Mitra to its secretaryship we should not have raised any objection but for Sir Surendranath's election to the presidency. Mr Mitra has a fine and long record of very creditable political, economic, philanthropic and spiritual service rendered to the country and he continues to keep up his activities in spite of his bodily infirmities and advancing years in a way which men much younger than himself may emulate with profit. He does not himself labour under any disqualification. But as his leader Sir Surendranath Banerjee has been elected president in spite of being a government servant and as Mr Mitra throughout his political career has been a very staunch and loyal supporter of his chief people may justly be afraid that his filling the secretary's office may turn out to be tantamount to Sir Surendranath himself doing so.

But though we have been constrained to indulge in this little bit of criticism we must unreservedly and unequivocally condemn the execrable taste the disregard for truth and the lack of a sense of proportion which Ajax has displayed in *The Bengalee* in flattering Sir Surendranath Banerjee and abusing Mr Krishna Kumar Mitra. We have never been disinclined to give Sir Surendranath his due but we must say as a piece of absurd exaggeration the following would be hard to beat.

There has been no more outstanding personality in Indian public life since the government of this country passed from the hands of the East India Company to those of the Crown than the newly-elected President of the Indian Association. Compared to Sir Surendranath Banerjee even Sir Pherozshah Mehta and

Go!hale were mere rushlights. Ananda Mohan Bose, W. C. Bonnerjee, Lal Mohan Ghose, Kashi Nath Tribhuk, Telang, M. G. Ranade, Krishnadas Aiyer and others were not good enough even to hold the candle before (sic) him. Sir Surendranath has made India a public life what it is to-day he has made India self-conscious of her nationhood.

We do not intend to soil our pages by quoting Ajax's abuse of Mr Mitra. But we must say a word or two on one point. He says that Mr Mitra has no place in the contemporary life of Young Bengal as a student of economic questions. May we ask when has Bengali journalism distinguished itself by a proper study and discussion of economic questions that Mr Mitra alone should be pilloried? Not possessed of much knowledge of economics ourselves we have often stood in need of light on economic questions but we confess we never found any in the editorial columns of *The Bengalee* as edited by the hero of 'Ajax'. Sir Surendranath Banerjee, and yet Ajax himself says that Sir Surendranath had adorned the office of Secretary of the Indian Association with such conspicuous ability. Let us take it for granted that Mr Mitra is as ignorant of economics as Sir Surendranath. The question is if Sir Surendranath could adorn the office in spite of his ignorance of economics why is such ignorance to be considered a fatal disqualification in the case of Mr Mitra?

There is another mystery which requires solution. In a letter which appeared in *The Bengalee* of the 28th July over the signature of Mr Sudhir Kumar Lahiri without a word of editorial comment it is written —

In this connection I may further state that whenever I had occasion to speak to him with reference to the proposal of having Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter as Secretary Prithwis Babu expressed himself in favour of it. Even on the evening of Monday the 18th July the day preceding that on which the annual meeting was held he asked me to accept Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter's candidature for the office of Secretary of the Indian Association.

Is Prithwis Babu 'Ajax'? If so why did he condemn the election of Mr Mitra after it had taken place though he was in

favour of it before the election? If "Ajax" is not Prithwis Babu who is he?

Northern Bengal  
Eastern Bengal

12.0 per cent  
7.2 per cent

### Malnutrition and Malaria

It is stated in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* that malnutrition is also believed to increase susceptibility to malaria. Though Sir Surendranath Banerjee is not an authority on medical and sanitary questions, yet as he is now a limb of the Government his recognition of poverty as a cause of malaria is entitled to much weight. In his able speech on the health problems of Bengal at the recent conference with newspaper editors occurs the following striking paragraph:

I have heard it said that the poverty of the people is largely responsible for the prevalence of malaria in Bengal. Remove their poverty and malaria will disappear. This view is not to be dismissed as unworthy of consideration or as having no element of truth in it. Obviously poverty by enfeebling the physical system reduces its power of resistance against the encroachments of disease. It is well known that plague is the poor man's disease and that the rich are more or less immune against its attacks. The connection between poverty and malarial fever is how ever closer and more intimate than what appears from this general interdependence between poverty and disease. The truth is that the conditions which produce malarial fever are the same conditions which produce poverty by causing agricultural deterioration. That is the outstanding lesson which the history of malarial fever wherever it has prevailed teaches with convincing force. Again we need not go beyond Bengal. It is left to stick to one's own native soil and draw illumination and guidance from our own local environments. I have already observed that East Bengal is the healthiest part of the Bengal province. It is also the wealthiest and the most prosperous and the causes which have contributed to its health have also contributed to its prosperity. Further there is this remarkable fact that the measure of the agricultural prosperity or decadence of the several divisions of Bengal is coincident with the place which they occupy in the roll of public health. East Bengal is the healthiest and the most prosperous next comes North Bengal. Central Bengal follows and last we have West Bengal, the most unhealthy and the least prosperous of the Bengal divisions. Here is a table of the shortage of food crops for the several divisions prepared from the Census of 1901 to 1911—

Western Bengal	21.6 per cent
Central Bengal	21.0 per cent

### The Visit of the Prince of Wales

If all that appeared in the Australian papers regarding the Prince of Wales during his tour in that sub continent, be true he is a courteous and capable young man with plenty of humour and ready wit evidently having sufficient talents to make his way in the world without the adventitious aid of royal blood in his veins. He has not done and cannot do any harm to India. On the contrary, it is to his interest to entertain, as most probably he does entertain friendly feelings towards India the only part of the British Empire in which old world loyalty still exists. There is no reason, therefore, why we should not under ordinary circumstances give him a sincere reception as a man. But there have been, for long grinding poverty, desolating disease, bitter discontent and a feeling of resentment and humiliation in India. At present it would be sheer hypocrisy on our part to put on a smiling face of welcome. The sincere thing to do would be to drape our houses in black on both sides of the route along which the Prince would pass. But that would be the height of discourtesy. But is no courtesy, no consideration for our feelings due to us? Do we exist to laugh and cry at others bidding? On the last occasion when the question of the Prince's visit was raised, Mr. Montagu characterised Mr. M. K. Gandhi's suggestion to have nothing to do with the officially engineered welcome to the Prince as disloyal. We do not think it was disloyal. It is certain the welcome to the Prince would be falsely represented, by the British Press and other British agencies all over the world, as a proof of India's happiness, prosperity and contentment under British rule at the present day. That would be a lie. Would the spreading of such a lie be 'loyal' to India? If Mr. Montagu and the bureaucracy will not call us loyal unless we put on gala dresses and wear a smiling face while our hearts are in mourning and full of anguish, we must refuse to play the

hypocrite at their bidding. Would His Majesty's ministers be acting loyally if they obtained for the Prince not a sincere welcome but a hypocritical show? Mr Gandhi was quite right in saying that the bureaucracy in India were sure to use the Prince's visit to tighten their hold on India, which is not wanted. What may be wanted is the strengthening of the Indo-British connection by the establishment of representative government in India. But the establishment of such government would be indefinitely delayed if the bureaucracy succeeded in producing (after the present disillusionment) and prolonging a false appearance of India's contentment under their rule. In any case whatever the result, we cannot and should not sacrifice our sincerity. It was said when the Prince was last rumoured to be about to visit India that the English people were deeply attached to their Royal House and any discourtesy to the Prince on our part would destroy the sympathy of the English people for India. Let us assume that, not a small number, but the bulk of the English people have this sympathy. Let us also refrain from estimating the value and power of this sympathy by the actual advantage we have derived from it so far. What we say is we are anxious to avoid all discourtesy to the Prince, and therefore let the English people send their prince to India only when we can sincerely and without loss of self-respect show him courtesy and hospitality. To play the hypocrite in order to retain English sympathy, would be to pay a morally ruinous price for it.

The Prince no doubt, is formally above politics, but when the bureaucracy are sure to make political capital out of his visit, practically, though it may be unintentionally he would be a tool in the hands of the official politicians whom Indians rightly consider their opponents. If the Prince had the power to do justice and help us to win Swaraj and if he came with that object it would be another matter. But he has not got that power, nor is he coming as the champion of freedom to fight in our ranks as a comrade in our struggle for liberty.

The object and character of the visit may be gathered from what the London correspondent of *The Pioneer* writes about it —

The visit which the Prince of Wales is to pay to India in November will be in accordance with the ceremonial visits paid by his father and grandfather when they were heirs to the throne and several of the State ceremonies which marked those visits will be again observed. Ceremonial social and sporting functions will predominate and the political aspect of the visit will be but little in evidence. It is accepted as certain here that what India wants is to see the Prince and to give him welcome as an expression of loyalty to the reigning house. In no other part of the Empire would it be possible to receive and entertain the heir to the throne with such magnificence and on so varied a scale as in India and no hospitality can be compared with that of the native Indian princes with whom the Prince will stay during his visit. The gorgeous ceremonial of India is certain to be displayed in all its glory for his education both by the Government of India and the rulers of native states by whom hospitable entertaining has been brought to a fine art. A durbar on a magnificent scale, a shikar in Nepal, a game and bird shoot in Bikaner State, a nautch and Christmas in Calcutta during the famous races are among the items on the suggested programme. The visit will certainly be an event to be remembered.

'What India wants'! Yes, it is not we the people of India who know what we want, but the far away correspondent of an organ of the exploiters and the bureaucracy knows what we want. 'In no other part of the Empire would it be possible to receive and entertain the heir to the throne with such magnificence and on so varied a scale as in India,' because here alone you can play ducks and drakes with the people's money, whilst chronic hunger pestilence raggedness and ignorance are rampant in the land. 'No hospitality can be compared with that of the native Indian princes' by whom hospitable entertaining has been brought to a fine art, because they are irresponsible to their people but tremblingly responsible to the bureaucracy.

Nero it has been said, fiddled while Rome was burning. What his occupation in hell is, is not known, but he ought to rejoice, as imitation is the sincerest form of admiration and his admirers have immortalised him by imitating his performance on various occasions.

## "The Open Window"

Prison walls may inspire great thoughts and bring illumination to many a sensitive spirit and from this point of view incarceration is not without its charms. Ample light is thrown on this phase of prison life by Gilbert Thomas in an article contributed to *The Centurion*.

The article is a review of *The Open Window* which is humorously described as the 'most widely circulated journal in Maidstone Prison', published by about a dozen conscientious objectors serving long terms of hard labour in Maidstone gaol. The contributions are as varied as they are interesting. They sometimes dwell on the passing ironies and humours of prison life but

For the most part they draw their inspiration from themes as far removed as possible from the clanging of iron doors, the gruff shouts of warders and the eternal smell of canvas. The beauties of nature, the consolations of religion and philosophy, the joys of literature and art, happy memories and happier hopes, these are the things upon which through their *Open Windows* the writers most constantly choose to look out.

The following lines contain the key to the whole of great literature as well as its inspiration—

Deprived of all ordinary physical comforts robbed of all conversation with our fellow men shut off in a word from all outward sources of happiness we were thrown back upon the inward resources of the spirit. Our bodies were incarcerated and so we opened the window of the soul. There were no other windows to open.

It would probably be worth while going to gaol for a time just for the joy of coming out of it which is thus described by the writer—

The sheer physical thrill of emerging from silence and blank walls into a world of talking men and women of rollicking children of wide blue skies and resplendent red motor busses is one of those things which words cannot describe. I shall never forget for instance my impression of the first fruiterer's shop which I passed on my discharge from Wormwood Scrubs. With its bananas oranges and apples gleaming in the morning sun its riot of colour seemed almost dazzling—I was a child again and here was I a ryland. And when I reached Custon Station—dear fossil of Custon with its bustling crowds its Doric arch and on it be-

statued hall—I felt like taking the shoes from off my feet for was not this the very Temple of Liberty itself?

But this mere physical sense of joy disappeared and the writer was overpowered with the spirit of disappointment with his surroundings. The change is thus accounted for—

In prison one was forced to embrace simplicity. It was it is true, an exaggerated and dangerous form of simplicity—one which endured too long has driven many a man mad. But it was simplicity and for some of us who were suffering not for our sins but our beliefs it meant as I have said an opening of the window of the soul—a clearing and quickening of the mind and a more sensitive awakening to the joys of the Kingdom of Heaven. We learnt that plain living (and there could be no two opinions about its plainness) does naturally induce high thinking, and we came to realize how woefully the imagination and the spirit of man are clogged and corroded by the mad hurry and strain the hollow pleasures and ambitions, the false value of life that characterize our complex and artificial civilization. I do not suggest that we passed our days in one uninterrupted round of religious rapture. Holy monks in their cloisters may do that but they would certainly not do it in an English prison. But for many of us those days of silence and simplicity did bring occasional hours of deep spiritual joy and perception out of the habitual gloom that enshrouded body and mind there burst now and then gleams of sunlight brighter than any we had known before and if a brief form of simplicity could thus give times of such freedom to the soul what potentialities of happiness must a rational form of simplicity hold!

London which once was a great and glorious pageant now presented a different view.

I see it not so much as a fascinating kaleidoscope as a great and complicated machine that is grinding grinding grinding the bodies and souls of the people who made it but cannot now control it. And as he spoke I gazed down upon the moving masses of people the scurrying motors the long lines of trams the palatial hotels here the sordid warehouses there and in fancy I looked over West London with its empty splendour and over all East London with its mile on mile of desolation, intersected by hundreds of dismal trams each groaning beneath its burden of tired humanity. No it was no longer just a pageant. I too felt that I was in the grip of some horrible machine that was whirling round and round in a vicious circle grinding grinding grinding, soith and beauty hope and happiness.



And I knew now why I was not so contented with the world as I had been before entering prison I had been into the silence and caught dimly enough perhaps a vision of something better I had touched the fringe of the garment of simplicity

Thus the plea for a simple life finds support from an unexpected quarter But what is still more noteworthy is the reviewer's condemnation of modern civilization, which, he says is doomed He concludes with the following optimistic note

But dissatisfaction with the present may after all be the truest kind of optimism Let us then be of good cheer Our present civilization is doomed and in that lies a great hope Our civilization is doomed either way If people continue not to think it will fall to pieces of its own rottenness If they do awake and think they will themselves rise up and destroy it Civilizations and Empires perish but the simple hopes the simple loves the simple joys of life he garnered where no material decay or disaster can reach them The Kingdom of Heaven is within you And though new Empires rise and fall and still more crazy civilizations insult the light of day the time must surely come when man tired of groping outwards for happiness shall turn inwards at length and find it where it has been awaiting him all through the ages

### Famine in Khulna

There has been famine in China for some time past A terrible outbreak of famine and pestilence is reported from Russia But our own miseries have so devitalized depressed and dehumanised us that these tales of distress abroad leave us almost unmoved

There is famine in Kangra and Mirzapur districts of which we are not in possession of any details There is famine in some tracts of Sindh of which we do not know the particulars There is famine in Khulna on which a detailed and accurate report in Bengali has been placed at our disposal It was drawn up by Mr Prabhas Chandra Chatterjee chairman of the Khulna Local Board, after touring in the affected tracts The account which he has given is harrowing and heart rending He is careful to note down the villages which are not affected as well as to say which are affected and to what extent We have no space to translate even selected passages from the report We will therefore, merely

give some indications of its contents It gives the names and residence of the persons who have died of starvation It mentions definitely the places where some women were found stark naked and a much larger number in such rags that they could not receive therein the doles of rice given them so full of holes were the rags It mentions definitely where persons were found resembling skeletons It mentions the places where people were living on the leaves of plants growing wild It gives the names and residence of women deserted or told to go away by their husbands and of women who have deserted their husbands because they could not support them It gives details of children being sold by their parents because they cannot feed them There are many other facts of a similar character

Money rice and clean clothes (new or old) should be sent to Sir P C Ray, 92 Upper Circular Road Calcutta or to Babu Harakanta Bose 211 Cornwallis Street Calcutta

We are glad to learn from a report in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* that at a meeting of the City College students presided over by Sir P C Ray, Prof S C Chatterjee asked the students to take a vow that they would try their utmost in every possible way to raise funds for the Khulna famine stricken people He wanted two students from each section to collect subscriptions from the college students and a hundred volunteers to make a house to house collection of rice cloth or money The students responded to his call and promised to do whatever was required of them The students of other colleges and schools should also render help in the same way

### The Clamour of the Imperial Services

The Indian Civil Servants and other Imperial, have grown impecunious, because of the increments to their fat salaries already given They are clamouring for fresh additions to their incomes That is what we gather from some questions and answers in the British House of Commons. It seems these hard times have made it impossible for the Imperials to live within their means and at the same time have made the Indian treasury overflow with gold Lest this overflow should turn into a destructive flood and sweep away the palaces of

the Indian peasantry and landless labourers in its irresistible course these philanthropic public servants desire to cut channels and divert some of the overflowing gold into their own coffers. This philanthropy will be appreciated in proper quarters but cynics will call it legalised plunder.

### Proclamation of an Indian Republic

It is within the bounds of possibility that in some future year India will be a republic. But we do not understand what good purpose is served by declaring that if the British Government does not act in a particular way, within a fixed period India will be proclaimed a republic. As words are not always deeds and fancies facts such assertions are liable to be considered as mere bluff.

### Is there Semi-slavery in Assam still?

Our attention has been drawn by Mr. Kshitish Chandra Neogy M.A., to the existence of a memorandum of agreement relating to employment of labourers in force in most of the tea gardens affiliated to the Assam and Surma Valley branches of the Indian Tea Association and referred to with approval at pages 13 and 160 of the report of the Indian Tea Association for the year 1919. He has informed us that the labour rules enforced by the said agreement in the tea estates in the Brahmaputra and the Surma Valleys, are more stringent than the labour rules prevailing anywhere else. It is said that the agreement has the practical effect of—(a) prolonging the maximum period of contract contemplated in the Workman's Breach of Contract Act XII of 1920 (b) prohibiting employment of wife or husband and children of a labourer elsewhere than in the garden into which such labourer was originally imported for employment (c) making it penal to give even temporary shelter or food in any circumstances whatsoever to any labourer who might have left the garden in which he was employed, and (d) generally making it difficult if not impossible for any labourer to leave a garden even though he might not be under any legal obligation to continue therein.

We learn that the following are among the clauses of the said agreement—

1 All coolies living within the area of a garden grant or premises are to be considered

coolies of such garden whether regularly employed or not, but coolies living in the vicinity of a garden and outside its boundaries shall not be considered as coolies of such garden unless under agreement to or regularly employed by the garden.

2 No subscriber to these rules shall employ directly or indirectly or harbour or detain any coolie (whether under contract or not) who has been imported by another garden within the period of 3 years after importation, it being understood however, that no claim under this rule shall be made or entertained unless duly formulated within two calendar years after the coolie has left the importing garden.

3 No subscriber to these rules shall employ directly or indirectly or harbour or detain any coolie other than mentioned in the Rule 2 who may be under an *Adli* agreement in another garden, as shown by such garden's Cash and Agreement Books it being understood however, that no claim under this rule shall be made or entertained unless duly formulated within two calendar years after the coolie has left the garden to which he was under contract.

4 No subscriber to these rules shall employ directly or indirectly or harbour or detain a coolie who is a defaulter to another garden, it being understood however, that no claim under this rule shall be made or entertained unless duly formulated within two calendar years after such coolie has defaulted.

5 No subscriber to these rules shall employ directly or indirectly or harbour or detain any coolie who has been imported bona fide by him and has been employed as a coolie or as a recruiter but who it is proved, was either originally imported, or employed under an *Adli* agreement, or employed as a free coolie, by another garden.

Should any coolie be employed, harboured or detained under the above circumstances no proceedings shall be taken under Rules 2, 3 and 4 but the coolie and his or her wife, husband, child or children shall be claimable under this rule, on tender of the recruiting expenses as provided hereunder in Rules.

No claim shall lie in any case where such coolie has been employed as a recruiter in respect of coolies so recruited other than the wife or husband child or children, of the recruiting coolie as the case may be.

No claim shall lie in any case under this rule unless made within two years from the time such coolie left the claiming garden.

Our attention has also been drawn to the following statement of the Chairman of the Indian Tea Association as published in the report of the Association for 1919—

'We have not considered any applications for

membership until we knew that the applicants had signed the local labour rules.

The attention of the public is invited to a letter dated the 28th January 1920, from the Government of Bengal to the Chairman Surma Valley Branch of the Indian Tea Association reproduced on page 86 of the report of the Association for 1919, in which it is stated that Government are inviting the Hill Tipperah Durbar to encourage the gardens in the State to join the Indian Tea Association and subscribe to the Labour Rules promulgated by them. In considering the object and effect of that letter we should bear in mind that in letter No 12787P dated Calcutta the 26th November 1920 from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Commissioner of the Chittagong Division the former made the following observations —

I am to request you to arrange for a meeting with the Political Agent and Durbar and representatives of the Tipperah and South Sylhet Tea Gardens and it might be possible to arrange for a representative of the Indian Tea Association to be present. At this meeting you should endeavour to get all points settled so that the Tipperah Association can be started. The labour rules brought into force at once will impress upon the Durbar the responsibility in the interests of the State of the tea industry in the State of insuring the Hill Tipperah gardens at once joining the Association and subscribing to the labour rules.

It is evident from the above that the Assam tea planters have leagued themselves to keep up a kind of system of indentured labour, which is a sort of slavery. Not content with their achievement in Assam they have secured the unholy alliance of the Bengal Government to bring pressure to bear on the Tipperah State to join them.

It is said that there is another way in which Government helps the planters. It would therefore be quite legitimate to ask —

(a) What concessions in the coaching rates and other special facilities, if any are allowed by the different Railway and inland steam vessels companies for the transport of labour to the tea gardens in Assam and Bengal respectively?

(b) Are the Government in a position to estimate the approximate saving in money to the tea trade in Bengal and Assam respectively on account of these concessions and facilities during the last five years?

(c) Are such concessions and facilities granted to the labourers while coming back from the gardens? If so to what extent and on what conditions? If not why not? Why help the rich and not the poor also?

### Morocco in Revolt

The people of Morocco have rebelled against their Spanish masters. It would be a blessing for themselves and humanity if they could become independent and establish a constitutional government.

### Inter-Varsity Athletics

Harvard and Yale Victorious

London July 24

Harvard and Yale beat Oxford and Cambridge to-day in the Inter-National Varsity Athletic Meeting by 8 events to 2. The Americans won the 100 yards throwing the hammers hurdles putting the shot high jump two miles half mile and long jump while the Englishmen won the quarter mile and mile (Ourdin Harvard's negro star sprinter won a neck to neck race in the 100 yards in 10.25 seconds. Ourdin also won the long jump clearing 26 feet 3 inches which constitutes a new world's record — Reuter.

Some importance attaches to this cable. Every white is not superior to every black in every respect. That may seem a truism but white men often forget it. Goldsmith's lord of humankind are not lords in every respect. America which lynches the negro is indebted to a negro among others for her athletic triumph.

### Indians in Kenya Colony.

In July a telegram was received from Nairobi saying that acute feeling against the Indian settlers was displayed at a meeting of Europeans from throughout the Kenya Colony. A resolution protesting against the grant of further concessions and appealing to Mr. Charchill to maintain the policy of White Kenya was passed at the meeting.

Another telegram said that at a very large mass meeting of Indians a resolution expressed deep regret and indignation at the hostility of the whites against Indians and emphatically protested against the attempt to assign to British Indians a status inferior to any other class of His Majesty's subjects. A firm determination to resent any devaluation from that principle by every constitutional means was also recorded. The next telegram from Reuter, requires to be quoted verbatim.

Nairobi July 17. The Natives have passed a resolution that the presence of the Indians in Kenya is not prejudicial to the advancement of the Natives and also stating that Indians are the best friends of the Natives next to the Missionaries. The Missionaries in the course of an interview declared however, that these resolutions were inspired and by no means represent the Native standpoint.

The resolution says three things (1) that the presence of the Indians in Kenya is not prejudicial to the advancement of the Africans (2) that the Missionaries are the best friends of the Africans and (3) their next best friends are the Indians. Did the missionaries interviewed contradict all the three assertions? Or did they contradict only (1) and (3)? Did they think that the Natives told the lies No (1) and (3) under 'inspiration' and uttered the truth No (2) uninspired? If 'friendship' were a profession like law, medicine, etc. the existence of professional jealousy might be suspected. But is it a profession? Genuine friendship is not

### Independent Afghanistan

Miss Alice Bird's article on Afghanistan in our last issue gives much information regarding the working of the progressive spirit in that country. *The Pioneer* says that His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan met the officials and chiefs on the occasion of 'Id ul fitr and informed them that he had decided that the existing system of administering justice without any definitely laid down code of procedure should be discontinued. A code based on the Shariat had been prepared under his orders and direction and it was to come into force from that date. This would protect all his subjects against unlawful punishments and it meant henceforth that all Afghans were free and independent.

An Associated Press message states that the Afghan newspapers the number of which is being increased to six by the starting of a journal called the 'Tulahin Afghan' in Kandahar testify to the considerable administrative reforms which the Amir is introducing in his country.

'To those who are acquainted with Afghan politics of but a few years ago the comprehensive weather and crop reports appearing over the signature of the Minister of Agriculture and the announcement of rules for the sale of crown lands make strange reading.'

The Kabul newspapers announce the forthcoming celebrations on a grand scale of Afghan

stran's Independence Day. The main festivities commence at Paghman on August 6th and will last for some ten days. The programme includes an arts and crafts exhibition an agricultural show horse racing, camel and elephant races sports and a military display. The occasion is to be celebrated similarly, but on a minor scale in all provincial capitals. Paghman it is said, is being developed in a lavish manner as a hill station and summer capital for Kabul, from which it is some 35 miles distant.

### Child Welfare in Bombay Mills.

'On the subject of legislation restricting the employment of women before and after child birth, the Bombay Mill Owners Committee think that it should be deferred until a permanent industrial population is created.'

Why? Are the children and their mothers among a 'floating industrial population less worthy of care than among "a permanent industrial population"?

### The Franchise for Women

The following inimitable paragraph written by a confirmed celibate, is from the *Catholic Herald of India* —

At a public meeting of ladies held at Poona to claim the franchise for women all the speakers vehemently protested against the denial of the franchise to women, who, they said were thereby placed on a level with 'idiotesses and idiots'. We do not know about that, but one thing sure is that we men would be 'idiotesses and idiots' if we refused that vote. In England women have never been so quick as to see the time they got the vote and their own representative in the House of Commons. They are thus absolutely reduced to silence and impotence, and are unable to move. Formerly women could act on their own initiative, they were very vocal and obstreperous in their efforts and took it over the weaker sex of man with a high hand. But the vote has done them. They can only speak through their representative in the House, and there men take good care that she says as little as possible.

We men in India claim the same emancipation as our cousins in England for the tyranny of woman becomes absolutely unbearable. As sweetheart wife, and mother she has as men in the hollow of her hand. Give her the vote, and her tyranny will be at an end.

### Nanak's Hold Upon the People

Mahatma Gandhi has, in recent months referred more than once to Nanak's hold upon the people. In *Young India* of April 13 referring to two modern Indians, he observed that they had no hold upon the people compared with Chaitanya Sankar,

Kabir and Nanak' Again, in *Young India* of April 27, it is said with reference to these two Indians that their effect on the masses is not so permanent and far reaching as that of the others more fortunately born (viz. Nanak &c.) We ought to have some definite idea of this hold effect or influence. We have not the least doubt that Nanak's teachings are of so lofty and salutary a character that his influence based on them deserves to be far more widespread than it has yet become. That the number of his followers is not far larger than it is is not his fault nor that of his teachings. But it must be mournfully observed that the mass of the people of India nay even of the Panjab have not accepted him as their spiritual leader. So far as the vast majority of Indians are concerned the hold of his teachings on them is non-existent. For what are the facts? The number of persons professing the Sikh religion is 3,01,466 according to the Census of 1911, out of the 300,000,000 of the entire Indian population. It should also be borne in mind that all professing Sikhs do not follow the Pure Theism of Nanak. It is no doubt true that the teachings of Guru Nanak have profoundly affected Hindu thought and life in the Panjab. Of the population of the Panjab (2,97,756) roughly one half is Mahomedan, three eighths Hindu and one eighth Sikh. Even if we took all Panjab's Hindus to be followers of the Guru the Sikhs would number only 12 millions out of the 300 millions of Indians. But if Indians in general had accepted his teachings, the majority of the people of India would have become Sikhs—or at any rate some kind of non-idolatrous monotheists which would have been good for India. The very character of his teachings which constitute pure monotheism has stood in the way of their comprehension and acceptance by the mass of the people. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*

He taught that there was one God but that God was neither Allah nor Ram but simply God, neither the special God of the Mahomedan nor of the Hindu but the God of the Universe of all mankind and of all religions. Starting from the unity of God Nanak and his successors rejected the idols and incarnations of the Hindus and on the ground of the equality of all men rejected also the system of caste. The doctrines of Sikhism as set forth in the *Grantha* are that it prohibits idolatry

hypocrisy class exclusiveness the concrementation of widows the immurement of women the use of wine and other intoxicants tobacco-smoking infanticide slander and pilgrimages to the sacred rivers and tanks of the Hindus "

### "Literary Training" and "Moral Height"

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in *Young India* June 1, 1921

My experience has proved to my satisfaction that literary training by itself adds not an inch to one's moral height and that character building is independent of literary training

As we are not sure what exactly is meant here by 'literary training' we shall refrain from discussing the two observations made above. We shall only make a few statements suggested by them. A man may be a person of good character even if he be quite illiterate. A man may be a scoundrel even though possessed of great literary and scientific attainments. There have actually been such men of good character and such scoundrels. These are facts. Another fact is that the number of persons of lofty character and high moral stature found in literate, educated, or cultured countries or communities has been larger according to history than the number of such persons found in illiterate, uneducated, or uncultured countries or communities. One more fact which can be verified from human history and geography is that 'education'—culture, imparting of knowledge, has generally or at least in the majority of instances depended on literacy, and that the widest spread of knowledge and culture and its greatest and highest attainment have been associated with literacy. There have been some great men who were or were reputed to be illiterate or almost illiterate. But their preceptors, advisers and prominent companions were mostly literate and the influences which went to the making and development of their personality came in great part at least from the literate, educated or cultured section of the community.

### Repression

"Stone walls do not a prison make  
Nor iron bars a cage,  
Mind's innocent and quiet take  
That for a hermitage."

These familiar lines represent the spirit of

the faith which inspires the innocent men violent non-cooperators who are being flung into jail in such large numbers all over the country. It is as sure as day follows night that the will of the people will prevail to the utter discomfiture of the bureaucracy.

### Lectures on Art in Calcutta University

Mr Abanindranath Tagore has been asked to deliver a course of lectures on Art under the auspices of the Calcutta University. This wise step has been taken none too soon. There is among us a lamentable absence of interest in true Art and a still greater lack of true understanding and appreciation of what it is. If Mr Tagore's lectures arouse some interest in Art that may lead in time to its wider pursuit and study among our young ladies and young men consequent upon the University making arrangements for its teaching.

### The Criminal Investigation Department

In February last, Sir J. G. Cumming read a paper entitled "Crime and Police in India" at a meeting of the East India Association in London. In course of discussing it Dr Pollen wrote:

I think the Criminal Investigation Department in a land like India was a huge mistake. In Bombay we put down Thuggism without it (and Dacoity also on a large scale). Minute searching for crime begets crime and a permanent strife engendered in such a task is a curse to any community. The best policeman is the policeman who knows how and when to look the other way. But I fear we have not hitherto had many best policemen in India.

### Dealing with "Riotous Mobs"

Dr Pollen's advice as to how to deal with riotous mobs is wise and humorous.

In dealing with riotous mobs in India I have often thought one should be careful to use the right elements and in dispersing them water has often been found more effective than fire. A turbulent mob has sometimes been converted thereby into a laughing crowd. Police should be taught to use the hose on occasions.

### Women Police

*The Indian Witness* writes:—

In many parts of the world women are employed as police matrons or commissioners. New York City now has a police station exclu-

sively for women, where all cases of women and girls will receive proper care.

This reminds us that in discussing Sir J. G. Cumming's paper on crime and police in India Miss Scatcherd wondered whether there was any scope in India for the department of women police in view of the admitted failure of the men to deal with the wild women of the criminal tribes. We confess we know nothing about the wild women of the criminal tribes and regret our ignorance. But women police to deal with ordinary women accused and undertrial women prisoners would be an immense improvement on the present arrangements. We would support the change provided it be not made an excuse for exploiting Indian revenues for the benefit of British or other foreign women.

### Local Police Recruitment

In course of the discussion of Sir J. G. Cumming's aforesaid paper Mr H. E. A. Cotton said that he would like to have heard whether local recruitment had taken the place of recruitment from outside provinces in Behgal in the constitution of the lower ranks of the police. Lord Carmichael said:

Unless they gave the policeman a living wage, they could not expect any more than they could in this country to have police who would do their duty and whom the people would respect. He agreed that it was an unfortunate thing to have a policeman who did not belong to the country itself. What could they expect if they had constables in the village who did not understand the language of the people and whom the people could not talk to in their own language? It was ridiculous to imagine they could have a perfect police force under such a system. They could not expect to get suitable men if they did not pay the current rate of wages. If they paid low wages in a part where the wages were high they could not expect to get the men they would like to have got. He would like to mention one instance bearing on the question of pay and that was in connection with his visits to a certain hospital in which there were often a large number of police suffering from illness. He remembered asking the doctor there why it was and he replied that if he wanted to know the truth the fact was that those men were suffering from starvation simply and solely they did not get enough to eat. That ought not to be the case. It was impossible for men of their size and weight to keep in good health on the wages they received still less to live and send away money to their dependants therefore often they were driven to increase their earnings in other ways.

That the people are oppressed is a fact, and that most of the oppression is the work of the lower police is also a fact. In Bengal this oppression is also due in part to the fact that the lower ranks of the police are recruited from outside the province. Thus Bengal is practically a doubly subject country—subject first to Britain and secondly to constables and head constables from Bihar and U P. Lord Carmichael pleaded in effect partly against this second kind of subjection. It can be gradually ended if the pay of the lower police be substantially increased and strenuous efforts be made for local recruitment.

### Rumoured Removal of Provincial Capital from Allahabad

U P men suspect and with reason that the construction of some sort of a Council chamber in Lucknow would lead indirectly to the gradual removal of the provincial capital there from Allahabad for where the Council is the seat of the Government ought to be as the Council is meant to control, criticise and in a sense direct the whole administration. We are opposed to this sort of change. If Lucknow had hitherto been the capital instead of Allahabad we would have opposed any proposal of removing the capital from Lucknow to Allahabad. Such removal must cost a mint of money and in poverty stricken, pestilence-ridden and woefully illiterate Agra and Oudh there is much better use for money than in such useless removal. No sound reasons can be given for the change. Lucknow is more central. But can that be the most important consideration? And taking the capitals of all countries and Empires in the world and of all provinces of India can it be said that all or most of them are more central than other towns? Moreover the U P are not isolated regions. In considering centrality other provinces should be taken into account. Then the greater accessibility and the superior strategic position of Allahabad would be at once apparent. At Lucknow life is certainly more enjoyable for Europeans than at Allahabad. But the people do not exist for the pleasure of the Europeans. Allahabad is already a greater centre of culture than Lucknow. People have not only built there substantial houses of their own but contributed to the upbuilding of public institutions on the express assurance given

by Government decades ago that the capital would not be removed from the place. Every assurance ought not to be a scrap of paper. Lucknow is no doubt a bigger town than Allahabad but there is nothing in the natural fitness of things that the biggest town should be the capital. Allahabad is a healthy place and there is room for expansion in different directions. It is also a railway centre. Its religious and historical importance is great. But why multiply arguments? The burden of proof lies on those who want the removal. Let them show wherein Allahabad has failed. Let them prove that it is legally competent for a provincial government and council to remove a capital. Let the public have in full the reasons on which the proposed change is advocated.

### An Anecdote

Major Young's achievement in Sealcote in striking an Indian lady passenger and ejecting her and her male companions from a 2nd class railway compartment which he wanted to occupy and all the rest of the shameful story—shameful particularly to the Indian men concerned reminds the Bengali daily *Hindustan* of what the late Maharaja Nripendra Narayan Bhup of Cooch Behar once did. He was once travelling from Calcutta in simple clothes in a first class unreserved compartment. At Rangpur the then Collector of the district, a European got in and told him to get down and go to another compartment. Nripendra Narayan refused. The collector said "If you don't get out I will throw you out of the window." There upon the Maharaja quietly lifted him up and threw him out of the window.

Nripendra Narayan, Hasan Imams, and the like are more sportsmanlike than scribbling journalists, whining correspondents and humble petitioners in law courts for redress. It is shameful to read, write and hear of assaults on Indians without there being any Indian to apply the remedy on the spot. The trains and stations where such assaults take place are full of Indian men. But most often there are no men among them. Hence the assaults continue.

### Indians in the I M S

According to Lieut.-Col Crawford only 89 Indians entered the I M S from 1855 to 1910. During the last few years 17.6 per cent. of the successful men have been Indians. At from 5 to 6 per cent of it.

strength of the service consist of Indians. Recently the British Medical Council have decided that medical graduates of Indian universities cannot be registered in the United Kingdom. This will shut out Indian graduates from competing for the I M S as candidates must possess under the medical acts in force at the time of their appointment a qualification registrable in Great Britain and Ireland. With the improvement of our medical colleges and the progress made by our medical men this kind of cowardice, meanness and injustice was only to be expected.

### Expansion and Improvement of Primary Education in Bengal

We have not yet been able to go through the elaborate Report of Mr. Evan C. Biss on the expansion and improvement of primary education in Bengal. But we find that the question of the primary education of girls was specifically omitted from the scope of the enquiry. That both boys and girls should be educated at the public expense is a truism. But if any dictator asked us to choose between the two we would unhesitatingly vote for the girls. Because girls have been unjustly treated in this respect from time immemorial and therefore in common justice they should have preference now. Also because their education makes more for a country's progress in the long run than the education of boys alone. An educated mother will not tolerate illiteracy in her sons and daughters; an educated sister will do her best to get her brothers educated; an educated woman will not choose an illiterate husband or if married to one may shame him into educating himself. On the other hand many an educated father tolerates illiteracy in his daughters; many educated husbands marry and prefer illiterate wives and educated brothers there are in plenty who are not ashamed to have illiterate sisters.

King George V speaking at Calcutta on January 6, 1912, wanted that there should be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens. Had he or has he no use for *not only* women citizens? He wished that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in its train a higher level of thought of comfort and of health.

This number contains 140 Pages

This wish cannot be fulfilled unless girls and women are educated.

### The Moral Value of the Spinning Wheel

Among our selections from Indian Periodicals the reader will find some extracts (page 224) from an article by Mr. C. F. Andrews, dwelling on the moral harm done to village folk by their resort to towns and industrial centres. The spinning wheel can enable them to eke out their incomes while remaining at home with the expenditure of very small capital and thus escape the moral contamination of towns and industrial centres.

### Professors' Salaries in Modern British Universities

Among our selections from Foreign Periodicals (page 236) will be found an extract mentioning the salaries of professors in modern British universities. Bearing in mind the difference in the cost of living in Britain and India the reader may compare these salaries with those paid in the Dacca and Lucknow universities in the Calcutta University to a few pluralists and to I. C. S. men in general.

### Emigrants from Fiji, &c

On pages 223-4 will be found an appeal for help for distressed emigrants returned from Fiji &c. The need is very urgent.

### The Irish Situation

It is cheering to read in the *Catholic Herald* of India that

Though the Irish conference has collapsed there are reasons to think that the British Government has definitely abandoned frightfulness as a normal method for governing Ireland. A secret order addressed to the O. C. units of the British 18th Infantry Brigade and attached to a letter signed H. O. Hutchinson, Lieut. Col. General Staff 6th Division was recently intercepted by the I. R. A. and published in full. The order frankly acknowledges the defeat of military terror and instructs the units to adopt a friendly attitude towards the inhabitants first because it is impossible to supply sufficient troops (paragraph 1) and second because it is highly desirable on political grounds to endeavour to improve relations with the inhabitants (paragraph 16).

### ERRATA

The Modern Review July 1921,  
Page 1 Column 2 line 16 for "schools read scholars"  
Page 67 Column 2 Line 29 Read and not Sankara for and Sankara





CALL OF THE WOODS

By the courtesy of the art st Mr Charuchandra Roy

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## LAST AND WEST

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(I)

IT is not always a profound interest in man that carries travellers nowadays to distant lands. More often it is the facility for rapid movement. For lack of time and for the sake of convenience we generalise and crush human facts flat in the packages inside our steel trunks that hold our traveller's reports.

Our knowledge of our own countrymen and our feelings about them have slowly and unconsciously grown out of innumerable facts which are full of contradictions and subject to incessant change. They have the elusive mystery and fluidity of life. We cannot define to ourselves what we are as a whole because we know too much because our knowledge is more than knowledge. It is an immediate consciousness of personality any evaluation of which carries some emotion joy or sorrow shame or exaltation. But in a foreign land we try to find our compensation for the meagreness of our data by the compactness of the generalisation which our imperfect sympathy itself helps us to form. When a stranger from the West travels in the Eastern world he takes the facts that displease him and readily makes use of them for his rigid conclusions fixed upon the unchallengeable authority of his personal experience. It is like a man who has his own boat for crossing his village stream but on being compelled to wade across some strange watercourse draws angry comparisons as he goes from every patch of mud and every pebble which his feet encounter.

Our mind has faculties which are universal but its habits are insular. There are men who become impatient and angry at the least discomfort when these habits are incommoded. In the idea of the next world they probably conjure up the ghosts of their slippers and dressing gowns and expect the latch key that opens their lodging house door on earth to fit their door lock in the other world. As travellers they are a failure for they have grown too accustomed to their mental easy-chairs and in their intellectual nature love home comforts which are of local make more than the realities of life which like earth itself are full of ups and downs yet are one in their rounded completeness.

The modern age has brought the geography of the earth near to us but made it difficult for us to come into touch with man. We go to strange lands and observe we do not live there. We hardly meet men but only specimens of knowledge. We are in haste to seek for general types and overlook individuals.

When we fall into the habit of neglecting to use the understanding that comes of sympathy in our travels our knowledge of foreign people grows insensitive and therefore easily becomes both unjust and cruel in its character and also selfish and contemptuous in its application. Such has too often been the case with regard to the meeting of Western people in our days with others for whom they do not recognise any obligation of kinship.

It has been admitted that the dealings

between different races of men are not merely between individuals; that our mutual understanding is either aided, or else obstructed, by the general emanations forming the social atmosphere. These emanations are our collective ideas and collective feelings, generated according to special historical circumstances.

For instance, the caste-idea is a collective idea in India. When we approach an Indian, who is under the influence of this collective idea he is no longer a pure individual with his conscience fully awake to the judging of the value of a human being. He is more or less a passive medium for giving expression to the sentiment of a whole community.

It is evident that the caste-idea is not creative; it is merely institutional. It adjusts human beings according to some mechanical arrangement. It emphasizes the negative side of the individual,—his separateness. It hurts the complete truth in man.

In the West, also, the people have a certain collective idea that obscures their humanity. Let me try to explain what I feel about it.

## (II)

Lately I went to visit some battlefields of France, which had been devastated by war. The awful calm of desolation, which still bore wrinkles of pain, death-struggles stiffened into ugly ridges,—brought before my mind the vision of a huge demon, which had no shape, no meaning, yet had two arms that could strike, and break and tear, a gaping maw that could devour, and bulging brains that could conspire and plan. It was a purpose, which had a living body, but no complete humanity to temper it. Because it was passion,—belonging to life, and yet not having the wholeness of life,—it was the most terrible of life's enemies.

Something of the same sense of oppression in a different degree, and the same desolation in a different aspect, is produced in my mind when I realise the touch of the West upon Eastern life,—the West which, in its relation to us, is all plan and purpose incarnate, without any superfluous humanity.

I feel the contrast very strongly in Japan. In that country, the old world presents itself with some ideal of perfection, in which man has his varied opportunities of self-revelation in art, in ceremonial, in religious faith, and in customs expressing the poetry of social relationship. There one feels that deep delight of hospitality, which life offers to life. And side by side, in the same soil, stands the modern world, which is stupendously big and powerful, but inhospitable. It has no simple-hearted welcome for man. It is living; yet the incompleteness of life's ideal within it cannot but hurt humanity.

The wriggling tentacles of a cold-blooded utilitarianism, with which the West has grasped all the easily yielding succulent portions of the East, are causing pain and indignation throughout the Eastern countries. The West comes to us, not with the imagination and sympathy that create and unite; but with a shock of passion,—passion for power and wealth. This passion is a mere force, which has in it the principle of separation, of conflict.

I have been fortunate in coming into close touch with individual men and women of the Western countries, and have felt with them their sorrows and shared their aspirations. I have known that they seek the same God, who is my God,—even those who deny Him. I feel certain, that, if the great light of culture be extinct in Europe, our horizon in the East will mourn in darkness. It does not hurt my pride to acknowledge, that in the present age, Western humanity has received its mission to be the teacher of the world; that her science, through the mastery of laws of matter, is to liberate human souls from the dark dungeon of matter. For this very reason, I have realised all the more strongly, that the dominant collective idea in the Western countries is not creative. It is ready to enslave or kill individuals, to drug a great people with soul-killing poison, smudging their whole future with the black mist of stupefaction and emasculating entire races of men to the utmost degree of helplessness. It is wholly wanting in spiritual power to blend and harmonise;

it lacks the sense of the great personality of man

The most significant fact of modern days is the fact that the West has met the East. Such a momentous meeting of humanity in order to be fruitful must have in its heart some great emotional idea generous and creative. There can be no doubt that God's choice has fallen upon the knights-errant of the West for the service of the present age arms and armour have been given to them but have they yet realised in their hearts the single minded loyalty to their cause which can resist all temptations of bribery from the devil? The world today is offered to the West. She will destroy it if she does not use it for a great creation of man. The materials for such a creation are in the hands of science but the creative genius is in Man's spiritual ideal.

### (III)

When I was young a stranger from Europe came to Bengal. He chose his lodging among the people of the country shared with them their frugal diet and freely offered them his service. He found employment in the houses of the rich teaching them French and German and the money thus earned he spent to help poor students in buying books. This meant for him hours of walking in the midday heat of a tropical summer for intent upon exercising utmost economy he refused to hire conveyances. He was pitiless in his exacting from himself of his resources in money time and strength to the point of privation and all this for the sake of a people who were obscure to whom he was not born but whom he dearly loved. He did not come to us with a professional mission of teaching sectarian creeds he had not in his nature the least trace of that self-sufficiency of goodness which humiliates by gifts the victims of its insistent benevolence. Though he did not know our language he took every occasion to frequent our meetings and ceremonies yet he was always afraid of intrusion and tenderly anxious lest he might offend us by his ignorance of our customs. At last under the continual strain of

work in an alien climate and surroundings, his health broke down. He died and was cremated at our burning ground according to his express desire.

The attitude of his mind the manner of his living the object of his life his modesty his unstinted self-sacrifice for a people who had not even the power to give publicity to any benefaction bestowed upon them were so utterly unlike anything we were accustomed to associate with the Europeans in India that it gave rise in our mind to a feeling of love bordering upon awe.

We all have a realm of a private paradise in our mind where dwell deathless memories of persons who brought some divine light to our life's experience who may not be known to others and whose names have no place in the pages of history. Let me confess to you that this man lives as one of those immortals in the paradise of my individual life.

He came from Sweden his name was Hammargren. What was most remarkable in the event of his coming to us in Bengal was the fact that in his own country he had chanced to read some works of my great countryman Ram Mohan Roy, and felt an immense veneration for his genius and his character. Ram Mohan Roy lived in the beginning of the last century and it is no exaggeration when I describe him as one of the immortal personalities of modern time. This young Swede had the unusual gift of a far-sighted intellect and sympathy which enabled him even from his distance of space and time and in spite of racial differences, to realise the greatness of Ram Mohan Roy. It moved him so deeply that he resolved to go to the country which produced this great man and offer her his service. He was poor and he had to wait some time in England before he could earn his passage money to India. There he came at last and in reckless generosity of love utterly spent himself to the last breath of his life away from home and kindred and all the intimacies of his motherland. His stay among us was too short to produce any outward result. He failed even to achieve during his life what he had in his

which was to found by the help of his scanty earnings, a library as a memorial to Ram Mohan Roy, and thus to leave behind him a visible symbol of his devotion. But what I prize most in this European youth, who left no record of his life behind him, is not the memory of any service of good will, but the precious gift of respect which he offered to the people who are fallen upon evil times, and whom it is so easy to ignore or to humiliate. For the first time in the modern days, this obscure individual from Sweden brought to our country the chivalrous courtesy of the West, a greeting of human fellowship.

The coincidence came to me with a great and delightful surprise when the Nobel prize was offered to me from Sweden. As a recognition of individual merit, it was of great value to me, no doubt; but it is the acknowledgment of the East as a collaborator with the Western continents, in contributing its riches to the common stock of civilisation, which has an immense significance for the present age. It is the joining hands in comradeship of the two great hemispheres of the human world across the sea.

#### (IV)

Today the real East remains unexplored. The blindness of contempt is more hopeless than the blindness of ignorance, for contempt kills the light which ignorance merely leaves unignited. The East is waiting to be understood by the Western races, in order not only to be able to give what is true in her, but also to be confident of her own mission.

In Indian history, the meeting of the Mussalmān and the Hindu produced Akbar, the object of whose dream was the unification of hearts and ideals. It had all the glowing enthusiasm of a religion, and it produced an immediate and a vast result even in his own lifetime.

But the fact still remains that the Western mind, after centuries of contact with the East, has not evolved the enthusiasm of a chivalrous ideal which can bring this age to its fulfilment. It is everywhere raising thorny hedges of exclusion, offering human sacrifices to national self seeking.

It has intensified the mutual feeling of envy among Western races themselves, as they fight over their spoils and display a carnivorous pride in their snarling rows of teeth.

We must again guard our minds from any encroaching distrust of the individuals of a nation. The active love of humanity and the spirit of martyrdom for the cause of justice and truth, which I have met with in the Western countries have been an immense lesson and inspiration to me. I have no doubt in my mind that the West owes its true greatness, not so much to its marvellous training of intellect, as to its spirit of service devoted to the welfare of man. Therefore I speak with a personal feeling of pain and sadness about the collective power which is guiding the helm of Western civilisation. It is a passion; not an ideal. The more success it has brought to Europe, the more costly it will prove to her at last, when the accounts have to be rendered. And the signs are unmistakable, that the accounts have been called for. The time has come, when Europe must know that the forcible parasitism, which she has been practising upon the two large Continents of the world, the two most unwieldy whales of humanity,—must be causing to her moral nature a gradual atrophy and degeneration.

As an example, let me quote the following extract from the concluding chapter of "From the Cape to Cairo", by Messrs. Grogan and Sharp, who have the power to inculcate their doctrines both by precept and by example. In their reference to the African they are candid, as when they say, "We have stolen his land. Now we must steal his limbs." These two sentences, carefully articulated, with a smack of enjoyment, have been more clearly explained in the following statement, where some sense of that decency, which is the attenuated ghost of a buried conscience, prompts the writers to use the phrase, "compulsory labour", in place of the honest word "slavery"; just as the modern politician adroitly avoids the word "possession" and uses the word "mandate". "Compulsory labour in some form," they say, "is the

corollary or our occupation of the country." And they add: "It is pathetic, but it is history,"—implying thereby, that moral sentiments have no serious effect in the history of human beings.

Elsewhere they write: "Either we must give up the country commercially, or we must make the African work. And mere abuse of those who point out the impasse cannot change the facts. We must decide and soon. Or rather the white man of South Africa will decide." The authors also confess, that they have seen too much of the world "to have any lingering belief that Western Civilisation benefits native races."

The logic is simple,—the logic of egoism. But the argument is simplified by lopping off the greater part of the premise. For these writers seem to hold, that the only important question for the white men of South Africa is, how indefinitely to grow fat on ostrich feathers and diamond mines, and dance jazz dances over the misery and degradation of a whole race of fellow beings of a different colour from their own. Possibly they believe, that moral laws have a special domesticated breed of comfortable concessions for the service of the people in power. Possibly they ignore the fact, that commercial and political cannibalism, profitably practised upon foreign races, creeps back nearer home; that the cultivation of unwholesome appetites has its final reckoning with the stomach that has been made to serve it. For, after all, man is a spiritual being, and not a mere living money-bag jumping from profit to profit, and breaking the backbone of human races in its leapfrog of bulging prosperity.

Such, however, has been the condition of things for more than a century; and today, trying to read the future by the light of the European conflagration, we are asking ourselves everywhere in the East: "Is this frightfully overgrown power really great? It can bruise us from without; but can it add to our wealth of spirit? It can sign peace treaties; but can it give peace?"

It was about two thousand years ago that all powerful Rome in one of its east-

ern provinces executed on a cross a simple teacher of an obscure tribe of fishermen. On that day, the Roman governor felt no falling off of his appetite or sleep. On that day, there was, on the one hand, the agony, the humiliation, the death; on the other, the pomp of pride and festivity in the Governor's palace.

And today? To whom, then, shall we bow the head?

Kasmāi devaya havisha vidhema?

"To which God shall we offer oblation?"

We know of an instance in our own history of India, when a great personality both in his life and voice, struck the keynote of the solemn music of the soul, love for all creatures. And that music crossed seas, mountains and deserts. Races belonging to different climates, habits and languages were drawn together, not in the clash of arms, not in the conflict of exploitation, but in harmony of life, in amity and peace. That was creation.

When we think of it, we see at once what the confusion of thought was, to which the Western poet, dwelling upon the difference between East and West, referred, when he said, "Never the twain shall meet." It is true, that they are not yet showing any real sign of meeting. But the reason is, because the West has not sent out its humanity to meet the man in the East, but only its machine. Therefore the poet's line has to be changed into something like this,

Man is man, machine is machine,

And never the twain shall wed.

You must know that red tape can never be a common human bond, that official sealing wax can never provide means of mutual attachment, that it is a painful ordeal for human beings to have to receive favours from animated pigeon-holes, and condescensions from printed circulars that give notice, but never speak. The presence of the Western people in the East is a human fact. If we are to gain anything from them, it must not be a mere sum-total of legal codes and systems of civil and military services. Man is a great deal more to man than that. We have our human birthright to claim direct help from the man of the West, if he has anything

great to give us. It must come to us not through mere facts in juxtaposition, but through the spontaneous sacrifice made by those who have the gift and therefore the responsibility.

L earnestly I ask the poet of the Western world to realize and sing to you with all the great power of music which he has, that the East and the West are ever in search of each other and that they must meet not merely in the fullness of physical strength but in fullness of truth that the right hand which wields the sword, has the need of the left which holds the shield of safety.

The East has its seat in the vast plains watched over by the snow peaked mountains and fertilized by rivers carrying mighty volumes of water to the sea. There, under the blaze of a tropical sun the physical life has bedimmed the light of its vigor and lessened its claims. There man has had the repose of mind which has ever tried to set itself in harmony with the inner notes of existence. In the silence of sunrise and sunset and on star crowded nights he has sat face to face with the infinite, waiting for the revelation that opens up the heart of all that there is. He has said, in a rapture of realization

Hearken to me ye children of the Immortal who dwell in the kingdom of heaven. I have known, from beyond darkness the Supreme Person shining with the radiance of the sun.

The man from the East with his faith in the eternal who in his soul has met the

touch of the Supreme Person—has he never come to you in the West and spoken to you of the Kingdom of Heaven? Did he not unite the East and the West in truth, in the unity of one spiritual bond between all children of the Immortal, in the realization of one great Personality in all human persons?

Yes, the East did meet the West profoundly in the growth of her life. Such union became possible, because the East came to the West with the ideal that is creative, and not with the passion that destroys moral bonds. The mystic consciousness of the infinite, which she brought with her, was greatly needed by the man of the West to give him his balance.

On the other hand, the East must find her own balance in Science—the magnificent gift that the West can bring to her. Truth has its nest as well as its slay. That nest is definite in structure, accurate in law of construction, and though it has to be changed and rebuilt over and over again, the need of it is never ending and its laws are eternal. For some centuries the East has neglected the nest building of truth. She has not been attentive to learn its secret. Trying to cross the trackless infinite, the East has relied solely upon her wings. She has spurned the earth, till buffeted by storms her wings are hurt and she is tired sorely needing help. But need she then be told, that the messenger of the slay and the builder of the nest shall never meet?

## THE FIRST LORD MINTO'S INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

(Continued from page 210 of the August Number)

SO then though it may not have been a matter of political expediency during the administration of Lord Minto not to give peace or afford security to the persons and properties of the inhabitants of the territories then under the rule of the East India Company such peace and security were not enjoyed by them

But the rising in arms of Indians of their own territories against their tyrannical rule was not the only danger which the British had to apprehend. The Marathas had been defeated but not altogether crushed. It was quite possible for them to combine again and take revenge on their British persecutors and

aggressors. The persecutions to which Holkar had been subjected for so many years, the disappointments which he had met with told on his health and he went out of his mind and became insane in 1808. Holkar was an ambitious prince and his becoming insane was very fortunate to the British at this critical period of their existence in India. So Lord Minto had no fear from Holkar. The character of Jeswant Rao Holkar has been thus described by Captain Grant Duff. He writes —

"The chief feature of Jeswant Rao Holkar's character was that hardy spirit of energy and enterprise which, though like that of his countrymen, boundless in success was also not to be discouraged by trying reverses. He was likewise better educated than Marathas in general and could write both the Persian language and his own. His manner was frank and could be courteous. In person his stature was low but he was of a very active strong make though his complexion was dark and he had lost an eye by the accidental bursting of a match lock the expression of his countenance was not disagreeable and bespoke something of droll humor, as well as of manly boldness.

The derangement of the intellect of such a prince was not a small gain to the British who were further fortunate when it was settled that the government of Holkar's dominions should be administered by a regency controlled by Ameer Khan, but under the nominal authority of Tulsiby the favourite mistress of Jeswant Rao. On the death of Jeswant Rao she adopted Mulhar Rao Holkar, a boy of four years of age and in his name, continued to govern.

Ameer Khan was a Pathan soldier of fortune and a leader of those men who were known in Indian history as Pindaries. The position which Ameer Khan came to occupy in the government of Holkar's dominion was an event highly favourable to the cause of the British. Captain Grant Duff writes

Ameer Khan was soon recalled to Rajputana in the prosecution of his own views which were solely bent upon the extension of predatory power for the interest of himself and his ferocious band of Pathans.

When it suited his views of plunder Ameer Khan sometimes advanced claims in Holkar's name but those claims were not pressed where the consequences might involve the state of Holkar with the British Government.

The words put in italics in the above extract clearly show how anxious Ameer Khan was to be in the good graces of the Christian Government of India. He further served as its cat's paw by not bringing about order and good government in the state of which he was the virtual dictator. Grant Duff writes —

"The Government if such it may be designated of Holkar was alternately swayed by two factions the Maharathas and the Pathans, who were constantly intriguing against each other and nothing could exceed the state of anarchy which prevailed throughout the country.

This was exactly what suited the purpose of the British rulers.

For the same historian writes that

It was expected that if (The Maratha Chiefs) domestic wars, the plunder of their neighbours and the fear of losing what they possessed would deter them from hostile proceedings against the British Government.

So then it would not require much exercise of one's intelligence to infer that all the distractions and anarchy in the Holkar's Government may have been created through the instrumentality of Ameer Khan and served the selfish ends of the British. From the Government of Holkar there was no danger to the Company, nay on the contrary, from the fact that Ameer Khan was the virtual dictator of that state, they expected help and assistance from him to keep their position secure in India.

But from the other Maratha princes especially Sindhia there was the danger of invasion of their territories. The frontiers of British India were at this time contiguous to those of Maratha princes viz the Raja of Berar and the Maharaja Sindhia. Both these princes had been defeated by the British Government and made to part with a large portion of their dominions. It was not impossible that these princes would take revenge on the Britishers since vengeance sleeps long but never dies. It was absolutely necessary, therefore that steps should be taken to prevent Sindhia known to have been an ambitious prince, as well as the Raja of Berar from committing any mischief in British India. The finances of the Company were not such as to have allowed them to maintain a large army to guard their frontiers against the inroads of any of the Maratha princes. It seems to us that the British effected their own safety by creating distractions and disorders in the states of the Maratha Princes not only by sending their own emissaries into those states but keeping in their pay as well as encouraging the Pindaries. We have arrived at this opinion by taking into consideration the facts and circumstances described below.

The Marquess Wellesley never concealed the fact that he desired to create distractions in the dominion of Dowlat Rao Sindhia when he was going to war with Tipu and trying to impose his scheme of subsidiary alliance on the neck of the Peshwa. At that time Dowlat Rao Sindhia was in the Deccan and it was considered necessary by the Governor-General that that Prince should return to Hindustan. To effect this he did not scruple to instruct his subordinates to devise means and send emissaries to that prince's dominion to stir up distractions. Again when he wanted to go to war with the Maratha confederates he instructed General Lake, then in the upper provinces to send emissaries to Sindhia's territories for the sole purpose of creating disorder. It is evident from the Marquess Wellesley's



published despatches that, that Governor General indulged in conspiracies and intrigues against Dowlut Rao Sindhia. It is therefore not unreasonable to presume that at this critical period of their history in India the British rulers should have also adopted the same very means which the Marquess Wellesley had done with such marked success not very long ago. In this connection Sir George Barlow's policy—a policy which declaredly looks to the disputes and wars of its neighbours as one of the chief sources of its (British Government's) security—should not be lost sight of.

Moreover an embassy had been despatched to Persia under Sir John Malcolm with the avowed object of instigating the Mohamedan sovereign of that country to invade the territory of a friendly and besides a Mohamedan prince that is of Afghanistan to prevent the latter from ever giving trouble to the Europeans in India. We shall have occasion to refer to this Persian embassy later on. What we want here to emphasize is this that while steps had been taken to prevent an independent power several thousands of miles away from the frontiers of British India from giving any trouble to the British Government was it probable that precautionary measures should have been neglected against the incursions of the Maratha princes especially when we remember the fact that they had been wronged and injured and were therefore expected to take revenge on the Government of India? The frontiers of British India and of the territories under the administration of the Maratha princes were contiguous and therefore it was much easier for the latter to always harass and give endless trouble to the British than for the Afghan sovereign to cross rocky passes and march through deserts before he could reach the British territories in India. The very existence of distractions and disorders in the dominions of the Maratha princes should lead us to suspect that these were mostly the work of the emissaries of the British Government.

It was not only by means of emissaries that the Europeans created all these distractions but it is also most probable that the services of the *Pindaries* were also utilised for bringing about this miserable state of affairs in the Maratha states. It is not necessary here to devote much space to tracing the origin of the *Pindaries*. Regarding them Professor H. H. Wilson writes—

The *Pindars* as a body of irregular horse serving without pay and receiving in lieu of it license to plunder appear to have originated in the South of India constituting an element in the composition of the armies of the last Muhammadan dynasties of the Deccan. After the downfall the services of the *Pindars* were transferred to the Marathas with whom they served against Aurangzeb and at a still later date they shared in the disastrous defeat at Panipat. After that event their leaders settled

chiefly in Malwa and attaching themselves respectively to Sindhia and Holkar became distinguished as Sindhia's Shah and Holkar's Shah. *Pindaries* receiving grants of land chiefly in the vicinity of the Nerbudda for the maintenance of themselves and the followers in time of peace on the condition of gratuitous co-operation in time of war.

The *Pindaries* thus appear to have been a sort of unpaid militia whose services were required only in time of war at other times they used to lead the lives of peaceful cultivators. Lest these *Pindaries* should give trouble to the Europeans it would seem that they were subsidised by them not only to keep them out of their territories but also to create distractions in the dominions of the Maratha princes. That at one time at least the *Pindaries* were subsidised by the Company appears very clearly from the despatches of the Duke of Wellington. Dating his letter from camp twelve miles north of the Ghatpurba, 29th March 1803 the Duke of Wellington (at that time Major-General the Hon. Arthur Wellesley) wrote to Lieut. General Stuart—

I enclose the translation of a paper, which with the concurrence and advice of Major Malcolm I have given to Appah Saheb's Vakeel.

He has had three thousand *Pindars* in his service to whom I gave no pay and who subsisted by plundering the Raja of Kolapur. In order that all these chiefs may come forward in the service of the Peshwa at the present crisis I have prevailed upon them to cease hostilities and of course Appa Saheb's *Pindaries* can no longer subsist upon the plunder they might acquire in the territory of the Raja of Kolapur. \* \* \* If I (the Peshwa) should not approve of retaining them, they may either be discharged or may be employed in the plunder of the enemy without pay according to circumstances and at all events supposing that it is highness should refuse to pay their expenses the charge to the Company will be trifling in comparison with the benefit which it is detachment must derive from keeping this body of *Pindaries* out of Holkar's service and from cutting off our communications with the army.

From the words put in italics in the above extracts the motive which prompted the future Iron Duke to subsidize the *Pindaries* is quite evident. The reasons which the Hon. Arthur Wellesley urged for bribing the *Pindaries* applied with equal force to the critical situation in which the Government of India found itself during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Minto. It is not therefore improbable that the same means should have also been adopted in Lord Minto's time which the Hon. Arthur Wellesley had advocated years previously to have the *Pindaries* employed in the plunder of the enemy without pay. That these *Pindaries* were in the pay of the Company seems highly probable.

great value. Amir Khan now demanded, in the name of Holkar, the restitution of the jewels of their price, and as the demand was not complied with, he moved in January 1809 to the frontiers of Berar with all his force. No serious opposition was offered to Amir Khan's advance.

"Although not bound by the terms of the existing treaty to give military aid to the Raja of Nagpur against his enemies yet the aggression of Amir Khan was considered by the Bengal Government to mean its vigorous interposition. There were grounds for suspecting that his movements were not unconnected with the discontent of the Subhedar of Hyderabad and although the assertions of his envoys at Nagpur, that their masters had been induced to invade the country by the invitation of the Nizam, who had offered to defray the cost of a still more formidable armament, might not be deserving of implicit credit yet the known sympathies of the parties rendered such a league between them far from improbable. The interests of the British power were therefore, implicated with those of the Raja of Berar.

The Nizam, it should be remembered, was merely a puppet in the hands of the Company. That he should have ventured to have taken such a step as that attributed to him in the above passage, without the knowledge or connivance of the British Resident at his court, seems very highly improbable. It appears to us that the Nizam had been inspired by the Europeans at his court to intrigue with, and invite Ameer Khan to invade the Raja of Berar's territory, in order first to ruin that Pathan soldier of fortune and secondly, to inveigle the Raja of Berar in the scheme of subsidiary alliance. Ameer Khan, although in the pay of the British, was an able and intelligent man. He was a tall poppy, and as such although he had proved of great service to the Europeans the latter would have been only too delighted to see his downfall and death.

On the other hand, the Raja of Berar, although not a strong prince, was a Maratha and smarting under the insults and injuries he had been subjected to, by the British, and thus it was not an impossible or improbable thing for the Raja to conspire against them since vengeance sleeps long but never dies. At the time when the war was going to be declared against Holkar, it is alleged that the Raja of Berar was intriguing with Holkar against the British. At that time the Government of India pressed the Raja to enter into the scheme of subsidiary alliance with them. In the despatch of the Governor General in council to the Honorable the Secret Committee of the Honorable the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, March 24th, 1805, it is stated —

On the following day the Resident desired the attendance of one of the Raja's principal ministers for the purpose of conversing with him on the several topics connected with the Governor General's recent instructions.

"The Resident proceeded to state to him the advantages which the Raja might be expected to derive from his admission to the benefits of the general defensive alliance.

"The arguments employed by the Resident to convince the minister of the advantages of the proposed arrangements were founded principally on the dangers to which the government and the dominions of the Raja would be exposed under the circumstances in which the several states of India might be expected to be placed by the successful issue of the contest with Jeswant Rao Holkar, observing that the hordes of freebooters, whom our success would deprive of immediate employment would direct their depredations against the territories of those states which possessed the least efficient means of defence, that the principal states of India being connected by terms of the most intimate alliance with the British Government which was bound to protect them these freebooters would probably seek subsistence by plundering the territories of the Raja of Berar, and that His Highness must be sensible of the inadequacy of his own military resources to protect his country against the ravages to which it would thus be exposed.

"The Resident concluded by contrasting the danger and embarrassment of the Raja's future situation with the security and prosperity of those states which were connected with the British Government by the relations of a defensive alliance and the Resident having desired to communicate to the Raja the substance of the conversation, the minister withdrew.

"The Resident therefore deemed it proper to obtain an audience of the Raja for the purpose of conversing personally with his Highness and of endeavouring by a just representation of the advantages of the arrangement to induce the Raja to propose its adoption.

"At this conference the resident repeated the arguments which he had employed in his conference with the minister. The Raja acknowledged his sense of the danger to which his country would be exposed at the conclusion of the war, but expressed a confidence in the adequacy of his resources for the defence of his dominions against common attacks, and stated his conviction that in case of imminent danger he might depend upon the support of the British Government.

"The Raja however continuing to manifest his reluctance to the adoption of the proposed arrangement, the Resident deemed it inconsistent with the spirit of his instructions to pursue the subject with additional urgency,

"It appeared to be more advisable to leave the Raja to the operation of future events on his mind and to trust exclusively to that influence for the means of effecting the object of obtaining the concession of the Raja to the alliance, with this view, the Resident was directed to refrain from any further agitation of the question.

Reading the above, and especially the passages put in italics, it is evident that the Europeans must have earnestly prayed for some

imminent danger befalling the Raja of Berar which would oblige him to seek their protection. Regarding the anxiety of the Europeans for obtaining the accession of the Raja of Berar to the alliance, it will not be straining one's imagination too much to predict that they must have taken means to bring about such a state of affairs which would threaten the very existence of the Raja of Berar. It was not impossible then for them to have indirectly induced Ameer Khan through their puppet the Nazam to have attacked the Raja of Berar and then to show their disinterestedness to have come to the rescue of the latter so as to make him believe that they were his true friends. It was no doubt double-dealing or to quote the proverb hunting with the hound and running with the hare. But without double-dealing without acting on the maxims and suggestions of Machiavelli it was impossible for the Europeans to obtain power and establish their supremacy in India.

Ameer Khan protested against the Company rendering aid to the Raja of Berar. Prof H H Wilson writes that Ameer Khan

appealed with unanswerable justice although with no avail to the stipulation of the existing treaty with Holkar on whose behalf he pretended to act which engaged that the British Government would not in any manner whatever interfere in his affairs and he argued that the conduct of the Government was a manifest infraction of the treaty and a breach of the solemn promises made to Jeswant Rao that it would not meddle with his claims upon the Raja of Berar. These representations were no longer likely to be of any weight.

The British assembled an army to punish Ameer Khan. That Pathan soldier of fortune

had no heart or perhaps it did not suit his policy as he had been in secret understanding with them to fight them. On the approach of the army led by British officers Ameer Khan precipitately retreated from the Raja of Berar's territory. The British also did not pursue him for

Although for a season or so writes Professor Wilson it was in contemplation to continue military operations until the complete destruction of Ameer Khan's power should have been effected yet the probability that the prosecution of this policy might lead to a protracted and expensive series of hostilities induced the Governor General to depart from his original design and content himself with the accomplishment of the main object of the armament. The troops were therefore recalled to their several stations in the Company's territories and of those of the allies.

This was the only military expedition undertaken in India during the administration of Lord Minto.

(To be continued)

HISTORICAL.

\* Lord Minto felt that an enterprising and ambitious Musalman chief at the head of a numerous army irresistible by any power except that of the Company should be permitted to establish his authority on the ruins of the Raja's dominions, over territories contiguous to those of the Nazam with whom community of religion combined with local power and resource might lead to the formation of projects probably not un congenial to the mind of the Nazam himself and certainly consistent with the views and hopes of a powerful party in his court for the subversion of the British alliance.

Why did Lord Minto come to the rescue of the Raja of Nagpur against Ameer Khan's invasion?

## AN AMERICAN IN REFORMING REFORMATORIES

"We may either smother the divine fire of youth or we may feed it. We may either stand stupidly staring as it sinks into a murky fire of crime and flares into the intermittent blaze of folly or we may tend it into a lambent flame with power to make clean and bright our dingy city streets."

Jane Addams

RECENTLY in Holland I visited a Reformatory for boys which was said to be a model one. It was situated in beautiful country high ground overlooking extensive pine woods, and

the buildings were impressive. But the entrance was like that of a prison. We were admitted by a janitor who unlocked the doors and sent for the Superintendent. He was a tall bearded man with a stern expression but a kindly smile. What struck me most was a large bunch of keys which was fastened by a chain round his waist. These he used for opening and closing behind us, every door through which we passed. An air of oppressive silence surrounded the place although there were five hundred boys.

in the buildings. We were taken through class rooms equipped in the most up-to-date manner, a manual training room, and a magnificent gymnasium, but wherever we came across boys they looked gloomy and depressed. At one stage in our round of inspection the Superintendent grimly unlocked two iron doors and showed us a solitary cell in which was standing an unfortunate boy of about fourteen, without a chair or a stool to sit on, without any books to read and imprisoned within double walls so as to prevent any sound of crying from reaching beyond the walls of his own cell. I was told that he was being punished for having run away. Probably of all the boys in the institution he was the one who most loved liberty, and to him was being given this hideous form of punishment. I was shown the shower baths and the "observation gallery" in which an attendant watched "to prevent any attempt at suicide"! Then I was taken to the dormitories. There each boy slept in a locked cell-like cubicle which separated him from his companions. These cubicles were decorated in a way that showed the craving for self-expression on the part of the individual inmate. In some the walls were covered with brightly coloured drawings, while in others were photographs of mother, father, brothers or sisters. In a large number a crucifix was hanging above the bed. As I was passing through one of the corridors I waved my hand to a youngster who was working outside the kitchen and he waved back. But I was told by the friend who was with me that the boy would get into trouble if he had been seen waving to a visitor.

Just before leaving the building I was taken into a room the door of which was not locked. Inside there was a laughing group of older boys who came up and crowded round the visitors, talking and chatting with them in quite a happy way. I was astonished at the change of atmosphere in this room as compared with all the rooms into which I had already been, and I asked the Superintendent the meaning of it. He explained that these were

the older boys who had behaved well during their time at the Reformatory, and were now many of them working in the neighbouring town. They were given complete freedom of movement, and were never locked in like the younger boys. They were even allowed to smoke, the privilege of most young Dutchmen after the age of sixteen or seventeen. I enquired why this obviously successful treatment was not applied throughout, for it seemed to produce such evident happiness and contentment. But I was told that the younger "delinquents" were not ready for such freedom. Evidently they were not meant to be happy.

Although other reformatories in Holland are probably run on more enlightened lines, I am told that similar conditions prevail in many of the reformatories in America. At one of which I know the boys are made to walk into the dining room in "lock step", and are not allowed to speak at meals. At another "home" the boys for trivial offences have their heads held under water until they gasp for breath.

But at one place in America I have come across the work of one who ten years ago started an experiment in the treatment of "juvenile delinquents" based on the belief that there is no such thing as a bad boy, and that "virtue is not a hard conformity to a law felt as alien to the natural character, but a free expression of the inner life." This is the Starr Commonwealth for Boys situated at Hudson in Michigan. Radmadrath Tagore visited this School and afterwards wrote to Mr. Floyd Starr, its founder, as follows:

"My visit to your place has been to me like some oasis with its spring of the water of life. Other things of bigger dimensions will be forgotten, but the memory of your little school will remain a part of my life to the end—because I had a touch of truth there and came away richer than when I visited the place. It was a real joy to me to see the creative work you are doing for your boys, for you are showing, what I myself have always so strongly believed, that every boy re-



Rabindranath Tagore visits to the State Commonwealth

Behind Rabindranath next to the fireplace is Mr. Starr. Mr. W. W. Pearson is sitting on the extreme left.

ponds to sympathy and trust by developing the qualities that are in him.

Mr. Starr started his home with the intention of trusting his boys absolutely. One of his earliest delinquents was regarded as incorrigible by the judge of the town where he lived. He had been brought before the Court over and over again on the charge of housebreaking and robbery. He was thirteen years of age and when he was brought before the Court with eight separate charges against him, the judge finally decided to commit him to the Reform School. Mr. Starr was present in Court and asked to be allowed to take him into his own home. Permission was given on condition that he would be responsible for his good conduct. On reaching home Mr. Starr said to the boy:

Now Harold, you are a member of my family. I never lock my doors and I keep all my ready cash in this drawer of which I have lost the key. You are to sleep upstairs and there is nothing to prevent you from getting up in the night and stealing out of the house with that money

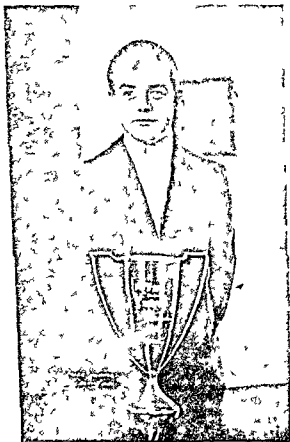
in your pocket, but I know you won't do it.

Mr. Starr has told me of the look of indescribable astonishment that came into the boy's eyes. He was silent for a moment then he suddenly held out his hand saying:

Well, if you are going to give me a straight deal I guess I can give you the same. I've never been trusted before.

And from that day to this Harold has not given a moment's trouble. A year later he went to a Public School Boys Camp where he won, by popular vote, a *loving cup* awarded each year for the best all-round boy in Camp. That was seven years ago and now Harold has returned to the Commonwealth as one of Mr. Starr's most valued helpers.

Some time after Mr. Starr had started his work he had a visitor who came to see his work. He began to talk in the sitting room about a certain Reformatory he had visited. He spoke of its excellent equipment and added that Judge B sent all his worse cases there, even cases of burglary and of forgery. As he spoke



Harold with his Lovng Cup

he noticed a bright looking boy in the room begin to look very uncomfortable and eventually walk out. Mr Starr explained that he was one of Judge B's cases and had been committed for forgery and theft.

"But," exclaimed the visitor, "wasn't that the boy who was in your car when you met me at the station?"

"Yes," said Mr Starr.

"And didn't you let him get out in town to take a music lesson?"

"Yes," replied Mr Starr.

"And didn't you give him some money for his car fare back here?"

"Yes."

"Well but isn't that risky? How can you trust him?"

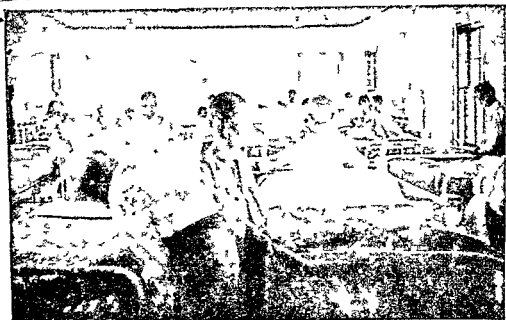
"I trust him," said Mr Starr, "because he has never for a moment given me cause to doubt him. He has been here six

months and behaved splendidly. In fact he's one of my best boys."

"Tell me about him," said the visitor.

"His story," answered Mr Starr, "is typical of many that I could tell you, but it is interesting as it shows what trust does for a boy." And he told the following story. Ralph was left in charge of his mother by a father who had deserted her. She was forced to go out to work, and to take in lodgers, so she had not much time to give to her son. He ran rather wild, and often played truant from school, besides getting into scrapes with companions who, like him, had no proper home life. He was very fond of good clothes, and could not bear to be seen shabby or unclean. But he had not money for dressing well, and one day he disappeared after forging and cashing a cheque. He had often been before the Court, and had been given many chances to "make good" at home. But this time the judge resolutely refused to give him another chance. Friends of the boy asked Mr Starr to take him into his home, and he agreed when he found that the only alternative was the Reform School. Before accepting the responsibility he turned to the boy and said, "Ralph, I intend to trust you, and I want to know whether you will give me a fair, square deal." Ralph did not say much, but he answered, "Yes, I promise, I will." Mr Starr took him and he never went back on his word. The only trouble he had with him was that for a long time he thought that fine clothes made the man. One day when Mr Starr was ploughing in the field a limousine drove up, and Ralph came running breathless and saying, "Uncle Floyd, go quick, and change your clothes, before the visitors come," to which Mr Starr replied, "I certainly shall not. If the visitors want to see my best clothes you can take them to my room, open my wardrobe and they will see them hanging up in the corner. But if they want to see me, they can see me out here."

Next year when Ralph was going daily to the High School, three miles away, and was known to all the boys and girls of the town, he would often drive the team to



Making Bed at the Commonwealth

fetch soft coal for the commonwealth and he was never ashamed of greeting his friends when he himself was wearing his coal begrimed overalls. Now that boy is doing brilliantly, and is as bright and clean looking a boy as you could wish to meet.

The history of Waldo is equally interesting. It begins with the record of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children into whose hands he came at an early age. Child male. Parents and name unknown. Age probably four or five. He had been found in the street of a city and he could give no account of himself except that his mother had recently died leaving him and a baby sister to the care of his father. After the funeral the father had taken the children home and after a short time went out with the baby girl leaving the boy in the house. He was away a long time and when he returned he was alone. After some supper the father took him out to see the stores and while the boy was absorbed in looking into a brightly lighted shop window the father disappeared and the child found him

self alone in the crowded streets. This is all the boy remembers of his first "home." For five years he was taken care of by various people but he proved so foul in his language and so filthy in his personal habits that no family was willing to keep him. Further than this he lied and stole whenever he had the chance until at last he came before the Juvenile Court. Mr. Starr was asked to take him. He had been given the name "Waldo Graham" but no one knew when he was born. The day he came to the Commonwealth was a cold gray dismal day of autumn and when he arrived Mr. Starr's mother made him sit beside her on the sofa and asked him, "Well Waldo, who is there, I wonder who loves you?" His little lips quivered and his big brown eyes filled with tears as he answered, "I guess there ain't nobody, except just God!"

His was a hard case and it took years of sympathetic training to eradicate the vices and habits of his earlier unguarded years. But he soon learnt to respond to the sympathy and love which he found in his "Uncle Floyd's" home. There he quick



An Octave of Starr Commonwealth Boys.

ly began to co-operate in the attempts made to help him. One day after he had been some months at the Commonwealth he looked very quiet and depressed. On being asked what was the matter he began to cry and said "Oh ' Uncle Floyd, last night I dreamt that my mother came to see me and I was just hugging her when I woke up and found I had nothing but a bundle of blankets in my arms. And I did so want to talk to her."

Years have passed since then and although enquiries have been made, no trace of his parentage has been recovered. No thing remains but the meagre memory of his last day at home. Now the boy is a strong, healthy and vigorous youngster who works well on the farm and enjoys life. After he had been two years at the Commonwealth he one day just before Christmas came to Mr. Starr and said "Uncle Floyd I haven't any money but I want to give something to help some of the poor boys in Detroit to have a Happy Christmas. Will you let me go without one or two dinners before Christmas and send the money saved to some poor boy?"

If I were not here I might be sleeping on a doorstep or under a bridge to night. There are hundreds of boys like that."

Mr. Starr suggested that perhaps other boys in the Commonwealth might like to do the same, and when Waldo made his proposal at supper that night it was carried unanimously. Ever since then, every Christmas time, the members of the Starr Commonwealth voluntarily go without one of their best meals in order to be able to give to the poor. This year \$95.00 was given to provide milk for the children of a neighbouring town whose parents were too poor to provide it for them.

These cases are sufficient to show the nature of the work which is being carried on at the Starr Commonwealth. Each case is true in every detail and they are all typical of the dozens of cases which are passing through the school. People who come to visit the place are struck by the happy and manly attitude of the boys, and they shake hands with a sincerity and look one straight in the eyes in a way that demonstrates the clean and healthy life they lead. In the neighbouring town



of Albion a merchant recently stated that the Starr Commonwealth boys were easily distinguished by their courtesy and polite manners. And these are boys who are most of them designated as delinquents by the State and in many cases are not wanted by their own parents. Even those who have homes of their own could not grow up to a clean and healthy manhood in such an environment.

It may be asked whether the boys never give any trouble and the answer is that of course they do or they would not be boys. But the trouble they give is merely that which is inevitable to growing children and to the period of adolescence during which youth has to adapt itself to the requirements of a world ruled by age. Sometimes boys run away not because they are unhappy but because they are possessed by the Wanderlust which is characteristic of all healthy boyhood. Usually two run away together and they have a time of excitement and adventure till they fall again into the hands of the police and are delivered into the clutches of the law. When they return they are not punished by being deprived of their liberty though sometimes the Self governing Council decides on some form of deprivation. The last three who ran away in the pursuit of adventure came back as naturally into the life of the Commonwealth as if they had been away on a holiday. They arrived in the evening just as the weekly Movie Show was to take place in the School House and they sat amongst the other boys as if nothing had happened. The subject is never referred to by those who are working in the Commonwealth the teachers and matrons leaving it for Mr Starr to talk individually to the truants. The punishment decided on for the three boys referred to was to deprive them of the pleasure of taking part in an Entertainment given by the classroom to which they belonged. As they were the only three who did not contribute to the programme they looked quite shame-faced as they sat amongst the audience.

One day I was present when the step-mother of one of the boys who had just recently come called to see her child. He



A Boy Cook at the Commonwealth

had been incorrigible in the streets of his own town where his father was a man of good position. He delighted in smashing windows robbing stores and generally making himself a nuisance to his grown up neighbours. Since coming to the Commonwealth he has been bright and happy and always behaves in a most gentlemanly manner. His mother said that she had never seen such a change in anybody as had come over this lad during the month he had been there.

What then is the explanation of this miracle? For to those who have known many of the boys in their home life it seems in most cases little short of miraculous to see the way the characters of the boys are transformed.

The secret is twofold. There is first the attitude of Mr Starr towards his boys. He trusts them and loves them as if they were his own sons. The Commonwealth is not an institution but a real home.



Darning at the Commonwealth.

The boys are remembered on their birthdays, they are given periodical treats as they would be in any good home, and are encouraged to be themselves in the best sense. One of the boys keeps bees, another studies birds, while others interest themselves in machinery. There is no uniform as Mr. Starr believes in individuality being expressed in difference of dress as in other things. The fact that all the boys call Mr. Starr, "Uncle Floyd," speaks for itself, but it needs someone who has lived at the Commonwealth for a few days to realise how devoted these youngsters are to him. When they see him crossing the Campus they call across to him "Hullo, Uncle Floyd!" One day one of the Cottage Mothers overheard some of the boys talking, and one of them said: "I think Uncle Floyd is one of the richest men in America." "Why?" asked another. "Because," answered the first, "all of us boys love him so much."

The second explanation follows inevitably from the first. Where the boys are treated in this spirit there is created a

spontaneous "public opinion" amongst them which makes it a matter of pride to them that not one of their number should do anything to disgrace the good name of the Starr Commonwealth for Boys:

As Judge Hoyt says in his recent volume, "Quicksands of Youth": "It is often curious and gratifying to find how ready and willing boys are to help in improving conditions if they can be made to understand just why and how their assistance might be of value. But the appeal must be made in full sincerity, as man to man for a maudlin plea or a harsh command would be equally ineffectual in arousing their interest or enlisting their sympathy. *I have found in certain cases no more effective agents for the maintenance of law and order than boys themselves, if they are properly handled and guided.*"

Mr. Starr appeals to the best that is in the boy knowing it to be there, and he has seldom been disappointed. His experiment has proved so eminently successful that it ought to be tried in all attempts at "reforming" boys. Sir Horace Plunkett recently visited the Starr Commonwealth and wrote to a friend afterwards of his "keen appreciation of the work of Mr. Floyd Starr." He said: "It is surely worth while to try the principles of human development, which Mr. Starr has adopted with such amazing success in individual cases and advantageous conditions. I felt when I looked over his boys, talked to them and got to know the spirit which they had imbibed, that everyone of them will be to some extent a missionary in after life."

A recognition is necessary that it is not the boy who needs to be reformed so much as his environment, and that the boy himself is the one most ready to co-operate in any effort to improve him. As Mr. L. E. Meyers, an experienced worker amongst boys in Chicago, has said:

"Those longest experienced in boys' work are unanimously of opinion that the normal boy is fundamentally good, and experience has proved beyond all doubt that the under-privileged boy will respond whole-heartedly to the effort to help him."

W. W. PEARSON.

## TO END WAR IN THE WORLD

**N**EARLY three years after the Armistice, with the whole world still divided into military camps and the bitterness, which in the past has led to war, stronger and fiercer than ever! It seems, at first glance, a forlorn and empty hope to write down such words as I have inscribed—'To End War in the World'

Yet, I truly believe, that there was never before any period in human history, when these words had surer hopes of fulfilment. If my readers in the *Modern Review* will bear with me I intend to write more fully concerning this subject later on. For it has become a passionate longing with me and a constant companion of my thought. Here, I only wish to draw attention to a tiny group of quiet workers who formed themselves into a fellowship at the very first outbreak of the European war in August, 1914. They called themselves a 'Fellowship of Reconciliation'. Most of the original members were from the Society of Friends who are often historically known as the Quakers. This fellowship of reconciliation which they founded attempted in practical life to give outward and visible expression to that teaching of Christ, which is contained in the Sermon on the Mount and in the Gospels wherein love is regarded as the ultimate power in the world for the reconciliation of mankind. The determination of these fellowship workers to use no other weapon except that of love, brought the greater number into contumely during the war itself. Very many of them had to suffer for their conviction in prison under conditions involving mental as well as physical agony. Many of them have died for their faith. Since the armistice their work of reconciliation has been no less fraught with suffering. Under countless misunderstandings they have gone out into all the countries which were arrayed against the allied Powers in the European War, especially into Germany and Austria.

They have sought to undo the work of the economic blockade, by feeding the hungry and nursing the sick and dying. While thus acting out their convictions in practical life they have tried in stumbling human speech, to confess their inner faith openly before men. It was a brief account of one of their meetings in Hyde Park, which made me wish to share with the readers of the *Modern Review* the inspiration which it gave to me when it reached me by post one morning in Stratimketan. It seemed to bring near to me the joyous hope of a spiritual revival, in the West, which from small beginnings and out of many sufferings might grow into a power of love and beauty in the world such as could efface the moral destruction (more terrible than the physical destruction) wrought by the great war. I shall quote freely in what follows from this narrative. It begins with the quotation—*Jesus had pity on the multitude because they were like sheep having no shepherd*. It goes on to describe the crowds who flock to Hyde Park in London silent, thoughtful, —men and women who still go there day after day in spite of more than six years of spiritual famine waiting for someone to speak to them who has received the truth. The members of the fellowship of Reconciliation who go there to meet these eager patient crowds are very often frail and delicate women. 'When we first began, one of them says we started as though our anxious glance almost bored itself into the ground at our feet and we nearly prayed that the ground would open and swallow us so profound was our fear and self distrust. We soon came however, to rely upon the kindly support of the people we addressed. At the beginning of one meeting an officer interrupted in a studied drawl,—We don't want to hear this piffle. But there was no need to defend ourselves. The crowd defended us.

'Another time, a comfortable looking

man waited till the end of a speech, which I was giving, on the international situation, and then, in impressive tones, repeated the word—"Rot", three times. Quick as lightning, a young sailor leapt to the attack. "It's all true," he said, "what the lady has been saying I've been to them places, and *its all true*!...We've had enough of killing. The people we kill are innocent. Things are all messed up; and we've got to get 'em straight somehow. That lady's right." The interruptor was dumbfounded by this unexpected attack and said, "I beg your pardon, Missis. I didn't know you was talking Christianity!"

The great difficulty, the writer adds, with such simple, earnest listeners, when they have been convinced of the truth, is the practical difficulty. It is said to be utterly impossible to act, and to act, and to go on acting, solely by love, in the modern world. If people tried it, they would either be starved, or else be shot. This is the one argument, which weighs like a weight of lead on the practical English mind. The writer, who tells the story of her experience, goes on to say, that here is the crucial spiritual test, —to enable these ordinary, average London men and women to feel, that God's inner Presence is greater than all the outwardly opposing forces of the world of men and things, to get these men and women to realise, with a sense of shame, that they have been leaving God out of their calculation in their estimate of what is practical; to make them understand, with a new glow of spiritual fire, that death, starvation, imprisonment, shooting, are things to be laughed at in the Kingdom of Love.

I must give the concluding portion of the narrative in the writer's own words:—

"A very good speech and nice ideas,"

commented a Communist, "very nice ideas! But what are you going to do when the social revolution comes? If you don't let us have our citizen army to preserve order, a mob of hooligans will come howling up the street to loot. Do you think you can stop a mob of wild beasts with kind words?"

"(One took a big breath; for here was the age-long battle set in open array.)

"Kind words," I answered, "No! You could never expect to stop a crowd with words. But if God is with you, you *can* stop a crowd. The mob feels there is some power with you, that it can't understand. I can only speak from experience. And I have seen it done."—The realisation, that I was talking to a man, who had told me he believed in no God, made me break off. I said half-apologetically, "This must sound rather mad to you, who don't believe in God." There was a pause. He gazed back at me in silence. He said, "No it doesn't. We know you're speaking true. But we don't know what to make of it. That's *your* experience all right. We admit that. But it's only *your* experience. Other people haven't felt that way."

Something in this story of an English lady in Hyde Park, brought back to me the memory of those ultimate events in the past history of the world, from which the great new adventures have been made in the spiritual life of mankind. There was the memory of Gautama, the Buddha, as he held fast to the truth which he had won, through sufferings greater than death. There was the memory of the Christ, upon the Cross. The Message is One. Indeed, it is the soul of all true religion among men. Violence cannot be overcome by violence, but only by love. Evil cannot be overcome by evil, but only by good.

C. F. ANDREWS.

## MR PUSSYFOOT JOHNSON'S MISSION TO INDIA

By ST Nihal Singh

EVERYONE interested in social reform will be happy to learn that Mr William Eugene Johnson who has played an important part in the Prohibition movement in the United States of America is going out to India. His primary object he tells me is to inform our people why America has gone 'dry' and what results have followed from the banishment of liquor from his country. Inasmuch as Indians by instinct and tradition believe in abstinence he thinks—and thinks rightly—that our people should be interested in the reasons which led America to get rid of the liquor traffic and the success which has attended those efforts. He does not have the slightest intention of interfering in any manner or to any degree with our domestic concerns. Knowing something of our history and inclinations he however has no doubt whatever as to the decision we will arrive at after we have heard the American story.

While in India Mr Johnson expects to take the opportunity to study the problem presented by the spread of the drink habit among certain sections of our people. From such information as he has been able to acquire before going there he expects to find that our problem is by no means so extensive in character as the one his people had to solve in the United States. From such statistics as he has been able to examine he finds that in India the ratio of persons addicted to drink to our total population is much smaller than was the case in his country before the Prohibition Amendment went into effect there. The bulk of our people continue to be abstainers in spite of the fact that during recent years the volume of spirituous liquors consumed in India—and not merely the revenue derived from the sale of such liquors—has greatly expanded.

Mr Johnson was born about 60 years ago in a small village in the state of New York. His people on both sides originally came from England but have been settled on the American soil for two centuries.

Drink played a grim joke upon Mr Johnson's grandfather who went out to New York from Connecticut to buy land and on his return found that his entire capital of \$300 had been drunk up during his absence by his brother in whose care he had left it. From this grandfather he inherited his antipathy to drink. Dr Marcus Palmer who took an active part in enabling Negro slaves in the Southern States of the United States of America to escape to freedom in the North by means of the Underground Railway married first his grandfather's eldest sister and after her death his younger sister. This great uncle and his wives with whom he came into intimate association inspired in him zeal for social reform which was greatly strengthened through the noble influence of his mother who he says has from the very beginning been an eternal inspiration to higher and better things.

Towards the close of the eighties of the last century a great struggle for the abolition of liquor began to develop in Nebraska. The liquor interests sought to stave off the evil day by bribing persons of high and low degree. It occurred to Johnson that the best thing he could do would be to obtain evidence that would damn those interests in the sight of every decent man and woman. He hit upon the ingenious device of posing as one of them and sent out a letter on notepaper bearing the legend Johnson's Pale Ale, to *manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers of* drink naively asking them for helpful suggestions to defeat the campaign which Prohibitionists were then carrying on. The letter that he wrote is worth reproducing in full. It read:

Dear Sir

There's a prohibition amendment pending in this state and I would like to have your advice as a member of the trade. You have had experience in fighting prohibition in your state and you know what the best plan is.

Please tell us frankly what you think we should lay the most stress on in Nebraska for accomplishing the best result for the liquor trade. It is my opinion that

if the Nebraska dealers will take up high licence and show its advantages as a revenue measure, and a plan for regulating the traffic etc., they will get the support of the best people and even some preachers. What do you think of this? What effectiveness is there in using antiprohibition documents? What class of documents are best? Do you know of any documents that will have weight against prohibition among the telegous people?

How should campaign funds be distributed for the best results? Is it worth while to hire prohibitionists? I think myself that the trade will accomplish more by spending the bulk of the funds among newspapers and for quiet work with men of influence, especially how to silence the pulpit and the press.

Yours truly,  
William E. Johnson

Without waiting to enquire into the credentials of the writer of this letter, the liquor trade took him into its confidence. Compromising evidence showing the secret methods by which the liquor interests corrupted politicians and newspaper men poured into his office. When he felt that he had secured enough material to incriminate the trade, he printed it in the *New York Voice* and the *Lincoln Call*.

The men who were thus hit promptly replied by using their influence to prevent the newspapers, from circulating in Nebraska. They had, however counted without their host, for Johnson himself immediately started a paper in Nebraska and began printing his revelations. When the trade stooped to terrorising the boys who sold his paper, the reformer-editor, who is a man of powerful frame, and exceedingly quick-witted, did not hesitate to put up a fight.

Shortly afterwards Johnson went to the Philippines and there stirred up a hornet's nest by exposing the American officials who had suppressed the report made by Dr. Ira A. Brown, an Army surgeon, who, after a careful investigation, had condemned the supply of whiskey to troops. On his return to his own country he wrote a powerful pamphlet, *Benevolent Assimilation of the Philippines*, in which he cited instance after instance of outrages committed by drunken American soldiers upon the Filipines, and made a strong appeal for the stoppage of the supply of whiskey to the Army of occupation.

In 1906 the Federal authorities engaged Mr. Johnson to suppress the liquor traffic in the Indian Territory, which was later constituted into the State of Oklahoma. The authorities had made many attempts to stop the flagrant contravention of their orders

prohibiting the importation of liquor into that Territory or its manufacture and sale there, but the wild and woolly men, who in those days roamed at large in that Territory, went on blissfully ignoring the executive orders and the Federal Agents. The Commissioner for (Red) Indian Affairs selected Mr. Johnson, because he was the one man who possessed the shrewdness and courage to clean up the Territory, and gave him power to employ his own staff and to incur any expenditure that he deemed fit. The liquor trade tried to interfere, but Col. Theodore Roosevelt, then President, refused to listen to them, and, in his characteristic way, wrote: "Leave Johnson alone, more power to his elbow," upon a letter addressed to him by a powerful politician who tried to block Johnson's efforts to make the Federal orders respected in the Indian Territory.

I have in my possession several huge scrapbooks containing cuttings from newspapers of that time detailing Johnson's exploits in tackling the desperadoes engaged in contravening the liquor laws in the Indian Territory. I select from them one instance to show the resourcefulness and intrepidity of the man during a period when his life was every moment in the gravest peril.

A drink seller went about bragging that he was out for Johnson's blood and meant to shoot him at sight. The redoubtable special officer realised that he had either to accept the challenge thus publicly offered or give-up his job, for in those wild days there was no chance in the West for a weak or cowardly man. Carefully disguising himself, he rode up to the door of the billiard (pool) hall of his sworn enemy, tied his horse to a post, and pretending to be dead drunk, reeled into the place and demanded a drink. A bottle of sarsaparilla—an innocuous "soft" drink, was placed before him, but he dashed the bottle down in a fit of anger and demanded "real hell fire." The drink seller decided that he was a safe man, opened a trap door in the floor, took out a bottle of spirits and passed it to him. After pouring out a drink Johnson asked for some tobacco which quick-witted Johnson had seen, was in a jar in a cupboard behind him, necessitating his turning round to get it. The instant his back was turned Johnson whipped out the liquor seller's gun. When the man turned round he found himself grazing into the muzzle of his own revolver. It was an easy matter, after that, to disarm

him and take him prisoner. From that day Johnson has been known as Pussyfoot Johnson.

Through such fighting did Johnson turn what used to be a rather dreary farce into an actual accomplishment in the enforcement of the Acts of Congress forbidding the liquor traffic in the Indian Territory, so wrote the Commissioner for Indian Affairs in his official report dated September 30, 1907.

The following year as Chief Special Officer Johnson was placed in charge of the work of suppressing the liquor traffic in all the Indian Reserves in the United States. In this enlarged sphere he had a hundred men working under him and an appropriation of 80,000 a year which was afterwards raised. One can judge of the methods that he had to employ from the statement that he made in that year.

"We have not been very tender in our dealings with these hyenas who would get an Indian drunk so as to rob him of his blanket. Nothing but the unrelenting cold steel of absolute justice will have any effect on the cuticle of such. There is no quarter asked or given and no sympathy wasted."

Soon after leaving the Indian Service Johnson joined the Literary Department of the Anti Saloon League which had been instituted by Dr. Howard H. Russell in 1893 in Ohio. One of the earliest coups he scored was to secure amazing confessions from conductors of newspapers in West Virginia involving them in the liquor traffic. Posing as a literary agent at Washington D. C. under the name of C. L. Trevitt, Johnson wrote a letter inquiring what terms he could make with them for the privilege of laying arguments against prohibition before your readers. Advise me what rate per line you will charge for pure reading matter without advertising marks and also what rate you will charge for editorial matter. I am willing to pay for editorials against prohibition even if written by yourself.

Only ten out of the 70 papers addressed refused to accept money for anti Prohibition advertising. The others fell into the trap and asked frankly or otherwise for bribes.

Among the replies received was a letter from the editor of a newspaper, which read in part:

"I am in the market for business and I accept your proposition. I am hard up too and the sooner you send your matter and a small cheque the better it will be for me."



Mr. William Eugene Johnson ("Pussyfoot")

This editor acted every Sunday as Superintendent of a Sunday School.

Some editors actually requested Johnson to send the money by telegraph so eager were they to be subsidised.

Johnson had these letters photographed and published them. The victims promptly called him a 'forger', 'vulture' and 'black mailer' but he replied by telling a representative of *Colliers Weekly*, who interviewed him that he had no apologies to make that he was out after scamps and had got them and that was not the only time he had set traps for crooks and caught them.

The work in which Johnson engaged after securing these revelations was generally speaking, not of a spectacular nature. He on the contrary settled down to gathering data, preparing literature on temperance reform, and lecturing. While carrying on these public activities he also took part in the work of organising campaigns firstly for State wide Prohibition and later for a nation wide movement. He rendered so valuable contribution to the success of the movement, that in 1918 after the Prohibition Amendment was enacted

on to the end of the American Constitution and the anti League decided to open a campaign to bring about world wide prohibition he was sent to Europe as representative of the League to open offices in London and organise the propaganda

Even before Johnson arrived in England, the liquor interests in that country, perhaps the greatest monopoly in the country and certainly possessing the most efficient organisation for resisting attack had started an intensive campaign. Huge placards were posted on bill boards representing "Pussyfoot Johnson stealthily coming across the Atlantic to poke his nose into British affairs and to commit the British people to Prohibition before they realised what was happening. This sort of propaganda was initiated by persons who knew the British psychology because the British people are so constituted that while they reserve to themselves the right to go to every land under the sun to put it in order, they greatly resent it when someone comes from another country to set them right. That feeling is the logical sequence of their faith in their own perfection.

Shortly after Johnson's arrival in London a representative of the *Daily Mail* called upon him and had a talk with him. The American reformer told him most distinctly that he had not come to England in order to poke his nose into British affairs. On the contrary, he had come at the pressing invitation of a British Society, which was helping to pay his expenses in order to place American experience before the British people leaving them to decide whether or not to follow in the American footsteps. The manner in which these statements found expression through the medium of the *Daily Mail* correspondent created the impression that he had come to England to poke his nose into British affairs.

This *Daily Mail* interview and the 'Pussyfoot' placards cost Johnson an eye it happened in this way.

On November 13 1920 Johnson appeared on the platform of the Essex Hall to take part in a debate on Prohibition organised by the Overseas Club founded by my friend Mr Evelyn Wrench. Before he entered the hall British students mostly from the University College, and St Bartholomew's Hospital, captured most of the seats in the building, yelling from time to time

'Pussyfoot, Pussyfoot,  
We want Pussyfoot  
Bart's wants Pussyfoot  
Guy's wants Pussyfoot  
Pussyfoot!"

The Chairman asked the audience to give Mr Johnson fair play, and the latter told them he was prepared to wait there all night, if necessary, until they were willing to listen to him. These words had however, no effect upon the disturbers who went on singing the 'Pussyfoot' doggerel, and varying it with such chants as

'We 'on the Somme on rum and rum only!  
And the sooner Mr Johnson realises that  
the better!'

Unruffled by this hostile demonstration, with the cherubic smile for which he is famous Johnson rose and told the audience that he had come to Britain not on his own initiative but on the invitation and partly at the expense of a body of British people that the British had the right to invite anybody into their homes they thought fit, and if that right was denied them then the country would be false to its tradition. He did not get any farther.

The students in the hall rose from their seats as if they were going away. It was, however only a part of their pre arranged tactics. At a signal, one group of them began to bombard the platform with small paper bags of flour. Another group of picked men made a rush for the platform, smashing tables and chairs bent upon seizing 'Pussyfoot' and the Chairman Johnson standing with his back to the wall, tried with hands and knees, to fight back the crowd surging about him. He was however, blinded with flour from the bursting bags with which he was being pelted, and was thereupon seized and carried to the street before anyone in the audience could do anything to prevent his being kidnapped.

There a crowd of some 2,000 students was waiting. A newspaper cart had been commandeered. The Chairman was bundled into it and dragged by the students who had taken the horse from the shafts to King's College. Johnson was taken to the same rendezvous by another route, the students triumphantly yelling "Pussyfoot, Pussyfoot, we've got Pussyfoot!" Some of the students wanted to duck him in the Thames or in the fountains at Trafalgar Square, but the organisers of the "rag" would not permit



it Johnson was instead taken to King's College and offered beer which he naturally did not drink. They then demanded a speech from him but his voice was drowned in the pandemonium. A procession was then formed Johnson being carried on a stretcher by some of the students and the Chairman following in a cart drawn by a number of boys.

The procession wound its way along the streets of the West End. Some of the students bore banners with anti Pussyfoot inscriptions. Rival groups sang choruses against each other or asked and answered questions.

'What won the war?' one would shout  
Beer! the crowd would thunder in reply

Most of the time however they sang

Pussyfoot Pussyfoot  
We've got Pussyfoot  
Guys have Pussyfoot  
Barts have Pussyfoot  
We've all got Pussyfoot  
Pussyfoot

Thousands of persons all laughing and joking lined the streets.

As soon as Johnson realised that it was only a students' rag and that they meant no harm he entered thoroughly into the spirit of the affair.

Time and time again the police tried to rescue him, but were unable to do so. Police reserves had to be called for. Near Oxford Circus they manoeuvred so that the section of the mob with Johnson was cut off from the rest of the procession and there with a rush they rescued him from his captors and hurried him into a motor-car.

Just at this point the rag' was turned with a tragedy. A stone thrown by some one at the edge of the crowd hit Johnson in the left eye seriously injuring the eyeball and causing intense pain. He was taken immediately to a surgeon who bandaged his eye. Despite all attempts to save it it eventually had to be removed. He now wears a glass eye in its place.

The students declared it was not one of them who threw the stone that put out Johnson's eye. He at once sent them a message that he did not bear them a grain of ill will. They wrote to him a letter of sympathy and sent a deputation to wait upon him at his flat and tell him how shocked and sorry they were at the unhappy *dénouement*.

of what they had intended to be an innocent 'rag'.

The accident turned the tide of public sympathy in Johnson's favour. The King made inquiries about his progress. The Lord Chancellor Lord Birkenhead in a public speech denounced the rag' in severe language. Dr H. A. L. Fisher the Minister for Education wrote regretting the occurrence. The Chairman of the Wine and Spirit Trade Defence Fund wrote a letter expressing his sincere regret at the treatment he had received. Even in public houses and hotel saloons one heard men drinking their liquor or beer speaking sympathetically of the man who had not received British fair play.

A London evening paper opened a subscription for Johnson's benefit. Not wishing to appear to be trying to exploit the accident for his own gain however he asked that the fund thus raised should be given to St Dunstan's work for blinded soldiers which was done.

As soon as Johnson was able to leave the Nursing Home a public banquet was tendered him followed by a public meeting at Central Hall Westminster attended by over 3,000 persons. He told them that he did not intend to grieve about the loss of his eye. The benefits which he believed had accrued to the cause more than counterbalanced his personal loss.

Almost immediately after that meeting Johnson went to North Africa to regain his health which had suffered seriously through the strain and suffering before his eye was removed. On returning to London he found the whole atmosphere changed. Whereas the temperance movement in England had been almost dead a year before he found it very much alive. Prohibition was in the air. The people, the press, the Government were all discussing one phase or another of temperance reform.

Now Johnson goes about lecturing all over the country telling the British people why America got rid of the liquor traffic.

Condensed in a few words Johnson's story is that the movement from beginning to end has been a movement of the people. They themselves asked to get rid of the curse. Before the National Prohibition Amendment became part of the Constitution early in 1919 12,000 municipalities had

liquor. At that time no less than 2,600 out of 3,000 counties and 32 out of 45 States of the Union were 'dry'.

Various sections of the American people supported the movement for various reasons. The captains of industry—the big employers of labour—were interested in it because drink lowered efficiency and caused accidents. The workers aided it because accidents through drink resulted in loss of limb or even life. Their women folk helped because drink led to wife beating, squandering of money and neglect of children and in some cases desertion. The police and magistracy supported it because liquor was the most fruitful parent of crime. Persons interested in civic betterment and social welfare found their problems created, or at any rate complicated, by drink and had to deal with its products, the slums, houses of ill fame and their denizens, and naturally pressed for the extinction of the traffic. Proprietors of cinemas, theatres, and shops helped in the crusade, because they saw that they would get some of the money which would cease to go into the pockets of the drink seller and manufacturer. The leaders of the Red Indians and negroes sought to get rid of drink because it roused the elemental passions in their people and made them commit outrages which disgraced their community. The whites, living in close propinquity to them supported the movement because drunken Indians and negroes menaced their civic and domestic peace.

Humanitarian, social and civic motives combined with motives of personal gain to make the movement popular, until it swept from one sea board to the other. The popularity of the movement was demonstrated by the large vote cast in both Houses of the United States Congress in favour of submitting the joint resolution proposing the prohibition amendment to the States, and the manner in which the States ratified that amendment. Although only 36 States needed to ratify it in order to give it validity 45 out of the 48 States, incorporated in the Union ratified it. The remaining three States—Connecticut, New Jersey and Rhode Island—constituted an area of 26,802 square miles out of a total area of 2,973,890 square miles for the continental United States and, according to the census of 1910 a population of 4,194,533 persons, out of a total population of 91,972,266 persons. These figures

show that liquor was banished from the United States by legislative action taken by 45 States which between them, composed 99.7 per cent of the total area of the United States, and contained 95 per cent of the population.

Much of Johnson's time and energy are being consumed in exposing the lies which are being constantly circulated in Britain about the failure of the American authorities to enforce the prohibition amendment and about the evil consequences which are following in the wake of partial enforcement.

Johnson does not attempt to deny that during the period of transition there are contrivances of the law. He does maintain, however, that these infractions are greatly magnified and that in spite of them the people in the United States is beginning to reap great advantages from prohibition.

Enquiries made from the chiefs of police in 34 cities in the United States show the following results:

Year	Arrests for Drunkenness	Total Arrests
1917	372,497	1,109,561
1918	294,006	1,049,963
1919	205,391	956,215
1920	141,071	935,318

In reading these figures, it is necessary to bear in mind that under the old system drunkenness and crime were rapidly increasing. As the machinery for enforcing prohibition is perfected cases of drunkenness will disappear, while those of crime will decrease still further.

Statistics gathered by the Health Department of New York City, summarised in the following table, show a great decrease in the number of deaths from alcoholism.

Year	Deaths
1916	680
1917	559
1918	243
1919	156
1920	69

Reports are coming from all parts of the country of the jails and "poorhouses" (almshouses), which, owing to prohibition are being closed for lack of inmates, and of the cuts which are being made in the police and police court establishments.

As the result of economies effected the authorities do not feel the loss of revenue from excise, which has been extinguished by

prohibition. As the State Treasurer of Montana recently wrote to Mr Johnson —

The counties of the State have lost the income from licenses formerly collected but have saved materially by not having the prisons or poorhouses filled with criminals and dependents caused by the use of liquor. The State has also lost the percentage of the revenue formerly derived from these licenses but has saved in the same manner. Therefore we do not consider that the prohibition policy has raised our taxes."

As taxation in the United States is based upon the value of property the authorities in many places have benefited from the general rise in the value of property which has resulted from the removal of the saloons.

The effect of prohibition upon domestic civic and social life is equally marked. Where as in the old days the worker used to take in his cheque to be cashed at the saloon which would deduct the best part of it for drink supplied on account and also for treating on pay day now it is taken to the wife who is able to provide better food, clothes and amusement, and withal to save a part of it and put it by for the rainy day. *Between June 30 1919 and November 17 1919 there were 800,000 new accounts opened in the National Banks of the United States the increase in deposits aggregating*

*\$142,853,000 while the increase in the number and amount of deposits in the State and private banks was far greater than that in the National Banks.*

Why should a country so poor as India and a people so constitutionally opposed to drink as Indians continue to waste money and stamina upon the liquor traffic and reap all the ills which follow in its train? With her traditions India should have really led the way in prohibition but though that opportunity has been lost to us there is nothing to prevent us from following the example set by the United States of America.

Any administrator who tells us that the drink traffic cannot be extinguished because the money derived from it is needed for education and sanitation is really not worth keeping. Not so very long ago physicians in England used to tell their patients that alcohol was indispensable. When people began to test the fitness of the doctor by his ability to do without liquor physicians soon found that they could prescribe without having recourse to alcohol. Administrators are the servants of the people and if the people are determined to extinguish the liquor traffic their agents must find a way to get along without excise revenue.

## LETTERS FROM RABINDRANATH TAGORE

I

**T**HERE are a large number of ideas about which we do not even know that they are inaccessible to us, only because we have grown too familiar with their names.

Such is our idea of God. We do not have to realise it, in order to be aware that we know it. This is why it requires a great deal of spiritual sensitiveness to be able to feel the life-throb of God's reality behind the vulgar callosity of words. Things that are small naturally come to their limits for us when they are familiar. But the truth which is great should reveal its infinity all the more vastly when it is near to us. Unfortu-

nately words that represent truth and the minds that use those words have not the same immensity of life as truth itself. Therefore the words (and with them our attention and interest) become inert by constant handling, obscuring our faith underneath them without our being conscious of that tragic fact.

This is the reason, why men who are obviously religious are frequently more irreligious in reality than those who openly ignore religion. Preachers and ministers of religion have made it their business to deal with God at every moment. They cannot afford to wait until they come in touch with them. They dare not acknowledge the fact that

they have not done so. Therefore, they have to strain their minds into a constant attitude of God-knowingness. They have to delude themselves, in order to fulfil the expectation of others, or what they consider to be their duty.

And yet, the consciousness of God, like that of all other great ideas, comes to us only with intense moments of illumination, of inspiration. If we do not have the patience to wait for it, we only choke the path of that inspiration with the debris of our conscious efforts. Those, who make it their business to preach God, preach creeds. They lose their sense of distinction between these two. Therefore, their religion does not bring peace in this world but conflict. They do not hesitate to make use even of their religion for the propaganda of national self-seeking and boastfulness.

You may wonder, in your mind, as to the reason of my bringing up this topic in my present letter. It is in connexion with the same endless conflict within me between the poet and the preacher,—one of whom depends for his mission upon inspiration and the other upon conscious endeavour. Straining of consciousness leads to insensitiveness, of which I am more afraid than anything else. The preacher is the professional dealer in particular ideas. His customers come at all hours of the day and put questions to him. The answers, which he gets into the habit of producing, gradually lose their living quality, and his faith in his ideas runs the risk of being smothered under the deadness of his words. I believe that such a tragedy is more common than people suspect, especially with those who are good, and therefore are ever ready to sign their cheques of benefit for others, without waiting to see if the cash had time to accumulate in the bank.

This makes me think, that it is safe to be nothing better than a mere poet. For poets have to be true to their best moments and not to other peoples' requirements.

## II

Even when I was very young, my mind saw things with a large *atmo-sphère* and

an environment of reality. That is to say, fact indicated some truth to me, even though I did not clearly understand it. That is why my mind was constantly struck with things that, in themselves, were commonplace. When I watched, from over the wall of the terrace of the inner apartments of our Jorashanko house, the cocoanut trees and the tank surrounded by the huts of the milk vendors, they came before me with a more-than-themness that could not be exhausted. That faculty,—though subsequently mingled with reasoning and self-analysis,—has still continued in my life. It is the sense and craving for wholeness. Constantly it has been the cause of my separation from others and also to their misunderstanding of my motives. Swadeshism, swarajism, ordinarily produce intense excitement in the minds of my countrymen, because they carry in them some fervour of passion generated by the exclusiveness of their range. It cannot be said that I am untouched by this heat and movement. But somehow, by my temperament as a poet, I am incapable of accepting these objects as final. They claim from us great deal more than is their due. And after a certain point is reached, I find myself obliged to separate myself from my own people, with whom I have been working, and my soul cries out,—“The complete man must never be sacrificed to the patriotic man, or even to the merely moral man.”

To me, humanity is rich and large and many sided. Therefore, I feel deeply hurt when I find that, for some material gain, Man's personality is mutilated in the Western world and he is reduced to a machine. The same process of repression and curtailment of humanity is often advocated in our country under the name of patriotism. Such deliberate impoverishment of our nature seems to me a crime. It is a cultivation of callousness, which is a form of sacrilege. For God's purpose is to lead man into that perfection of growth, which is the attainment of a unity comprehending an immense manifoldness. But when I find man, for some purpose of his own, imposing upon his

society, a mutilation of mind, a niggardliness of culture, a puritanism which is spiritual penury, it makes me inexpressibly sad.

I have been reading a book by a Frenchman on Japan,—it almost makes me feel almost envious! The sensitiveness to the ideal of beauty which has been made universal in Japan, is not only the source of her strength, but of her heroic spirit of renunciation. For true renunciation blossoms on the vigorous soil of beauty and joy,—the soil which supplies positive food to our souls.

But the negative process of making the soil poor produces a ghastly form of renunciation, which belongs to the nihilism

of life. Emaciation of human nature has already been going on for a long time in India, let us not add to it by creating a mania for self-immolation. Our life today needs more colour, more expansion, more nourishment, for all the variety of its famished functions. Whatever may be the case in other countries, we need in India more fullness of life, and not asceticism.

Deadness of life, in all forms, gives rise to impurities, by enfeebling our reason, narrowing our vision, creating fanaticism, owing to our forcing our will power into abnormal channels. Life carries its own purification, when its sap finds its passage unbarred through all its ramifications.

## REFORM OF FIGHTING IN COURTS OF LAW

**F**IGHTING in Courts of Law between individuals or between the State and one or more individuals is a civil contest carried on with weapons of law, and not with weapons of violence. The combatants here are highly trained men of keen intellects, a very large part of the highest talent in every civilized country being drawn to this body of combatants. But the combatants are mercenaries after all, for they sell their services indiscriminately for pay. This gives the litigant with the long purse an immense advantage over the litigant with the small purse. The higher the fee paid the abler is the advocacy secured. Generally speaking, a man of small means has hardly any chance of success in a legal contest with a man of large means. "The law's delay" has become a proverbial expression, and delay means additional expenditure. With the system of the distribution of justice now prevailing in civilized countries great dissatisfaction has been widely felt. In France, in 1793, popular courts were introduced in place of the then existing courts, but they did not answer. Soviet Russia has followed

the course taken by France in 1793 and has abolished the Bar. But this too will not answer. In our own country Mahatma Gandhi sometime back declared himself against law courts and legal practitioners. This propaganda of his has had but trifling success, and is bound to fail, completely.

The reform of the existing system of judicial administration should follow the line of retaining all that is good in the existing system and of casting off all that is evil. For the performance of judicial work, civil or criminal, specialization is necessary, if it is necessary in any department of human life. The present practice of specialization for judicial officers and advocates requires to be retained, and judicial officers require to be highly paid, and also advocates, if they are to be made servants of the State, as is proposed in this paper. How advocates as servants of the State are to work, will be indicated later on. Soviet Russia has made all medical practitioners servants of the State and employed them to look after the health of the entire body of the people. A similar idea has been

making its way in some other countries. States are bound to grow more and more *sociocratic*\* and look after the welfare of all classes of people from top to bottom. Germany was leading the way in this matter, but the war, for which, by the way, she is responsible, has crippled her, as it has crippled her great neighbours, Britain and France. But progress all round must come, as recovery is made from effects of the war, and the State must care more and more for all classes of people.

-As servants of the State, advocates may work in this wise. When a suit comes up before a Court, the Court may refer the parties to the suit to about an equal number of about equally competent advocates; and thus advocates, after studying all aspects of the suit for each contending party, may put before the Court the results of their study, and point out favourable and unfavourable points alike. There can thus be an all round elucidation of the case, and with the help thus rendered the Court can and pronounce a sound judgment. Judgments thus arrived at must be much nearer perfection than judgments under the existing system, and so discourage litigation. It is because the results of litigation, under the present system, are more or less uncertain that men are apt to rush to law. Under the system proposed, litigants are not to incur any costs. But as wrongdoers require, in justice, to be punished, parties to a suit may be made to deposit in the Court certain amounts proportioned to the values of the suits, before the suits are proceeded with. After the results of appeals are finally pronounced, the deposits of parties losing suits should be forfeited. This should be the case with civil suits. In criminal suits, suitable punishments, according to law, for the accused who are convicted, is the proper course. Some provision seems necessary for awarding compensation to accused persons who are acquitted.

The system of judicial machinery advo-

cated in this paper would necessarily add largely to the expenditure of the State. But this increased expenditure may be met by reducing expenditure on armaments as largely as possible. If, under the regime of the League of Nations or a modification thereof, war is to be made impossible or very nearly impossible, there would be great room for the reduction of expenditure on armaments.

The existing system of advocacy in Courts has given rise to a code of ethics among advocates, which is by no means defensible. According to this code, it is the business of the Court to *judge*. The advocate is not bound to *judge*. He is free to take up any case that is "arguable". A good advocate cannot fail to distinguish between a good case and a bad case. But how many are the good advocates who refuse every case they believe to be bad? No case, however bad, fails to get an advocate, and, generally speaking, the worse the case the heavier is the fee demanded and paid. If all advocates *judged* and all refused cases which they *judged* to be bad, bad cases would have no advocacy, and the world would be the better for this. Able advocacy of a bad case often defeats the ends of justice. Here I may pertinently quote words that fell from the lips of the Advocate General of the Calcutta High Court, Mr. S. P. Sinha (now Lord Sinha), when the Vakils' Association gave an address to the Hon'ble Justice Saradacharan Mitra on the eve of his retirement from the High Court Bench in December 1908.\* "I desire", said the Advocate General, "on behalf of the members of the Bar to associate myself with every word that has fallen from my friend, Babu Ram Charan Mitter. I think I voice the feelings of all members of the profession when I say we all felt that when we appeared before your lordship with a good case we were certain to win, and equally if we appeared with a bad case we were bound to lose. That is the highest praise which members of my profession can give to a judge of this Court." Here is evidence from very high

\* After a certain writer I use the word "*sociocratic*" to express a sense somewhat different from that of the word "*socialistic*".

\* The Statesman, December 18, 1908

authority that members of the legal profession do appear before judges with bad cases. If advocates of all grades were made servants of the State and had only to minister to the ends of justice being entirely freed from the necessity of striving to win clients' cases the moral atmosphere of our Courts of Law would be purged of a moral taint that has long infected it. In connection with this moral taint a typical generally accepted theory of members of the legal profession may here well be commented on. The theory is that, if after a lawyer has undertaken to defend an accused person without of course knowing him to be guilty the accused person of his own accord makes a confession of his guilt to the lawyer the lawyer would still be bound to defend him, for otherwise the accused would be in a perilous situation. Here the position is that the lawyer's duty to his client binds him to defend him fully knowing him to be guilty, ignoring thus the duty he owes to himself and to society. Why should not the lawyer in such a case tell his client that his confession made it impossible for him to defend him, that he would find another lawyer for him and that to that lawyer no such confession should be made as had been made to him? Should there be no time to find another lawyer the only unimpeachable course for the lawyer engaged would be to say before the Court all that could be said in the client's favour, but to say at the same time that he himself did not believe the client to be guiltless.

I shall conclude now with a few remarks on *trial by jury* which however necessary and beneficial a system at the stage of human history when judges are

subservient to the executive authority of Government, becomes an anachronism and an evil when judges become quite independent. Trial by jury works notoriously badly in the Southern States of the American Union when Whites are opposed to Blacks and its working in India when Whites are opposed to Browns is notoriously unsatisfactory. In France which is one of the foremost countries in the world, it sometimes causes a scandalous miscarriage of justice. I transcribed in a note book of mine an account of such a miscarriage of justice which I read in the *Weekly Graphic* of January 6 1894. To save space I quote here only the last sentence of the account. But because the greater number of the victims of the rioting last August were Italians the jury felt it incumbent on themselves to demonstrate their patriotism by practically declaring that for a Frenchman to kill an Italian competitor is no crime at all. Not many years ago Madame Caillaux deliberately shot the Editor of the *Figaro* dead in Paris and a jury of gallant Frenchmen tender to her sex and her passionate crime acquitted her. Pope's cutting remark. And wretches hang that jurymen may dine carries matters too far. But acute observer as Pope was he did observe that men were unwilling to serve on juries. Why compel unwilling men to do jurymen's work? There has long been a clamour in India for the extension of the jury system. Perhaps extension has been desired as a means of security for persons accused of any political offence against the supposed leaning of English judicial officers towards Government. The jury system instead of receiving an extended area of operations should receive its extinction as early as the independence of those who judge is completely secured.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed. Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books—Editor, M. R.]

## ENGLISH.

**KAUTILYA AND KALIDASA—III** By H. A. Shah, Esq., B.A. Reprinted from the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, vol. XI, no. 2, Pp 1-8

The pamphlet under notice is the reprint of a disquisition contributed to the journal of the Mythic Society, vol XI, no 2. The scrappy form of the essay does not enable one to make any definite statement with regard to its merit. The first two instalments, referred to in the very opening lines of the portion, sent to us for review, ought also to have been enclosed. From what we have got in hand at present, we find that the writer starts with the assumption of the identity of Kautilya, Canakya and Vatsayana, and argues in a circle to prove it. The fallacy of the procedure ought to have been sufficiently apparent to the editorial board of the journal, for despite the blustering pedantry marshalled forth with so consummate skill, to cover the shallowness of arguments, and the silly bitterness with which some scholars have been attacked, it will not cost much intellectual strain on the part of any running reader to recognise the stamp of superficiality and amateurism which the paper bears.

A curious confusion of chronology and an implicit faith in the historical basis of tradition are the marked characteristics of the paper. The author places Puzyamitra at a period about half a century earlier than the accepted date of Candragupta Maurya, since in certain examples, occurring in Patanjali's Mahabhasya, the name of Puzyamitra precedes that of Candragupta and the popular tradition states that the author of the Mahabhasya was living at the time of the first Maurya monarch. The author believes that the Mauryas were Brahmanas and in support of his theory he quotes Hemacandra, a Jaina author of considerable later date. It does not strike him that all the earlier Puranas are unanimous with regard to the low origin of the Mauryas and that Patanjali, who does not appear to have entertained a very high opinion about the Mauryas, might have been living at a time when their ascendancy was a thing of the past. What Mr. Shah seems to be unaware of is that in the section on *alaka* compounds the

author of the Mahabhasya remarks that the expression *devanam priya* is used in the deprecatory sense (*garharthe*). It is needless to remind our readers that the expression occurs in the opening lines of the inscriptions of Piyadasi and the conjecture is natural that it must have been borrowed therefrom. There are several other references in the work, too numerous to be recounted here, to the Mauryas and their achievements—a fact which unmistakably points to a later date for the Mahabhasya. And again there is another point in this connection to be considered: Puzyamitra was a Brahmana, and took an active part in the overthrow of the Maurya dynasty. So that the preferential consideration, so common and prominent among the illustrative usages in the "Great Commentary" of Puzyamitra and his doings, may be considered as the result of synchronism, prudential motive and sympathetic sentimentalism.

The theory put forth by the late Dr. S. C. Vidyabhusana is that the authors of the Arthashastra, the Kamasutra and the Nyayabhasya were three different persons, belonging to the Vatsayana clan, who lived in three different epochs widely separated from each other, and known only by their clan names. This perhaps is the most sane conjecture one can venture in the matter. The structure, the style and the chronology of the three works do not offer any parallel to suggest that they were written by one and the same person.

The mention of the legendary incident of the murder of Malayavati by Kuntala Satakarni in the Kamasutra only proves that the tale was extant at the time of composition of the work and made use of by the author to illustrate a case of sadism in the course of a study on the psychology of sex. This bare reference to the legend cannot be regarded as definitely pointing to a synchronistic relation between the Kamasutra and the Andhra monarch.

In the course of the thesis, the author assumes that the Arthashastra was written by Kautilya himself. Mr. Shah fails to understand that the quotations and citations to be found in the Arthashastra clearly indicate that the work, as we have it, at present, cannot be the production of the great chancellor of Candragupta.



gupta the Maurya since it was regarded as much out of literary etiquette then as it would be now for an author to quote himself and cite his own authority. Hence, the conclusion seems plausible that the work was a later compilation, undertaken by the followers of the Kautilian doctrines. The quotation from Hemaadra does not go to prove anything, it is rather ridiculous that such citations were made to substantiate arguments with regard to an author who lived about ten centuries before the date of the authority put forth. The implicit faith of the author, however, in the genuineness of the Arthashastra does not help him much. The work, as it is presented to us by the Mysore Pandit leaves out many things which may be thought desirable to have in connection with a publication of such unique importance. The edition does not show much critical acumen on the part of the editor, nor does it speak of his acquaintance with the modern method.

Perhaps it would have been more prudent on the part of Mr. Shah had he been a little more circumspect in accusing others of drawing hasty conclusions without attempting to analyse their arguments in a scholarly spirit.

S. K. MUKH.

WHAT IS SOCIOLOGY? by V. M. G. Iyer. Madras, 1921. 160 pp.

This is a well printed pamphlet containing an essay on the essential elements of the science of society.

SELF GOVERNMENT AND THE BREAD PROBLEM. Series of Lectures by J. W. Petavel. The Capt. R. I. Published by the Calcutta University, 1921.

The foundation of the co-operative State within the State of small co-operative industries for the production of everyday necessities affiliated to big co-operative industrial concerns for the production of all those articles which are beyond the means of simple industrial organisations—this seems to be the essence of Captain Petavel's scheme. If people, under foreign government, says the author, 'feeling the anomaly of their position turn their attention to developing and strengthening all kinds of national organisations and institutions, so as to become independent economically and otherwise of the foreigners, and draw their fellow countrymen to these national institutions by their own intrinsic merits, and, therefore, without having any need to agitate the movement will be not only entirely legitimate but of real value to the cause of progress carried out in that way, it may raise them from their position of dependence to one of leadership and of great service to mankind. If they aim at making the foreign government immediately impossible in that manner they will be choosing what is evidently the best of all ways of putting an end to the anomaly of foreign rule.'

SCHOOLS WITH A MESSAGE IN INDIA. by D. J. Fleming. Pp. D. Oxford University Press, 1921, Pp. 203.

This is a handsomely got up illustrated volume in which Professor Fleming the American representative of the missionary Commission on Village Education in India, describes twelve types of schools in India—six of them vocational or industrial (three for men and three for girls and women), three miscellaneous with the emphasis on training for citizenship, and the last three represent Indian educational experiments at Bolpur the Gurukul and in the National High School at Madras. As we went through the chapters we were struck with the author's (American?) power of grasping the distinctive features of an institution at a glance and presenting them before the reader in a few apt sentences. A vast mass of useful information about these different types of schools has been digested and made readable, and even introduced by the manner in which it has been introduced by way of illustrating the author's comments. Many of the schools described are missionary institutions but naturally we are more interested in truly national types like the Gurukul and the Shiksha Niketan. For the most part, says the author, our schools in India are on a moribund level. The educational scheme outlined in the Government code acts the standard which is followed to such an extent that a real experiment stands out with surprising freshness. The author has found that 'a very real obstacle to education is poverty. The average monthly income of the family (of the panchama class) may easily not exceed twelve rupees from all sources. When one considers the extreme poverty of the people and how this reacts on their whole life, preventing them from developing in a normal way, it becomes plain that one fundamental aim in their education must be the achievement of economic salvation for the people. One is glad to learn that it has been proved in isolated centres that with teachers of superior ability and training village children of outcaste origin can make progress comparable to children of the better classes in city schools. But the best period of school life along with the prevailing illiterate environment and paucity of suitable literature, leads to another serious result, a relapse into the cracy of 30 per cent of those who are educated. One of the most fruitful fields of educational work is among the mill population. But although India's employers of labour have recognised the advantages of elementary education for their working people very few have made serious attempts to arrange for such education. In India, as in the West, a time will come when the workers will demand an education that develops personality and a task in a democratised industry (and not merely a training which is meant to fit them as

wisdom of the same people which scholars like Shyam Sastri, S. K. Iyengar, K. P. Jayaswal, Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Narendra Nath Law, Radha Kumud Mukherjee and Ramesh Chandra Majumdar have done something to bring to light.

Besides this introductory passage, the only other reference to India is to be found at pages 265-66 where the author discusses political freedom in its internal and external aspects. External freedom is the independence of a community in its external relations. Internal freedom means the opportunity afforded to the citizen for moral self-development. And here occurs this astounding sentence. This is separable from external freedom and in some instances as for example in the case of the Indian Empire, internal freedom has been all the greater for the absence of external independence. But a few pages onwards we find it stated as a general principle. Wherever there is real freedom there is an abiding conviction in the minds of all good citizens that their legitimate aspirations do weigh with the governing power and that they have the support of the institutions of their country in a word, that the Government is really their own government, constituted and maintained in spite of all appearances to the contrary by the deepest and most permanent aspects of their own wills and again the last and only satisfactory justification of the State's authority is that it is the expression of the individual's own real will, that it interprets himself to himself and provides the only medium in which he can grow to his full stature as an individual person. What is required of the organization of society in the State is that it shall provide the opportunity of self-realization and self-development so far as it is capable of doing so. Judged by this test it is ridiculous to state that the people of India enjoy internal freedom, or that the State in India fulfils the function of an autonomous State enjoying both internal and external freedom.

Our Anglo-Indian (old style) rulers are never tired of depicting the horrible state of anarchy into which India would relapse if the British control were withdrawn. The picture which they draw is akin to Hobbes' description of the condition of man in a State of Nature. According to that philosopher the natural condition of man is war where every man is enemy to every man. In such condition proceeds Hobbes there is no place for industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain and consequently no culture of the earth, no navigation nor use of the commodities that may be imported by sea, no commodious building, no instruments of moving and removing such things as require much force, no knowledge of the face of the earth, no account of time, no arts, no letters, no society, and which is worst of all continuous fear and

danger of violent death - and the life of man solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. Perhaps the motives of our Anglo-Indian rulers are not different from those which actuated the author of the Leviathan in painting the natural man in such dark colours. According to Professor Lord. The inspiring motive of the author [Hobbes] is not far to seek. If he is to succeed in recommending his view of the unlimited and absolute sovereignty of the king and the no less unlimited and absolute servitude of his subjects the only alternative to civil and political society, namely the State of Nature must be rendered sufficiently unattractive to make even legal slavery seem preferable. Natural rights and liberties must be so exhausted of all their effective content that even the most meagre of civil rights may seem to be priceless possessions in comparison.

The most practically useful chapter in the whole book for us in India is that on Democracy and Representation. Representative Democracy rests upon the belief that Popular sovereignty may exist without Popular Government that the people may control and even inspire a policy whilst leaving the details of its execution in the hands of its ministers. These latter being specialists and experts in practical politics will have the time may acquire the knowledge and are supposed to be endowed with the moral qualities necessary for the task. The turbulence and anarchy of the mob will be avoided, physical compulsion will be sparingly employed, and the professional interests of the expert will make for that continuity and moderation of administrative policy which the permanent prosperity of the State requires. The people will retain sufficient control of their affairs to keep their rulers in check and thus the sovereignty of the people will be realised without calling upon them to perform tasks for which they are intellectually, morally and economically unfit. The principal criticisms of representative government take the following forms: (1) the actual work of Government and all important decisions lie with a very few men. (2) Party or something like it is obviously necessary if the opinions of a large number of members are to be organised effectively. (3) In order to secure the adherence of a majority a party is compelled to flatter prejudices and to give currency to ideas which the better educated members know to be fallacious. This is the self-corruption of Democracy. (4) A large and increasing mass of hasty legislation. Democracy cannot awaken the consciousness of the freedom without also embittering the servitude of man. Bonds long endured in patience become suddenly intolerable and legislation follows without adequate consideration. (5) The alleged tendency of local interests to obscure and defeat the interests of the State at large.

The two principal conceptions of the essence

Sumirafakkurram We received the clan name Idangai because the sages (while they got down from their ears) were supported by us on their left side. The ancestors of our own sect having lost their credentials and their insignia in jungles and bushes we were ignorant of our origin. Having now once learnt it, we the members of the ninety-eight subjects enter into a compact in the fortieth year of the king, that we shall hereafter behave like the sons of the same parents and what good or evil may befall any one of us will be shared by all. If anything derogatory happens to the Idangai classes we will jointly assert our rights till we establish them. It is also understood that only those who during their congregational meetings to settle communal disputes display the *burudas* of horn bugle and parasol shall belong to our class. Those who have to recognise us now and hereafter in public must do so from our distinguishing symbols the feather of the crane and the loose hanging hair (?) The horn and the conch shell shall also be sounded in front of us and the bugle blown according to the fashion obtaining among the Idangai people. Those who act in contravention of these rules shall be treated as enemies of our class. Those who behave differently from the rules (thus) prescribed for the conduct of the Idangai classes shall be excommunicated and shall not be recognised as *brutimans*. They will be considered slaves of the classes opposed to us.

Two examples, given by Prof. Krishnaswami of communal responsibility in matters of administration are equally interesting. One of them has reference to the corporate activities of villagers.

The assembled people of Vallanadu we read declared that thenceforward they would afford protection to the cultivators residing within the four boundaries of the sacred village of Tiruvarangalam and its *devadana* village.

A thirteenth century record referred to by Prof. Aiyangar gives a list of taxes imposed on the inhabitants of a certain village. These were—*vetti*, *pudava*—*mandal tirai* *kasu asural* *kasu kudi* *kasu* fee levied on *asachars* (drummers) and on looms *overi kasu kattigai kasu velichehinna* *vetti kasu* and *sirupadik kaval* on lands growing gingerly and cotton grain for supervision (*kankani*) *kurra dandam patti dandam karigaikasu* on oilmongers fee on dyes and *aritikas* on salt pans. It is interesting to note that some of these taxes survived till the days of Hyder and Tipu and the Peshwas their Hindu neighbours also levied taxes on oilmongers drummers and looms.

It is needless to say that Prof. Aiyangar is an authoritative account of the South Indian Hindu Kingdoms and contains much new and valuable information. But the author is evidently less happy when he deals with the Muham-

madan invaders. Here he relies mainly on Briggs, Ferista, Ibn Batuta and Elliot and Dawson. We cannot accept some of his generalisations. We fail to see for instance wherein Muhammad Tughlak's South Indian policy differed from that of Alauddin. Alauddin certainly exacted strict obedience from the trans-Vindhyan dependencies and if he failed to exercise uniform control Muhammad Tughlak was no more successful. The kingdom of Devagiri had been brought under direct rule of the Delhi Empire before the Taghlaks rose to power, and no credit therefore can be given to the Mad Emperor on that account. In fact thorough control over the conquered provinces was never aimed at by Pathan rulers and was not practicable. At the earlier stages of conquest they remained satisfied with regular payment of tribute and gradually as opportunities presented themselves the grip was tightened. That explains the little difference that a casual observer may notice between the South Indian policy of Alauddin and that of Muhammad Tughlak.

Again we fail to understand what Professor Aiyangar exactly means by such terms as Tughlak Revolution. Ghazi Malik Tughlak's accession to power was in no sense a revolution. The administrative system remained absolutely unchanged only one king was replaced by another and both of them were usurpers in the strict legal sense.

In one instance Prof. Aiyangar makes a sad confusion. He seems to think that the Amirs of Hundred (the *Amiran-i-sadib*) were all of them *Mughals* by birth. Lastly since the days of Jalal Uddin Khilji a certain number of Amirs of Hundred from the Mughal armies had settled in the country. These were commanders of a hundred or more in the Mughal army, who resolved to settle in the country becoming *Mussulmans* after the Mughal *dekhat*. The author is certainly correct when he calls these Amirs of Hundred foreign Amirs but to identify them all with the New *Mussalman*s of the Khilji times is to assign the name of a part to the whole. Sir Edward Clive Bayley writes of them—They were leaders of mercenaries, and foreigners at least for the most part some were probably remnants of the New *Mussalman*s, or converted Mughal settlers of whom mention has already been made though some as will appear from the narrative were most certainly Afghan adventurers. (The Local Muhammadan Dynasties—Gujarat—Bayley p 43 n.)

An English translation of selected passages from Ibn Batuta's account of South India and Ceylon and a few important inscriptions will be useful to students of Indian History and Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders will be certainly regarded as a useful text book on the subject. The identification of places and the geography

# DEFENCE OF INDIA

## I

THE deepest problem facing India now and for a long time to come is the problem of the permanent and efficient organisation of our national defence. It is a problem even more serious than that of national solvency which has been in all men's minds since the publication of the last budgets in our central and local legislatures. The army swallows up more than half the income of India and yet it is admittedly far from being a perfect instrument of defence\* or giving our statesmen a sense of full security regarding the future. When therefore the problem of our defence has been solved in the wisest and most successful manner the question of India's financial equilibrium will be more than half solved and we shall clearly know how far our national resources can be committed to provide civilized appliances for the country and work for the uplift of the people through State activity.

It goes without saying that India can not be permanently or satisfactorily defended by foreigners. For one thing the nation that cannot defend itself is a parasite community, nourished by others; it has no right to self-determination no right even to live. Secondly we should clearly remember the price that must be paid for our defence by others: the foreign soldiers garrisoning our land expect (and quite naturally) certain privileges to make their exile tolerable. I do not refer to the high pay, electric punkas, short term service and costly frequent free transport home. They will in addition claim to be tried only by their own countrymen and not under the ordinary legal procedure† and they will have to be supplied

with certain pleasures for which the reader may refer to the orders issued by certain magistrates in Cantonment towns under instruction from the military department. When Lord Roberts was Commander in Chief. Last January the writer heard two European military officers in his carriage telling each other: It would be good for India if there were more General Dyers.

But what is worse than all these things is that the European garrison cannot be depended on to the last. The first call on it is that of the defence of *England* and India will be bled white of troops and munitions (in Lord Hardinge's own words) to hold the Home front in the next international crisis as in the last, or all the European officers (our only officers in the real sense of the term) may be shot down in two days as they were on the Marne and then for want of Hindustani speaking Englishmen our Sepoy regiments would be helpless like sheep without a shepherd or the British labourer may weary of garrison duty in a tropical country under an iron discipline and may find work in England (under a Labour Ministry) more remunerative than the queen's shilling with *batta* added and therefore refuse to enlist for service overseas in sufficient number. These contingencies are not impossible and the last war and afterwar social situation have shown them to be not beyond the range of probability.

## II

Therefore India must be defended by her own sons if she is to have reliable defenders. But it will be asked: are the Indian peoples—with their immense differ-

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libert Bill for securing the legal equality of all people and purity of justice because he was told that the white troops would mutiny if he took away their privileged position. The British Cabinet refused to support the vetoer in his attempted reform though Punch warned the helmeted rebels about the bad example they were setting to the Indians.

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Albert Ball, for securing the legal equality of all people and purity of justice because he was told that the white troops would mutiny if he took away their privileged position. The British Cabinet support the victory in his *Punch* warned the belated example they were setting to

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Power—even martial France in the golden days of Louis XIV—to defeat and annex Scotland. A generation later, the new famous Blackwatch regiment of Highlanders when posted in England grew homesick and tried to march away to Scotland, but they were shot down by English troops (Forbes's *Black Watch*). The result was not the foreign conquest of any part of the British Isles.

At the close of the 15th century English troops shot down Irish men and committed 'legalised rape' (in the words of Cornwallis then commanding the army of occupation) on the Irish female population but Irish men were soon afterwards found fighting in the army and navy of England against a common foe. India therefore need not despair, it is not impossible for common hopes common dangers and common service in the ranks of the same army to weld her people into a nation and give them the homogeneity they lack at present.

Secondly, this phase of racial or caste antagonism is rapidly dying out in India. Thanks to the life we have been leading since 1914, thanks most of all to Mr. Gandhi nearly all of our people have been awakened to the unspeakable shame of helping any alien to conquer or even to repress any other body of our countrymen, however remote in faith, race or speech. Ten years hence, or sooner even Gurkhas will refuse to fire at a second Jallianwala

#### IV

Next it may be said that the caste ridden superstitious medieval minded Indians can never form soldiers and officers of the modern type now found in Europe. As Sir Charles Napier put it, the Indian sepoys are 'anxious to learn the sex of their mutton'—which is the height of absurdity in the eyes of a European. Other old customs and superstitions linger in India in this scientific rationalistic age. We are not modern minded and therefore cannot wage modern warfare.

Our answer is Caste is not an insurmountable barrier. The medieval structure of Indian society is visibly disintegrating under our own eyes. The change is

not confined to the England returned few or even to the English-educated many. Thanks to the war, thanks most of all to Repressive Legislation followed by the vision of Gandhi to the afflicted—our masses are being leavened with the new spirit. This result will become evident to all only slowly but to the eye of the Indian reformer there are already unmistakable signs that—

While the tired waves, vainly breaking  
Seem here no painful inch to gain  
Far back through creeks and inlets running,  
Comest a cent flooding in the main.

We shall not take the reader a time by repeating the known facts about Delhi during the Rowlatt Act firing or Chittagong during the last three months. Those who have been nailed side by side to the cross of political persecution will enter the same gate through the brotherhood of the affliction.

I do not shut my eyes to the Shahabad riots and the Makarpur (Hardwar) burnings. But in both these cases the mob frenzy raged uncontrolled and blazed up to such a height of intensity only because the educated leaders were culpably negligent and absent from the posts of duty at the time of need. They should have gone to the spot before the outbreak, as soon as the first rumblings were heard but they did not. Contrast this cowardice and love of ease with Mr. Gandhi's conduct after Nankana. That tragedy would have kindled a prairie fire, consuming the whole of the Panjab but for this leader's presence and influence on the people.

But even if this be not conceded I shall not despair on the recurrence of a certain amount of religious rioting in the future, because it is only by living together and working together that we can make these differences die out. Every day that passes tells for the unity of India and weakens the forces of disruption.

What about the superstitions and rigid old rules of life of the Hindus—and to a lesser extent of the Muslims, too? Can

\* In Bengal the sun eludes the howdah  
But without look the land is bright

such a people go through the conditions of modern warfare,—far away from the base for days together or buried in trenches for weeks at a time? Will not each Hindu officer require a cook of his own caste and starve where such a cook cannot be had? Will not a company of non-combatant *pani-pandes* (Brahman water-carriers) have to be sent with every regiment of Hindu sepoy to the firing line? *Tin kanaujia terah chulah* (thirteen stoves for three kanaujia Brahmans)—is that proverb false?

Our answer to all this is living experience shows that Hindu superstitions and customs *do* die out under the stress of need.

When the first Medical College in India was founded (1836), it was feared that no Hindu would learn scientific anatomy, as they considered it a defilement to touch a corpse or even a dry bone. When the first Hindu student plunged his dissecting knife into a body, a salute was fired from the ramparts of Fort William in honour of the event (so the tradition runs at Calcutta), and the Governor-General shook the brave young medico by the hand! And now, Hindu boys are literally dying to enter the Medical College. In 1836 the opening of the Calcutta Medical College was a bold leap in the dark, taken in defiance of gloomy predictions of failure and the strength of orthodoxy. But it has splendidly succeeded, and the believers in the force of custom and orthodoxy have proved false prophets.

See, how England has gained by her wise courage and liberality in this direction. During the First Sikh War (1844-45), the doctors in the E. I. Company's army (all Europeans) were so few, so poorly qualified, that the wounded Sepoys violently resisted being taken to the hospital (where no one recovered) and preferred to die where they had fallen. But as soon as the first supply of Indian doctors issued from the Medical College, they began to supply the most valuable medical aid to the army in India. Have-lock was accompanied by a Bengali surgeon in his famous relief of Lucknow. During the recent war, "the high professional attainments" of the Indian doctors

attached to the Bengali Ambulance Corps in Mesopotamia were gratefully acknowledged by the British military authorities. During this war more than a thousand Indians, fully trained in western medical science, entered the service of the British Government, and these men set free a similar number of English doctors for service elsewhere. But for the existence of this reservoir of Indians qualified to act as army doctors, England would have been unable to send her armies to several quarters and her military activity would have been restricted to the home front and a few other places for which the available English doctors just sufficed.

Why not create, now, in advance, a similar reservoir of Indian military officers for the day of your need?

That caste prejudices are not immovable will be clear from some recent instances. A Hindu I. M. S. officer wrote to his friends from Mesopotamia, "*Bhagavati* is passing through our stomachs by the hundred." (*Bhagavati* or the goddess is a respectful name for the cow used by orthodox Hindus). Necessity knows no law, not even the law of Manu.

In the Delhi district and many villages of the Panjab, many returned ex-soldiers (popularly called *Jangli* men) are living in such disregard of caste and food rules that their orthodox neighbours live in mingled fear and horror of them, and the police are watching them as a criminal tribe! One need not get an English education to shake off caste rules.

## V

Another common argument against our claims is that many of the races of India have no tradition of victory in war or of efficient organisation and administration of the army; that certain castes among us are unmartial or cowardly by nature and past history and cannot, therefore, possibly supply soldiers, still less officers; that soldiers of the martial races would refuse to be led by officers of these unmartial races, however brainy they might be.

Our answer is racial character is entirely the result of circumstances and can be completely changed by a deliberate

change in the circumstances of life; tradition, however old, is powerless against appeals to the spirit such as literature among modern civilised nations supplies. As late as 1692 the native Irish were such cowards that when they were led into battle they used to discharge their matchlocks into the air on sighting the enemy, throw their weapons down and run away shouting "Murther! Murther!" And yet the descendants of these very Irish, under efficient training and example became so uncontrollably brave that during the Sepoy Mutiny they used to spoil Sir Colin Campbell's plans by prematurely charging the enemy against orders, lest the commander-in-chief should entrust the daring feats of glory to his favourite Highlanders and not to the Irish regiments!

The English red-coats used to taunt the American volunteers as cowards, but they were forced to surrender to these very Americans at Saratoga and Yorktown. Still the self-complacency of the English professional soldiers and their haughty contempt for the American citizen-soldiers continued for nearly a century afterwards, and there was chuckling in English society and mess-tables when, on the outbreak of the American Civil War, both the sides were reported to have run away from each other at the first encounter (the battle of Bull's Run, 1861). The defeat of the federal Government (under Abraham Lincoln) was confidently predicted in the upper circles of England. But mark the change. When the astonishing night-attack on the mob at Zeebrugge was delivered by the English navy during the late war, 23 April 1918, it was reported that the German defenders under their first surprise had run away shouting "The Americans have come!"—as if none of the Allies except the Americans, were capable of such daring deeds,—though there was not a single American in the expedition.

Therefore, no race need despair of the possibility of self defence, if only it earnestly and persistently develops its manhood and no foreign Power throttles the attempt at the initial stage. And in this age of scientific warfare, muscles (though not negligible) are a less decisive factor

than brain, and above all spirit. In these last two, the "non-martial" races of India are not deficient.

## VI

Again, it has been said (and with some truth) that in India we have long had a divorce between brain and muscle,—the intellectual classes will not do any hard labour, they will not develop their bodies, and they instinctively shrink from physical encounter; that we have only spectacled bookworms, sickly geniuses, and diabetic stars of the bar and the press on the one hand, and illiterate athletes and medieval-minded heroes on the other. The general staff (and even the higher field command) of a modern army require the combination of physical fitness and endurance with intellectual strength and a thorough knowledge of languages and of the sciences auxiliary to war, but such a combination of these elements is impossible among the Indian races. Our opponents may well cite the example of Captain A. B. Lindsay (of the Gurkhas), who, in addition to the classics which he must have studied at school and offered at his army competitive examination, had learnt Hindustani (and possibly French or German also) and yet mastered Russian so thoroughly as to be able to translate several works in that language in which Russian soldiers and sailors recounted their experiences of the Russo-Japanese War. And the Captain had done all this not as a half-pay invalid working in his study, but as an active regimental officer, sharing the duties and hardships of such a life on the march and in barracks. Can we (it will be asked) name a single Indian who combines such linguistic gifts with physical fitness? If not (the conclusion will be drawn) there cannot be a modern general staff composed of Indians.

We admit we have a great handicap here. But another non-European race has a native general staff no way inferior to that of any European nation. Cannot India, given the opportunity, imitate Japan in this respect? In the meantime

\* Before we despair of Japan's position, our education must be made as efficient as hers. And



we may derive some confidence from the fact that General Haig does not know French and Marshal Foch cannot speak English (nor probably German), though for six years before 1914 the English and French higher commands had been meeting together to form secret plans for the concerted action of the armies of the two nations on the Continent, in the event of a war with Germany!

## VII

Even the most optimistic Indian Nationalist recognises that the formation of an entirely Indian army for our defence will take many years to complete. But what our most critic must admit is that a start should be immediately made, if this aim is ever at all to be realised. If we put off beginning it till the nation is better educated and united, new and unforeseen difficulties will arise and a beginning will be as strongly resisted twenty or fifty years hence as now. A long peace like that which must follow the Armageddon of 1914-1918 is the best opportunity for transforming the Indian army. The essential thing is that our foreign Government should sincerely accept the principle we have laid down above and set about it honestly and earnestly. The indispensable first requisite is a change of heart on the part of our Government and the British public behind it, towards India. The rest will follow of itself, though it will not be simple or easy, (especially the people's part in the change, but that comes later)

As this indispensable beginning our rulers must trust the people: they must publicly admit that the development of manhood is not a crime in an Indian and that love of country or devotion to social service does not make him a political suspect. Unless this is done, the true defence of India cannot even be contemplated

educational reform in India is sure to be pressed (and let us hope, achieved) from the economic, social and political points of view as well as the military. If this attempt fails we shall fail in every department of life and not in war only and our national death will come not from any alien's sword

An examination of Government policy in this respect in the past will make our meaning clear. When the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, proposed to introduce drill in the schools for developing the health of our boys, the then Lieutenant Governor of the Province (Sir Charles A. Elliot) objected to it, and yet Sir Charles was exceptionally keen and liberal with his money in encouraging athletics among our student population and pursuing many other means of freeing them from vice. For many years past the only Indians admitted to the volunteer corps were Parsis and (a few) Indian Christians; both these classes in those days professed to be non-Indians, at least they kept aloof from all national movements and made a boast of their being not as the (other) Indians were. Hindus and Muhammadans, even of the highest education and social rank, who offered themselves for training in national defence, were told by Government that there was no legal bar to their entering the volunteer corps, they had only to secure the consent of the existing members of that body. That is to say, our participation in the defence of our hearths and homes (at our own cost) was left to the favour of Eurasians, Negroes (West Indians) and poor Whites. This Government reply publicly added insult to injury.

Our highest and best men have been shadowed by the secret police in the pay of Government, and with unabashed forehead. Gokhale declared publicly in the Legislative Council that he was shadowed, and another and rather stout Indian leader (Chitnavis) when taking his walks used to be followed by a police-inspector in mufti on a bicycle! Mr. N. C. Kelkar is No. 8 (or so) of the criminal tribe, as that term is understood by the Bombay police. Whenever he buys a ticket for a railway journey, the police immediately wire to the C. I. D. of his destination, "No. 8 is leaving by the X Up train." Has this policy been authoritatively repudiated?

When, on the outbreak of the war with Germany, the Bengali public offered to raise, equip and pay for an Ambulance

Corps, and our local Governor approved of the plan, the Supreme Government from Simla vetoed it, but issued, instead, an appeal for subscriptions! That is, our blood was held to be tainted with treason, but not our money. The result was the appalling suffering of the wounded and sick in Mesopotamia through lack of doctors and nurses, the hospital at Kut-el-amara with 6000 beds had at this stage only four nurses, and the sick died like summer flies. We ask our Government and the British public at its back,—Will it ever be so? Will England learn only through the blood of untold millions of her sons that a great empire and a policy of suspicion and race-domination cannot go together?

### VIII

We have finished our straight talk with Government, and we shall now have a straighter talk with our countrymen. *Let them remember that in order to ensure the defence of India in the modern way,—which is the only possible way in the modern world,—we must become modern-minded.* Here we have to do very much more than the Government. We must realise that all our glib talk about Japan being an Asiatic country and quoting her analogy every now and then, will be futile, a delusion and a snare, if what Lewis Dickinson says remains true, namely that India and Japan are two different continents and that India stands apart from the rest of Asia in life and thought. Are we prepared to be modern in the acts of our daily life and social relations, and not merely when prancing on the platform or inditing replies to the Anglo-Indian press?

Protected hitherto by the strong arm of the British soldier and the white officers of the Sepoy regiments, the Hindus have been enjoying unbroken peace and security and obeying astrologers, adoring fakirs and Babas, and avoiding 'touch-sin' (*i.e.*, contact with their political equals),—in scornful oblivion of the fact that the middle ages had departed long ago; our N. Sc.'s have been nursing the sacred pig-tail and finding a deep esoteric channel of electricity in this tuft of hair on the

crown of their heads; the Mussalmans have been dreaming the dream that they are Allah's favourite sons, that the Badshahi age will return and every one of them live as a Nabob, and that the grinding economic pressure of the modern world is only a passing cloud raised by the sorcery of Eblis. Are we prepared to awake to the needs of the modern world before our race is silently but surely exterminated?

If we are, then our first duty is to *standardise ourselves*, *i.e.*, to reduce to a minimum our existing differences of caste subdivisions, food, dress and mode of life. It may be a counsel of perfection to suggest that oneness of dress, food, habits, manners, domestic arrangements,—in short 'life'—which prevails among the European peoples in spite of their political and linguistic differences;—but that should be our *ideal*, because without it our national army will stop short of perfect nationalness and efficiency. We should endeavour *from now* to reach a common level for all our people, in food, dress and habits—say, a mixed diet of rice and flour in Bengal, trousers for all (ladies excepted, except in the Panjab). We shall go even further and say that the *Brahmans* of Upper India and the Deccan must be prepared to see other Hindus eating fish and meat. Following the line of least resistance and as a concession for the transitional period only, beef will be forbidden except in purely Muhammadan centres and during sieges; but the Hindus must be prepared to permit cow slaughter at the final stage of our national development.

Early maternity and such marriages as result in race-dwarfing must go. A well-planned policy of race-improvement or eugenics must be adopted and steadily pursued for generations. Our vernacular languages should be developed and enriched with all branches of literature and science,—at first by translation and compilation,—and we should wisely encourage works breathing the modern spirit (as distinct from ritualistic manuals, sermons, commentaries on the *Bhagavat Gita* or "translations of the *Aksha-*

mudgar) Thus only can our sons become as fully equipped with knowledge through their mother tongue as English youths are

Every school must have its play ground and compulsory athletics for all the boys Our professional men must take care to keep up their physical fitness after leaving college Let them not be like the Portuguese half breed volunteers of Macao who walk languidly to their parade while their rifles are carried for them by their servants or sons'

As things now stand, in view of the conditions of modern warfare, the only Indians that can be given King's Commissions are Christians and casteless Hindus (like the Unitarians or the England returned) They alone do not require cooks and bhustees of their own caste and special articles of diet When lately four youngmen of an Indian Christian family in Bijnor were chosen for Sandhurst, there was a howl in the Hindu Press of Allahabad But Government was helpless in the matter, Mississ and Nagars could not be sent in charge of regiments to Egypt or Salomea Therefore, Mississ must cease to live like the Mississ of old, and Nagars like the Vishalnagaris or Vadnagaris in the Satyayuga, if they think the King's Commission worth

gaining—for the sake of India Happily a growing number of them are prepared to do so

But if we, Hindus and Muhammadans in general (or an effective thoughtful leading minority among us), are not prepared to take this view of our national duty, we should clearly realise what is in store for us Lord Chelmsford in a recent speech in London revealed the secret that the Afghan army had advanced to their attack on us, during the recent frontier war, with perfect modern discipline and European drill What wall of defence has a caste ridden superstitious Indian to offer to the hardy war seasoned casteless Afghan troops under the lead of European\* Bolshevik generals? Our old orthodox Jamadar and Subedar type of officers and our sepoys one of whom asked during a fight in Mesopotamia, *Kia subedar Saheb 'goli chalai'* While the subedar replied, *Raho, leftinent se puch lei?*

X Y Z

\* The Afghans will welcome and obey European military officers who come to them as their servants and not as the agents of a paramount power or as secret enemies on the look out for annexation They will not tolerate a Macnaughten or Cavagnari but have no objection to an Avtable Ventura Court or Gardner—from Russia or Germany

## GLEANINGS

### Bamboo Shoot and its Uses

A plant grass four inches thick that grows a foot a day until it is fifty feet high—such is bamboo Its sprouts rival the sweet corn in succulency and flavor its towering stem will furnish timber to make furniture fans and shrods tent-poles trellises and toothpicks, its graceful outlines and green and golden beauty rival that of the white birch

The Bureau of Plant Industry of the United States Department of Agriculture is encouraging the cultivation of this fast growing Oriental immigrant

The plants were introduced first by a Cuban re-planter some thirty years ago and later in

1902 David Fairchild, a plant explorer for the United States Department of Agriculture, succeeded in introducing other sprouts

One plant will form a grove for it grows and spreads much in the manner of its smaller cousin asparagus It needs no cultivation whatever once it is established An acre of bamboo will produce one thousand sprouts each year for forty or fifty years

You first encounter bamboo as an edible in that Chinese dish known as chop suey

It is a morsel of firm wholesome texture and delicate flavor cut from the tender sprout

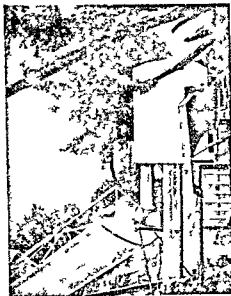
The food value of the bamboo shoots is high—about equal to that of the onion

In preparing the shoots for the table the brown outer husk is stripped off the tender sprout and lengthwise and boiled for an hour in salted water. It is served with drawn butter.

Its hollow construction and impervious surface make it useful for drainage and water pipes and for any framework requiring extreme strength combined with lightness and resiliency. The long fibers are extremely tough and pliable and are well suited for basket weaving and barrel hoop making etc.

### Sun Rays as a Cooking-Heat Medium

Long years ago a gentleman in India [Pandit Shrikrishna Joshi of Allahabad] cooked a meal for some of his friends by reflecting the rays of the sun from a mirror onto his cooking utensil. This was of course out of the question on rainy days and during the night. Now comes a mechanical harness for the heat of the sun's rays wherein it is preserved for night and



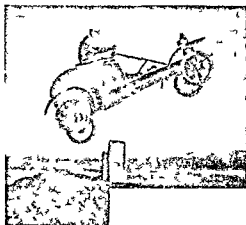
Sun Rays Cooking Device

cloudy day use. At the Smithsonian Solar Observing Station on Mt. Wilson in California is such a device. A large 7 by 10 ft mirror built semi-cylindrical in shape and made of aluminum covered steel plates, focuses the rays of the sun on a 1½-in pipe placed centrally in its frame. This pipe carries an oil of high boiling point which after heating from the reflected rays rises to a reservoir that is insulated to retain

the heat for a long time. Oven compartments are embodied in this reservoir in which the foods may be placed for cooking. After cooling the oil gravitates to the bottom of the reservoir to an outlet which returns it again to the pipe in the mirror frame for reheating. In order to retain all the heat possible the pipe when exposed in the mirror for heating is shielded from the wind, by plate glass.

### Automobile Designed to Jump Obstacles.

The jumping stunts of automobiles in the movies are the result of trick photography. There has been produced in France a light car

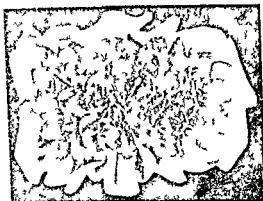


Jumping Automobile

that does many of these spectacular performances not only pictorially but actually. It is a small light car with a speed of 25 miles an hour equipped with a light single-cylinder motor that is in the body of the car close to the rear wheels which it drives. The particular feature that enables the car to negotiate all obstacles with impunity is the manner of connecting the car to these rear wheels. It has been compared with the action of the human knee. A jumper bends his legs at the knees and straightens them out rapidly to get the effect of a spring. The rear wheels do the same thing by means of a pivoted connection which allows them to rise independently of the car and during this articulation a connection to the wheel expands a powerful coiled spring which returns the force exerted to expand it in a manner similar to the action of a jumper's knee. On striking an obstacle the wheels rise independently of the rest of the car which remains horizontal.

### Beautiful Rye-Bread Bouquet is Gift to Mrs Harding

An unusual bouquet of roses, tulips and violets was recently presented to Mrs Harding wife of President Harding. All the blossoms and foliage were made of rye bread. A single



Rye-Bread Bouquet

loaf of the bread was used and the flowers carved from it with a butter knife. Many hours of careful effort were expended in accomplishing each detail of size and shape. The sculptress, although an amateur, has produced in the novel tribute a real work of art.

### Combined Fan and Face Mask is Latest London Fad

Startling rapid fire changes of personality by means of the fan mask—or mask fan—is the latest fad among London society belles this season.



Fan Mask

The fans are made in various forms, some of the folding type with a conventional decoration on one side and an idealized or caricatured human likeness on the other, while others take the form of two broad leaves hinged by a spring handle which normally keeps them folded, with the mask part concealed behind the decorated one. In the latter model compressing the handle moves the mask out from behind the fan.

concealing leaf and before the user's face. It may well be imagined that many a gallant escort has been badly disconcerted when turning his glance for a moment from his companion, he has returned it only to be confronted by a grotesque visage in the place of the fair one he expected to see.

### The Man of Bulak.

The wooden image in the picture given here is not unlike some of the men you see to-day and yet that image was made centuries ago. Men have not changed much with the times.



The Man of Bulak

The statue is known as 'The Man of Bulak' and is now in a museum in Cairo. It is supposed to represent a village chief and it dates back to prehistoric times. The even temperature and the dry climate in northern Egypt have helped to preserve it.

Many archaeologists believe this to be the oldest statue in existence.

## The Lightest Wood in the World

Balsa is now on the American market for a variety of special uses that require buoyancy, non-conductivity for heat, smoothness, softness and lightness and speed in working. Balsa is so far as known the lightest wood that grows. It averages in weight about one-third less than cork. This lightness results from its peculiar cellular structure.



The Lightest Wood in the World

In its natural state balsa rots quickly and ordinary methods of preservation by painting or otherwise are ineffective in preventing deterioration. After extended experimentation in the treatment of balsa a process of wood preservation has been developed which meets the requirements of balsa and its uses giving adequate protection and permanency of quality to the wood. This process thoroughly impregnates all parts of the wood with a thin coating which does not appreciably increase its weight. Treated balsa is water resisting and is not subject to the attacks of insects or the bacteria of decay.

Combined with its light weight and its quality of insulation against heat, balsa possesses a structural strength which pound for pound is greater than that of any wood.

## Van Gogh's Post Impressionism

The three supreme masters of that most important development in recent painting known as Post Impressionism are Paul Cezanne, Paul Gauguin and Vincent Van Gogh.

There is something strangely arresting about Van Gogh. He is said to have lived the life of a hundred men in intensity. He gave but seven of his thirty-seven years to painting but these years were filled with an intellectual fire that burned up everything except the art which emerged from its fierce flames, strange and intense. He tried to kill Gauguin, failing, he cut off one of

his own ears as an act of contrition and painted a gruesome portrait of his bandaged self. At the end he committed suicide. He was mad but his madness was sublime—it was caused by his craving for an ideal. He has been described as a madman and genius, pure artist and pioneer who carried about a sun in his head and a hurricane in his heart.

His father was a clergyman in Holland. As a young man he was employed by the house of Goupil, the well known art dealers in London, Paris and the Hague. For a while he was a school teacher in England. Then he went to Belgium as a missionary or evangelist in the great mining districts known as the Borinage.

Van Gogh's evangelistic mood was short lived. His real religion it is clear was one of artistic expression. He sought instruction from the painter Mauve but could not accommodate himself to this master. He went to the Hague to Antwerp and to Paris. In 1887 at Arles in France he became possessed by that creative fire in which he produced within two years some two hundred pictures. His last work was done in Dr. Gachet's sanitarium at Auvers sur Oise where he shot himself.

It was Van Gogh's quarrel with the earl or painters that they painted subjects as they wanted to see them and not as they really saw them. His was almost the first announcement



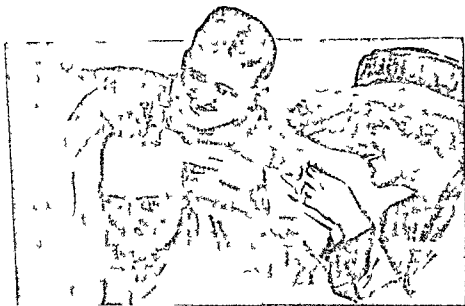
*The Aches* painted by Van Gogh. There is something haunting in her ugliness. It was part of Van Gogh's mission to dispel the idea that art is necessarily occupied with the beautiful. Some of his figures charm us because they are so ugly.

In art of the modern belief that to be healthy one must see things as they are and not as one wishes them to be

is deprived entirely of this acquisition to his vanity not to mention the loss of his life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness

### Planting Hair

Gardeners lacerate the soil of a barren plot insert some seeds take a sprinkling pot and with a little care bring forth an abundance of



Planting Hair on Bald head

soft green grass to delight the eye. According to a record from the patent office attempts are ever being made to make the desert of a bald head blossom with a crop of new hair. Have any of these patents special merit? Is the task of growing hair as easy as that of raising grass on the lawn?

The nearest analogy is that of an instrument constructed for the purpose of planting hair in the human scalp. The hair after being sterilized is placed in a tube and mechanically guided into the part of the instrument that feeds it into the skin.

A part of the operation less appealing to the timorous is the method by which the hair is inserted in the scalp.

The apparatus has an implement provided with means for puncturing the skin spreading the punctured opening sufficiently to admit insertion of the hair retracting the puncturing needle and severing the inserted section from the main hair section.

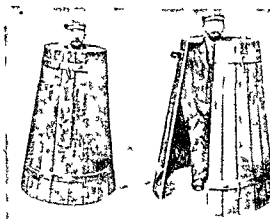
In general a less brave person might submit to a genuine old fashioned scalping by Indians were it not for the fact that in one case he is promised a better-looking appearance by the addition of a head of hair while in the other he

### Drunkards in the Middle Ages

Never was there a time when a drunken man received envious or admiring glances. In fact, many years ago he was severely punished by his horrified brethren. He was forced to wear a "drunkard's cloak," which was in reality a large wooden pail with a hole in the bottom and an opening down the side. The man's head went through the hole.

The pail was turned upside down and the drunkard was locked in in the manner shown below.

If he walked with difficulty before, what must he have done after? As he had to wear this cloak until he promised to be a better man in other words to sign the pledge it is not difficult to imagine that he was soon in a penitent



Drunkard's Cloak

frame of mind to avoid the wooden frame of his body

### Uses of the Coconut-Tree

The inhabitants of the Dutch West Indies depend almost entirely upon the coconut palm for the necessities of life. They make use of every part of the tree from the roots to the leaves.

Roots are used in the preparation of medicine and the hard wood is used in the construction of homes. The sweet sap of the tree is made into sugar and the big leaves are used to make

baskets. The stiff ribs of the leaves are made into brooms and the undeveloped ribs make a delicious dish when properly prepared. The nuts are used for medicine when partly ripe and the milk makes a good tonic for certain ailments.

The husks of the nuts are shredded and made into rope. The hard shells make good cups and fuel and the meat of the nut is an excellent foodstuff.

### CORRESPONDENCE

#### "Original Research"

To the Editor

*The Modern Review*

Dear Sir

There has been of late, a stir among the so-called scholars of Calcutta, that has been caused as is well known to you by the exposure of cases of flagrant plagiarism in some of the literary productions of these scholars who are still going about boasting of their originality and trying to justify their claims thereto. So long the crass duncery of such performance was confined within the four walls of a certain institution of limited influence but now it is radiating forth and beginning to affect other societies and institutions which hitherto have maintained their reputation for research and original work.

The most noticeable feature of the last meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was that an apology of the most personal nature was put forth by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, a disciple of Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar on behalf of his guru. What struck me in this connection was that Mr. Majumdar's efforts on the occasion were altogether feeble and unimpressive and although he tried his level best he could not plot the sheepentrail to his charge safe to a harbour free from the outburst of controversial elements. Mr. Majumdar a patriot is a certainly commendable man as much as it makes him turn away from the general scholar ship and seek somewhere nearer home the sources of his chief inspiration. But his policy of non-cooperation with the West does not in this case, at least stand him in good stead. The reading of *Yasmot ka* referred to by Mr. Majumdar is to be found in the Early History of Gujarat published in the Bombay Gazetteer vol. 1 pt. 1. This portion of the Gazetteer was compiled from the materials prepared and left by Dr. Bhargavanlal Indraj and published in 1897. The date of publication is rather a bit misleading to young "scholars" like Mr. Majumdar. With regard to the facts in connection with this controversy I should not be forgotten that Dr. Indraj died in March 1888 (J. R. A. S. 1890). So that the aforesaid materials must have been prepared sometime before March 1888 and the comparatively later date of publication of the Gazetteer is no guarantee of the fidelity of the docu-

ment. In a posthumous paper, published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1899 Dr. Indraj made a fresh attempt at decipherment and read the name *Chasmot ka* equivalent to the Greek-Scythian name *Zastaka* or *Xastaka*. The transcription of this name wrote Bhargavanlal into Nagari character could only be effected by the notation of some compound letter to represent the sound of *ast* for which no provision was made in the Nagari alphabet. The compound letter was therefore employed (J. R. A. S. 1899 p. 644). Hence it is quite pertinent that the Gazetteer reading *Yasmot ka* was based on conclusions which were not final and had been afterwards modified in accordance with the considerations embodied in the paper above referred to. Dr. Rapson accepted the later reading and adopted it in his Catalogue of Coins. It was further adopted by Dr. Thomas in his paper published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1906 (p. 211). Considers all these facts and putting them together if anyone be led to the conclusion that the reading *Yasmot ka* would have been allowed to appear in the *Gazetteer* if Dr. Indraj were living at the time of its publication? And further it is noticeable that an Indologist who is aware of some earlier researches with regard to the matter is he working unconsciously be altogether unconcerned with any later development. Considering that Mr. Bhandarkar accepts the reading in the *Gazetteer* he certainly put himself under the obligation of acknowledging his indebtedness to Dr. Indraj and there would have been no occasion for this tempest in a teapot if Mr. Bhandarkar condescended to do this simple act of common decency.

Now let us proceed to consider the claims of Dr. Luders. His paper was published in the Sitzungsberichte of the Preussische Akademie so far back as 1873 whereas Mr. Bhandarkar's note was embodied in the Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for 1915. It has however been admitted by Mr. Majumdar that a private letter was also received by Mr. Bhandarkar from Dr. Luders on the point at issue from the circulation of the latter to the Sitzungsberichte of the Berlin Academy is evident from a note before the date of its publication. I was of certain impression of



were sent by Mr Bhindarkar to Dr Luders for decipherment. Von Hrn Dr R Bhandarkar writes the Berlin Professor erhalte ich soeben Abkhit sche der v r e nigen Jahren in Andhra gefundenen Inschriften des Rudradaman. In allen diesen ist der Name des Vaters des Gaganas vollkommen deutlich Yasnotka geschehen, nicht Ghsamot ka (Stz Berl d Berl Akad 1913 p 427). \* Another and surely a very strong point in favour of Dr Luders' claims is that in Mr Bhandarkar's Report the name Yasmotika has been spelt with a long a. Dr Indrajis decipherment is characterised by a short a. It long appears for the first time in Dr Luders' reading of 1913. In 1915 the result of the researches of the German scholar in connection with the decipherment of the inscriptions seems to have been silently incorporated the fuss of an acknowledgement being perhaps thought unnecessary in the Archaeological Report of Western India. These are the premises on which one has to build his inference and it would not cost much intellectual strain to conceive a process of sequence in all the above mentioned facts and supply the missing link in the chain—the link connecting the decipherment of the inscriptions by Dr Luders with the appearance of the read ng Yasmotika in the Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for 1915.

\* Translation.—I received recently from Mr R Bhandarkar impressions of inscriptions of Rudradaman found some years ago in Andhra. In all of them, the name of the father of Gaganas is written as Yasmotika with perfect clearness and not Ghsamotika.

phment is characterised by a short a. It long appears for the first time in Dr Luders' reading of 1913. In 1915 the result of the researches of the German scholar in connection with the decipherment of the inscriptions seems to have been silently incorporated the fuss of an acknowledgement being perhaps thought unnecessary in the Archaeological Report of Western India. These are the premises on which one has to build his inference and it would not cost much intellectual strain to conceive a process of sequence in all the above mentioned facts and supply the missing link in the chain—the link connecting the decipherment of the inscriptions by Dr Luders with the appearance of the read ng Yasmotika in the Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for 1915.

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Yours faithfully  
APOLLONIUS BENGALENSIS

## WHEN WILL BENGAL GIVE WOMAN SUFFRAGE?

By MARGARET E. COUSINS, B. MUS.

(JOINT SECRETARY OF THE WOMEN'S INDIAN ASSOCIATION.)

FOR individual, national and international reasons it is a matter for congratulation that in this first year of the working out of the Reform Bill the Legislative Councils of Madras and Bombay have granted women the vote.

Individually it is just, equitable and logical that any woman who possesses the same qualifications for voting as are required of men should be given similar citizen recognition and responsibilities. The fact that her sex was in itself and of itself considered a disqualification was a slur on womanhood that no self-respecting and awakened Indian woman could acquiesce in. Neither was it agreeable to the tradition of reverence for woman as mother that the best type of Indian men hold that this inferior status should be retained. It has been said that a man's attitude to women is the acid test of his character taken as a whole. Viewed from such a standpoint the Madras Councillors in particular and the majority of the Hindu and Parsi Councillors of Bombay have shown themselves exemplary.

It is not only that the whole sex of womanhood has in these provinces been

restored to its former high dignity but each woman qualified has now in her power an instrument for bringing about reforms relating to the interests she has at heart. She will find it easy to decide to which of two candidates for election she will give her vote if one pledges himself to press his Government for more money for starting more schools for girls, or more grants for providing a larger number of visiting District nurses and trained midwives, etc., etc., whereas the other candidate is wrapped up only in Forests, the allocation of salaries, or the Balance of power between communities. She will soon find out how much more important is the woman who has a vote than the man or woman without one. And though the number of women voters in any province may be relatively small, yet when the women's vote is well organised, as it will be by women's associations, for advancing specific interests relating to women's interests such as education, health, morality, prohibition, Children's Bills, etc., it may easily be the determining factor in an election result. According to Municipal electoral figures in cities in

the Madras Presidency the ratio of women to men is as one to four, in Bombay Presidency it is as one to seven but in all the country parts the proportion would be very small indeed. Thus it may be seen that while the number of women enfranchised would not be large enough to cause apprehension on any score, yet in cities it is large enough to effect reforms. There are for instance 5100 women Municipal voters in Madras city alone.

In old times in India women had no man made restrictions imposed on them. Whatever a woman showed she was capable of doing she was given the opportunity of doing. She *might* do what she *could* do. There are numberless instances of the great public services of women to their country in historical times such as the laws initiated and carried through by Nur Jehan when she acted as Grand Vizier after her father's death such as the leadership of Ahalya Holkar such even as the beneficent reign of the Begums of Bhopal in our own time. Therefore the granting of the vote to Indian women is only restoring to them the national status they had under an entirely Indian regime. It is the modern method of expressing the age long national feeling of India towards its womanhood namely reverence combined with the recognition that woman's co-operation and presence were necessary for the proper performance of all religious duties—and politics were an important phase of religious dharma. Quite recently in *Young India* Mr Gandhi, who is the exponent of such a large section of the popular will today, wrote women must have votes and an equal status. It is therefore the duty of all who are true nationalists to press for the removal of sex disqualifications in matters concerning national service. Also it ought to be the pride of our Indian and Muhammadan Councillors in all the Provinces to raise their sisters to a position of as high dignity as is given women in other countries. Here is a matter over which they have complete control. The British Government has said this is your own affair settle it yourselves. It is a matter of national

honour that at once the Indian law makers improve on the mistakes of the West. In America and in almost all the European countries it has been acknowledged that the exclusion of women from politics was a mistake. In countries where women have had the vote for over 20 years, such as Australia the message comes from the Australian Legislative Council 'The extension of the suffrage to women has had the most beneficial results because the reform has brought nothing but good. We respectfully urge that all nations enjoying representative government would be well advised in granting votes to women.'

Only those of us who are in close touch with western nations know how greatly the prestige of India will rise internationally by the enfranchisement of women ungrudgingly and speedily by the Provincial Legislative Councils. One of the most recurrent reasons urged against the fitness of India for Self Government was her supposed suppression of women. The grant of the vote both Municipal and Legislative to the Madras and Bombay women is a most public world wide advertisement of the untruth of the statement. When all the Provinces have enacted similarly the argument will not have a leg to stand on. With her women self-enfranchised India will have placed herself in a position of equality with any other country within the empire and laws and events recognising that equality must follow.

On the 1st April the Madras Council passed a Resolution recommending the Government to remove the disqualification of sex for the Legislative Franchise. On the 29th July the Bombay Council did the same for its women. In both cases the subject was looked on as very important and received careful consideration. In both cases the majority was substantial. In both cases the same objection was raised the only practical one and was solved in the same way. That was how could public voting be conducted while purdah remains? And the reply, in the same way as it is done in the Municipal elections, tried and found successful by having a special polling station suited to all

Indies with a woman registrar of votes. Indian ladies travel by train they have to appear before courts of law they come to Congresses and Non-Co-operation meetings. Is the polling booth more difficult of adjustment than these? We know it is not. We have proved in Municipal elections in both Bombay and Madras Presidencies that it is not. Therefore there is no reason why every other Province should not follow the clear lead of these two Provinces and before the end of this year have the disqualification of sex removed from their statute books for ever. It insults both men and women. It is untrue to Indian national feeling and tradition. It impoverishes the good governing of the people. It is a compul-

sory prohibition whereas woman suffrage is a voluntary permission.

Bombay and Madras men and women are all looking now towards Bengal to be the next to recognise the justice of woman suffrage. It must move quickly or the Punjab or the United Provinces will be before it in the field. Bengal is the birthplace of Foran Dutt, of Sarojini Naidu, of Sarala Devi Choudhuri. It was the adopted home of my Irish countrywoman Sister Nivedita, than whom there was no more keen advocate of political equality for women. Do these names and many others not call forth champions in the Bengal Council? It is a worthy cause. How long shall we have to wait for our statesmen knights?

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This Section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, intentional or unintentional misrepresentation etc. in the original contributions and editorials published in this Review. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this Section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. We are unwilling to lay down any rigid limit, but four hundred words at the longest ought to suffice.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

### Review of Ancient India—A Rejoinder

I am thankful to Mr H C Ray Chaudhuri for pointing out certain defects in my book on Ancient India. I am fully conscious of my shortcomings and I know that there are many mistakes and misprints. But as far as facts and comments are concerned, I have been very careful in examining my authorities. Mr Ray Chaudhuri has stated that I have not made use of the recent researches and in order to prove his assertion he refers to my acceptance of the identification of Devarashtra with Maharashtra and of Erandapalla with Ikandesh. He quotes the authority of Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil and says that I have not utilised his researches. I am not quite sure whether the scholars have accepted the views of Prof. Dubreuil. Sir Richard Feilding, in reviewing the book of Prof. Dubreuil, disposes of the point as a new theory. But so far as I have examined his references I could not thoroughly agree with him. Moreover, he himself is not quite sure of his position as the order probably is all likelihood and perhaps could show (Ancient History of the Deccan by Jouveau Dubreuil—p. 60). I beg to point out in this connection that the evidence glaringly states in his book. He

has referred to *FP India Vol. VII* instead of *vol. XIII*. The site of Erandapalla is not definitely known. The Suddhanta plates of Devendravarman to which he refers mention the name of a Brahman of Erandapalla receiving a village in recognition of his scholarship in the Vedas. The Brahman bears the title of *Dakṣita*. It is to be considered whether such a title is common on the coast of Orissa. From the language of the plates it seems the Raja made a grant to a scholarly Brahman of a different part for settling in his territory. On the other hand there is no tradition whatsoever of the existence of a kingdom known as Erandapalla on the coast. The identification of Dr. Plé cannot therefore be lightly brushed aside. I also find Mr. Nundlal Dey's *Geographical Notes of Ancient India* in the current year's *Indian Antiquary*, identifies Erandapalla with Ikandesh and Devarashtra with Maharashtra.

With reference to the identification of Devarashtra Prof. Dubreuil depends upon the copper plates discovered in 1908-9 at Larmakṣa in the district of Vizagapatnam. There is also a great deal of question in the matter. The Southern Indian inscriptions mentioning these places mention the grant of a village in Ikandesh to King Kṛṣṇa and the grant of a village

## SOCIAL LIFE IN THE MAHABHARATAN AGE—V

**THE** KING Janaka of Videha is in the Mahabharat and elsewhere the ideal royal saint, who is in the world but not of it, and who has attained true Brahma-*jnana* without, however, ceasing to perform all the manifold duties of his high station. He is the great exemplar of the doctrine of Nishkama Karma—work without attachment to the fruits thereof—which is the theme of the Geeta. Sulava was a female ascetic who, unable to find a suitable husband, had taken to the life of a religious mendicant and seeking for the emancipation of the soul, had come to the hermit king for religious instruction. King Janaka told her that if emancipation was impossible of attainment without spiritual realization even in the case of those who had donned the yellow robe of the ascetic with his other symbols, then these symbols must be truly useless. 'One should not depress his soul by totally abstaining from enjoyments' is a good piece of advice to remember in a country where pessimism runs in the blood, and *joie de vivre* is so uncommon; the quintessence of Upanishadic teaching is to be found in the following passage: "Salvation comes from wisdom, hence true wisdom is to be sought for. He is to be revered from whom this wisdom is acquired, be he a Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya or a Sudra, or even a person of a lower origin. All the castes are Brahmans, having sprung from Brahma (neuter); in fact the entire universe and all that we see around us, is Brahma (neuter)." Janaka having enquired of the sage Parasara how Brahmans, having originated from Brahma like other castes, have undergone a differentiation, he replies that owing to the difference in the quality of their religious striving (*tapas*), men have come to belong to different castes. He then mentions several Rishis like Vasishtha, Kakshivana, Matanga, and others, who though of a very low origin, attained sainthood by the same means—spiritual culture. Brahmans learned in the Vedas have called virtuous Sudras as the equals of Brahma, and the speaker himself looked upon them as the salt of the earth and the preservers of the universe. Low birth and low conduct are both causes of a wretched existence, but of these, low conduct is the chief cause of one's misfortunes. These enlightened views must not however be regarded as typical of the popular attitude towards Brahmanism in those times. They were the utterances of the highest sages who by their insight succeeded in overcoming popular prejudices and reaching the spirit behind the letter of the Shastric code. The common view is enshrined in passages like

the following: The Brahman is the highest of men, his influence is marvellous; the highest religion of the Sudra is constant service of the three higher castes; Sudras have no right to lead the life of Sannyasins; Brahmans are like flaming fire, whether ill or well versed in the Veda whether untrained or accomplished, Brahmans must not be despised, like fire covered by ashes; the Brahman is the highest of all persons, and it behoves all to worship him; the Brahman caste deserves the respectful homage of all the other castes. Even the wise Bhishma declares himself to be the slave of Brahmans, and calls their service the highest religion of the Kshatriyas. Three living things, even if they are weak, should not be lightly regarded by those who care for a long life—Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and serpents, all equally venomous. The terrible power wielded by the two highest orders in ancient Indian society could not be impressed on the popular imagination in a more telling form.

The religious literature of the Aryas contains copious references to the problem of predestination versus free will, technically known as *Daiva* and *Purushakara*. The popular mind took delight in discussing the relative potency of these two elements in human affairs, but everywhere in the Puranas, the Yogavasishta Ramayana, and other popular philosophical and mythological treatises, free will is invariably given the palm. The Mahabharat is not an exception to this rule. Just as the seed cannot germinate without a proper bed, so without man's own efforts fate cannot achieve anything. The man of action achieves prosperity and success. Heaven, earthly enjoyment, devotion, intelligence, all can be acquired by personal effort. He who, without doing his bit, blindly follows destiny, wastes his energy. Unless one does what is required of him, fate has no gifts to offer him. Nowhere is birth elevated above self-determination though some people speak as if determinism—*Adrishtabala*—was the keystone of the religious edifice in ancient India. We may rest assured that the heroic characters of Epic India, who carved out their path in life with their strong right hand, never bowed the knee to *kismet*. **इहं प्रोक्ष्य वराहं** it is only the weaklings who worship at the shrine of Fate, is the ringing battlecry of the ancients.

Allusions to the sea, ships, and sea-voyage are to be found in Santi Parva, ch. 143, v. 10; ch. 190, v. 2; ch. 301, v. 31, 35; Anusasana Parva, ch. 33, v. 57. In the second of these

passages an ascetic falls in with a company of merchants and starts on a voyage with them.

That the interests of Brahmans and Kshatriyas frequently clashed and resulted in serious breaches of concord appears from various passages in the Mahabharata, e.g. Santi Parva where we have the following exhortation.<sup>14</sup> If there is good feeling between Brahmans and Kshatriyas then the subjects live in contentment otherwise they go to ruin. If Brahmans forsake the Kshatriyas then their kingdom is destroyed and the Mlecchas set up any one they like as king. So the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas should mutually protect one another. One is the source of the other's influence. If they are well disposed towards one another then their glory is enhanced but if they are not on good terms then they are all overtaken by folly. Brahmans excel in religious austerities and in the power of sacred incantations the Kshatriyas excel in weapons and strength of muscle. Both these forces should be joined to protect the people.<sup>15</sup> In another passage<sup>16</sup> we get a glimpse of the way in which the Kshatriya race was replenished when the earth was denuded of them by the Brahman Parasurama. We learn that the Sudras and Vaisyas began to act lawlessly towards the wives of Brahmans and in consequence of there being no government the weak were oppressed by the strong and no one was master of any property. Many Kshatriya boys had been saved from destruction by the Kshatriya women whose lives had been spared and they were being brought up in the homes of architects and goldsmiths. The sage Kasyapa to whom Parasurama had given away the earth as a sacrificial fee installed them in the kingly office. The total extinction of the Kshatriya race in modern India and its substitution by Rajputs who are in large part of Scythian origin<sup>17</sup> seems to indicate that the legendary story of Parasurama may have a slight foundation of truth. But no Hindu worth his salt can help feeling proud of the service rendered by these sons of kings of foreign extraction to the cause of Hinduism in the darkest days of its existence and will not be grateful for it and the Rajputs have established a better claim to be reckoned as Hindus than many whose pretensions pass unchallenged.

Among the matrimonial rules inculcated by Bhishma for the benefit of Yudhishthira is one which runs as follows. When a girl has attained maturity O wise king she should be given in marriage.<sup>18</sup> This injunction will commend itself to all right thinking minds in modern times but the same cannot be said of some highly objectionable remarks on the female sex which figure some of the chapters of the Anusasana Parva. The subject is introduced in this way. The great sage Narada in order to gain an insight into female nature

approached the courtesan Panchachur who after pretending reluctance to besmear the fair fame of her own sex lets herself go with vengeance and her delirium as explained by the gloss of the commentator Nilkantha is so filthy in some parts that it is impossible to quote it.<sup>19</sup> Suffice it to say that it rivals the most depraved methods of sensuality practised in the last days of the Roman empire or in the modern centres of Western civilization. Let us console ourselves with the thought that nothing better could be expected of a hardened sinner like Panchachura. In the next chapter Yudhishthira is made to say some very complimentary things on the sex and his considered opinion is said to be that their virtue is a mere tradition. This is confirmed in the following chapter by no less a personage than Bhishma himself who observes that women were virtuous in ages long past and tells the story of Ruchi the wife of the sage Devyasharma who was long pursued by the god Indra with foul designs but without success thanks to the vigilant watch maintained by the sage's pupil who did not hesitate to cast the previous record of this lustful god in his teeth much to his discomfiture and did his best to save the lady from being licked up by the king of the gods as a mischievous dog licks up the butter deposited at the sacrifice.<sup>20</sup> The whole subject is summed up by Bhishma who says that both kinds of women virtuous and unchaste are to be found in this world and then follows some verses full of a dignified respect for the sex which are more in consonance with the spotless character of the great hero who had led the pure life of a celibate in order that the sons of his stepmother might not be deprived of the throne. This mighty earth is upheld by the great virtues of chaste women the mothers of the people.<sup>21</sup> They should be respected, adorned and protected the gods delight to dwell where they are treated with respect and where they are disregarded all religious observances come to nought prosperity is synonymous with woman a house which is accursed of woman does not shine nor increase in prosperity and loses all levelness. This is followed by the enunciation of the old Roman doctrine which relegates woman to a perpetual state of pupilage.<sup>22</sup> All this it will be observed occurs in Manu where the good and bad points of the gentler sex are described very much as in this chapter of the Mahabharata.<sup>23</sup>

We have already quoted the passage in the Santi Parva which enjoins that a lawless monarch should be deprived of his life. In chapter 61, verses 32 and 33 Anusasana Parva the same idea is reproduced in greater detail and in more emphatic language. The cruel king who does not protect his subjects drains their wealth tramples with their Dharma and is not guided by sage counsellors should be killed by all his subjects, united for the

purpose like a sensible mad dog. We may add that we have not dealt with the interesting subject of republics in ancient India to which there are many allusions in the *Santi Parva* as has been exhaustively treated by Mr K P Jasswani in Vol I of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and in Dr Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar's *Corporate Life in Ancient India*. C. V. Vaidya's *Epic India* and Dr Kadhakumud Mookerjee's *Local Self Government in Ancient India*.

Though the ancient masters of the science of medicine and surgery were learned Brahmins it had fallen so much into disrepute at the time of the Mahabharata that a Brahmin physician was not considered fit to accept a funeral gift which was unlike modern times reserved as a high privilege for the best among the Brahmans and like a Brahmin tutor who accepts fees from his pupils and a family priest [mark the low social position of the latter] he is no better than a Sudra and in fact he is so despicable and vile that the man who dines with him is said to live on human excreta or on the wages of one's wife's sin. One is reminded of what Dr P C Ray says on the pernicious consequences of this degradation of the science of medicine and the decline of the scientific spirit in his *History of Hindu Chemistry*. The arts being thus relegated to the low castes and the professions made hereditary a certain degree of fineness, delicacy and deftness in manipulation was no doubt secured but this was done at a terrible cost. The intellectual portion of the community being thus withdrawn from active participation in the arts the *how* and *why* of phenomena—the co-ordination of cause and effect—were lost sight of, the spirit of enquiry gradually died out among a nation naturally prone to speculation and metaphysical subtleties and India for once bade adieu to experimental and inductive sciences. Her soil was rendered morally unfit for the birth of a Boyle, a Descartes or a Newton and her very name was all but expunged from the map of the scientific world. Unless the above passages in the Mahabharata are regarded as interpolations inserted therein as late as the eleventh or twelfth centuries of the Christian era—and similar sentiments regarding the practice of the healing art are to be found also in the *Manusmriti*—Prof Sarkar's defence of Hinduism against Dr Ray's attack in the following passage of his *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* seems to us rather unconvincing though as a general statement of the state of Hindu intellectual activity in post-Mahomedan times it may be accepted as fairly accurate. It must not be forgotten, however, that the greatest duty the Hindu rulers were called upon to perform during so-called torpor and the decline of the Hindu was the preservation of national exist-

tence and the conservation (with necessary adaptation or modification) of the culture of their race against the inroads of aggressive Islam.

The problem before the Hindus during the period referred to by Dr Ray was preeminently and essentially one of social self-preservation, stock-taking and assimilation, re-synthesising of old and new conditions.

In chapter 104 of the *Anusasana Parva* there is a panegyric on *Acharya* or ceremonial observances which form nine tenths of the religion of modern Hindus. *Acharya* is the best of *Agamas*, the source of *Dharma*, the giver of fame and prosperity, it is conducive to longevity and destroys evil omens. The discipline of a regulated life is no doubt beneficial to health and morality, and customs and conventions having these for their aim and object have grown up in every country calling itself civilised but when they degenerate into mere meaningless ritual they not only stifle the spirit of enquiry and reduce man into a machine but are apt to make us lose sight of the truth that in purity of inner life and not in outward ceremonial practices lies the worth and significance of human life. Chapter 107 for instance is devoted to an exhortation on fasts. Generally speaking the upper and middle classes eat more than they can properly digest and occasional abstinence from food has therefore a salutary effect, and as a training in plain living also fasts have their place in a system of national culture. But to extol them on the ground of the celestial felicity they are said to confer in after life is to put shackles on the mind with a view to keep the body fit, and when the reward of such abstinence is held out to be the union in paradise with the perennially youthful courtesans who attend on the gods whose physical charms are purposely emphasised to appeal most strongly to our grosser passions the effect clearly is that our imagination is inflamed, whether we feel tempted or not to follow the writer's prescription here on earth. Abstinence from the pleasures of the table in the hope of indulging in a surfeit of sensual pleasures in the life to come not only defeats its own object but cannot but be a fruitful source of greater evils than those which it is intended to cure and yet throughout this long chapter allurements of this kind are repeatedly offered to us in order to gain our adherence to the *Upavisa Brats* or fasting ceremonies prescribed by the writer. The history of every country tells us that the consequence of putting too strong a curb on our appetite has been to drown the memory of our enforced abstinence in an excess of gluttony and other forms of indulgence as soon as the curb is removed. Thus the Lent is followed by the Carnival, the Ramzan by the *Id* and the *Upasatha* by the *Paras*. Not only in the Mahabharata but everywhere in the Puranas post mortem rewards of a grossly material character are held out in order to induce people

to practise virtue in this life thereby admitting the superiority of sensuous enjoyment to a life of privation. Even in the oldest of our sacred books, the *Āg Veda* prayer as the *Bṛhad Devata* says,<sup>10</sup> has for its object and is expressed in terms of heaven, long life, wealth and progeny. In medieval Christianity things were just as bad. Ritualistic paraphernalia in the opinion of Troude had usurped the functions of piety, masses, penances, absolutions, pilgrimages to the shrines of saints were the mechanical substitutes for a life of righteousness.<sup>11</sup> Professor Heischner of Tokyo says of Shintoism. The early Shinto ideal went very little beyond the conception of man as a creature of sense-experience. The gods were implored or propitiated in order that they might bestow upon the suppliant what he wanted for a prosperous and happy existence. But the happiness of existence lay not so much in the realm of an enriched personality, as in the realm of those things which satisfy the desires of the senses.<sup>12</sup> When one thinks of the devices which had to be practised in past ages and are practised even now by religious orders all the world over in order to keep the mass of mankind to the straight path on the principle that the end justifies the means, one would be apt to despair of human nature and of its capacity for spiritual growth unaided by adventitious and often false, and positively baneful props. Were it not for the fact that both medieval Catholicism and ritualistic Hinduism have produced many characters which for moral purity and spiritual elevation stand unrivalled to this day.

Meat was a regular article of diet in the Mahabharata times. In the first chapter of the *Aśramavasika Parva* we find that even after the battle of Kurukṣetra had been won and lost, and old Dhritrāshtra having lost all his sons had retired to the forest to spend his last days there, he was treated to a variety of meats and drinks by the *chelas* thoughtfully provided for him by King Yudhishthira. It is interesting to note that Brahman, Kṣatriyas and Vaisyas would take food cooked by each other, but food cooked by Sudras was like human feces and was to be abjured as equally loathsome.<sup>13</sup> Bhishma observes that nothing more toothsome than meat exists on this earth for weak and lean persons as well as for those who are fatigued with a journey or lead a fast life. It is positively nourishing and life giving. The *Śrutis* declare that the lower animals have been created for sacrifice and hence there is no sin in eating sacrificial flesh. But there is also great merit in eschewing meat. There is nothing dearer than life and so one should show as much kindness to others as to himself. Here we find the practice of eating meat going hand in hand with the recognition of the virtue of the Ahimsa doctrine which according to V. A. Smith had a large share in fixing on the necks of the people burdensome rules of conduct.<sup>14</sup>

Taxila in the fourth century B. C. according to the combined testimony of the Buddhist Jatakas and the Greek writers who accompanied Alexander was a great centre of Vedic learning. The Taxilans offered 3,000 oxen to Alexander for being converted into beef. That statement made incidentally is good evidence that in 327 B. C. the people of Taxila were still willing to fatten cattle for slaughter and the feeding of honoured guests in Vedic fashion.<sup>15</sup> Quintus Curtius states that Brahmins were accustomed to eat flesh but not that of animals that assist man in his labours.<sup>16</sup> At present in most parts of India except Bengal Brahmins have ceased to eat flesh. Mr Vincent A. Smith's observations on Indian conservatism deserve quotation in this connection. The Ahimsa principle of non-injury to animal life gained many adherents so that the more shocking elements in the old Hindu ritual tended to fall into disrepute. The change of feeling as already noted can be traced in many passages of the Mahabharata. Bloody sacrifices still retain the approval of many sections of the population but the general tendency during the last two thousand years has been to discredit them. The reader will not fail to take note of the proof that two thousand years are not nearly enough for the completion of a single change in religious sentiment throughout India. Perhaps the zeal of ardent reformers may be chilled by the thought.<sup>17</sup>

Nothing seemed to excite the ire of our good old forefathers of those days so much as a rationalistic interpretation of social facts. Hetubodhis and Pashandis are treated in the Mahabharata as everywhere in the Puranas with scant courtesy and there is no epithet vile enough by which they are not called.<sup>18</sup> But in explaining the greatest of these social facts viz caste rationalistic views of its origin and significance are given in numerous passages some of which are quoted below. The best known of them occurs in the *Santi Parva* and runs as follows.<sup>19</sup> There is no difference of castes this world having been at first created by Brahma entirely Brahminic. He became afterwards separated into castes in consequences of works. Those Brahmins who were fond of sensual pleasure, fiery, irascible, prone to violence who had forsaken their duty and were redlimbed fell into the condition of Kṣatriyas. Those Brahmins, who derived their livelihood from kine who were yeller who subsisted by agriculture and who neglected to practise their duties entered into the state of Vaisyas. Those Brahmins who were addicted to mischief and falsehood who were covetous who lived by all kinds of work who were black and had fallen from purity sank into the condition of Sudras. Being separated from each other by these works the Brahmins became divided into different castes. Duty and the rites of *varṇa* have not been salwaved

forbidden to (any of) them. The next passage is from the Anusasana Parva ch 143. Mahatma always a god who makes light of forms and ceremonies and looks rather to the spirit within than to the mode of its outer expression says Brahmanhood O fair goddess is difficult to be attained A man whether he be a Brahman Kshatriya Vaisya or a Sudra is such by nature this is my opinion By evil deeds a twice born man falls from his position The Kshatriya or Vaisya who lives in the condition of a Brahman by practising the duties of one attains to Brahmanhood But he who abandons the state of a Brahman and practises the duty of a Kshatriya falls from Brahmanhood and is born in a Kshatriya womb and so on This extract will however show that even the most advanced minds of the times could not conceive of a Brahman being anything else than a member of that privileged community during his present life here on earth Whatever social degradation is prescribed for him owing to deterioration of character will have to be suffered when he is reborn and not in this life This of course deprives the punishment of much of its effective force though it may be presumed that in those days the fear of being reborn in an inferior caste was not as impotent a check on one's propensities as in these more matter of fact days.

King Kartavirya (Arjuna) was one of those who like King Nabusa and some others refused to bow the knee to the Brahmins but as usual in the end he had to submit to Brahmanical authority Nevertheless his protest against the pretensions of the priestly caste has a value all its own in as much as it gives us a very good idea of the relative influence and position of the two highest castes in his times Arjuna says 'The first proposition is that the Brahmins are superior the second that the Kshatriyas are superior but there is a difference between them (in point of force) The Brahmins are dependent on the Kshatriyas and not the Kshatriyas on the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas are extolled up by the Brahmins who wait upon them and only make the Vedas a pretence Justice the protection of the people has its seat in the Kshatriyas From them the Brahmins derive their livelihood How then can the latter be superior? I always keep in subjection to myself those Brahmins the chief of all beings who subsist on alms and who have a high opinion of themselves I shall subdue all those unrighteous Brahmins clad in hides No one in the three worlds god or man can hurl me from my royal authority wherefore I am superior to any Brahman Now shall I turn the world in which Brahmins have the upper hand into a place where Kshatriyas shall have the upper hand for no one dares to encounter my force in battle.'

In chapter 13 of the Anusasana Parva also

everywhere in the Puranas as well as in Manu we find all the bordering non-Aryan tribes like the Sakas Yavanas Kambojas Dravidas and Pulindas described as fallen Kshatriyas who had lost favour with the Brahmins Here we find the secret of the success of the Indo-Aryans in assimilating all these races which by a convenient legal fiction they treated as Kshatriyas who had fallen from their high estate With the Muhammadan conquest however this process of assimilation came to an end We shall let Mr V A Smith speak on this subject.

The process of the Muhammadan conquest from the time of Mahmud of Ghazni tended to tighten the bonds of caste The Hindus unable on the whole to resist the Muslims in the field defended themselves passively by the increased rigidity of caste association The system of close caste brotherhood undoubtedly protected Hinduism and Hinduism during many centuries of Muslim rule Modern Hinduism is incapable of accepting the old legal fiction that foreign outsiders should be regarded as fallen Kshatriyas When the compiler of the Laws of Manu was writing it seemed quite natural to treat Persians Dards and certain other foreign nations as Kshatriyas who had sunk to the condition of Sudras by reason of their neglect of sacred rites and their failure to consult Brahmins (XII) The change in the Hindu attitude towards foreigners seems to be mainly due to the Muhammadan conquest.

In chapter 53 of the Anusasana Parva the sage Chyavana speaks of the confusion of castes in consequence of the hostility of Brahmins and Kshatriyas This however was not the only cause of the confusion of castes Another such cause is indicated by the appointment of Brahman rishis as agents for the propagation of the royal race as for instance the sage Vasistha raised offspring on queen Madayanti who was bestowed on him for that purpose by King Kalmashridda of whom we read both in the Santi Parva and the Anusasana Parva. A third reason lay in the elevation of certain sections of the royal race into Brahmanhood by some celebrated rishis whose conduct there was evidently none to question We get some instances of this remarkable fact in the Puranas, and also in chapter 70 of the Anusasana Parva where we read of King Vitahavya and other members of his family being converted into Brahmins by the fiat of the sage Bhrgu By accepting persons of doubtful parentage as Kshatriyas to replenish the depleted stock by a free use of the custom of Levirate and by forcible elevation of Kshatriyas into the Brahmanical order the castes became so mixed that even the semblance of the social purity of the higher castes always an apocryphal proposition could no longer be maintained after the Mahabharata era.

The Mahabharata claims to exceed in weight all the four Vedas and the Upanishads.



though in the Bhagvatā Purana we have it that it was especially composed for the benefit of women and Sudras—always associated together to denote feebleness of intellect—who were not competent to study the Vedas.<sup>44</sup> So far as physical bulk goes the claim must at once be conceded but whether not only quantitatively but qualitatively also this proud boast of the Mahabharata can be justified we leave it to others to decide. And even as regard mere bulk, western scholars as well as some Indian savants are of opinion that it is due to subsequent interpolations. The Mahabharata calls the Yavinas (Ionian or Bactrian Greeks) 'all knowing'<sup>45</sup> so the modern heirs of the knowledge of the Greeks deserve a fair hearing from us even if we may not agree with all their conclusions. Mr Hopkins is of opinion that 'tale is added to tale doctrine to doctrine without much regard to the effect produced by the juxtaposition. And he illustrates his position by citing the following instance. In 214 Arjuna protests that he is a Brahmachari for twelve years in accordance with the agreement (chapter 212) that he has made with his brother which is to the effect that he will be a Brahmachari in the woods for twelve years. This can only have one meaning. A brahmacharin is not a man wandering about on love adventures but chaste student. Above all chastity is implied. Now the first thing the hero Arjuna does is to violate his agreement by having a connection with Ulupi, a beautiful waterwitch who easily persuades him to break his vow after which he resides in a city taking to himself a wife with whom he lives for three years. After this he has a new adventure with some enchanted nymphs and then stays with Krishna when in a new vikrantā or derringdo (the hero's rape of Subhadra chapter 2.0) all the talk of brahmacharia wandering in the woods stops inconsequently. When he marries (in town) not a word is said of his vow but when he approaches Krishna on the subject of Subhadra the poet makes the former say 'How can a wood wanderer fall in love?' This is the only allusion and one entirely ignored to the matter of the vow which in the earlier Manipur scene is absolutely unnoticed. Each of these feats is a separate heroic tale and they are all contradictory to the setting in which they have been placed by the diodochoi and later epic manipulators.<sup>46</sup>

The conclusion of Professor Hopkins on the text of the Mahabharata is as follows. 'In what shape has epic poetry come down to us? A text that is no text, enlarged and altered in every recension, chapter after chapter recognised even by native commentators as *prakhṛita* in a land without historical sense or care for the preservation of popular monuments where no clerk was put on any reciter or copyist who might add what

beauties or polish to what parts he would where it was a merit to add a glory to the pet god where every popular poem was handled freely and is so to this day.<sup>47</sup>

A land without historical sense! It may be humiliating to a patriotic Indian to plead guilty to the charge in its entirety and perhaps an examination of the methods of research of the Russian school of Droysen, Sybel and Trietschke and of Sanskritists who have written whole volumes to prove that the Ramayana was a plagiarism from the Iliad and the like and of European historians in general whose conspiracy of silence in regard to the achievements of the Saracens roused the indignant protest of Draper would mitigate the point of the accusation and the Great War, we are told by competent authority has so ravaged the plucked pastures of European scholarship that too many historians have been reduced to shrieking partisans. Nevertheless we agree with this learned writer that 'the historian is a man of flesh and blood and may love his country as ardently as other men but if he is to be worthy of his high calling he must trample passion and prejudice under his feet and walk humbly and reverently in the temple of the Goddess of Truth.<sup>48</sup> The Mahabharata itself places truth far above even a thousand Aswamedha sacrifices.<sup>49</sup> Sir Henry Maine in his convocation address of 1866 to the graduates of the Calcutta University,<sup>50</sup> said 'It I have any complaint to make of the most highly educated class of Indians—the class I mean which has received the highest European education—I should rather venture to express disappointment at the use to which they sometimes put it. It seems to me that not seldom they employ it for what I can best describe as irrationally reactionary purposes. The complaint we must admit is in a large measure just. It will not do for us merely to repudiate such charges when brought against us. We have to prove to the civilized world that our methods of research are not tainted by preconceived prejudices or what Herbert Spencer called the patriotic bias and that it is conducted in an *unbiased* favourable to the disinterested pursuit of truth, with a background of proper perspective. The writer trained on these lines might not be popular, and the huzzas of the multitude might elude his grasp and his labours might not secure for him the fame or the large circle of admiring readers in his own country which he thinks they deserve. But there is a more enduring reputation and a select audience of the world's seekers after truth who can appreciate true scholarship wherever it may be found and it is the approbation of this republic of letters whose membership is cosmopolitan yet select, that will in these days gain for our research workers the only fame that will last and will free them from the reproach levelled so con-

flies against the military Professor Hopkins and  
 are refuted the recognition of an international reputa-  
 tion for literary scholarship

- 1 Sant I tva cl 199
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Sant Parva ch 30
- 4 Sant I tva cl 97
- 5 Sant Parva ch 343
- 6 Iti cl 14
- 7 Anusana Parva cl 10
- 8 Vana Parva I tva cl 10 reference
- 9 Anusana Parva ch 34
- 10 Anusana Parva ch 3
- 11 Ibid ch 8
- 12 Ibid cl 101
- 121 Anusana Parva cl 6
- 13 Sant Parva ch 19
- 14 Sant I tva ch 70
- 15 Ibid ch 4
- 16 Ibid ch 49
- 17 See A. A. Smith's Early History of India  
 ch XIV
- 18 Anusana Parva ch 104
- 19 Iti cl 35 v 2
- 20 Mr. says A respectful comparison truly  
 to be applied to the cl of of the Indian pantheon
- 21 Ganga Sakti Texts Vol I page 46 footnote
- 22 Anusana Parva cl 43
- 23 Ibid cl 46
- 24 Manusamhita chs 1019
- 25 Anusana Parva cl 90

- 25 Iti cl 1
- 6 Ibid cl 91
- 27 Vol I cl 11 d 1921 pp 195-6
- 8 Alibhai id 1914 pp 10-12
- 9
- 30 Short Studies on Great Subjects Vol IV
- 31 Revival of Romanticism
- 32 Studies in Japanese Buddhism MacMillan  
 New York 1917 ch VII page 804
- 33 Anusana Parva ch 135
- 34 Anusana Parva cl 116
- 34 Oxford History of India p 78
- 35 Ibid p 61
- 36 Oxford History of India p 70
- 37 Ibid p 57
- 38 Anusana Parva ch 162 and Hopkins The  
 Great Epic of India New York 1921 pp 69-90
- 39 Sant Parva cl 188.
- 40 Anusana Parva ch 152
- 41 Oxford History of India pp 19-40
- 42 See pages 423 and 514 of Murs Organa  
 Sanskrit Texts Vol I
- 43 Ad Parva verse 64
- 44 I v 23
- 45 I tva Parva cl 4 35
- 46 The Great Epic 1920 p 370
- 47 The Great Epic 1920 p 400
- 48 Recent Developments in European Thought  
 Oxford 1920, pp 162-3
- 49 Anusana Parva cl 22
- 50 Appendix to Vol II Communes London  
 1890

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### The Greatness of the Indian Masses

*Prabuddha Bharata* publishes the follow-  
 ing translation of a well known passage in  
 the Bengali works of Swami Vivekananda\* —

Let new India arise—out of the peasants  
 cottage holding the plough out of the huts of the  
 farmer the cobbler and the sweeper Let her spring  
 from the grocer's shop from beside the oven of the  
 fritter seller Let her emanate from the factory from  
 marts and fairs from markets Let her emerge from  
 groves and forests from hills and mountains The  
 common people have suffered oppression for thousands

of years—suffered them without a murmur and as  
 a result have got wonderful fortitude. They have  
 suffered eternal misery which has given them un-  
 flinching vitality Living on a handful of oatmeal  
 they can conquer the world give them only half a  
 pece of bread and the whole world will not be big  
 enough to contain their energy they are endowed  
 with the inexhaustible vitality of a Rakta bija and  
 besides they have got the wonderful strength that  
 comes of a pure and moral life which is not to be found  
 anywhere else in the world Such peacefulness such  
 contentment such love such power of silent and

† A powerful demon, entoned in the Durga Saptas-  
 sat every drop of loose blood produced another  
 demon like him

\* Written & sent to the editor by a brother disciple

cessant work and such manifestation of lion's strength in times of action—where else will you find these?

"Those uncared-for lower classes of India—the peasants, the weavers and the rest who are slighted by foreign nations and looked down upon by their own people—it is they who from time immemorial have been working silently without ever getting the remuneration of their labours." But how great changes are taking place slowly, all over the world in pursuance of Nature's laws! Countries civilisations and supremacy are undergoing revolutions. Ye labouring classes of India, as a result of your silent, constant labours Babylon, Persia, Alexandria, Greece Rome Venice Genoa Baghdad, Samarkand Spain Portugal France, Denmark, Holland and England have successively attained supremacy and eminence. And you?—well, who cares to think of you?

My dear Swami, your ancestors wrote a few philosophical works, penned a dozen or so of epics or built a number of temples—that is all, and you rend the skies with triumphal shouts, while those whose heart's blood has contributed to all the progress that has been made in the world—well who cares to praise them? The world-conquering heroes of spirituality war and poetry are under the eyes of all and they receive the homage of mankind, but where nobody looks no one gives a word of encouragement where everybody hates—that amid such circumstances, displaying boundless patience, infinite love and dauntless practicality, your proletariat are doing their duty in their homes day and night, without the slightest murmur—well, is there no heroism in this?

Many turn out to be heroes when they have got some great task to perform. Even a coward easily gives up his life, and the most selfish man behaves disinterestedly, when there is a multitude to cheer them on, but blessed indeed is he who mingles the same unselfishness and devotion to duty in the smallest of acts, unnoticed by any—and it is you who are actually doing this, ye ever trampled labouring classes of India! I bow to you.

### The Prevailing Economic Distress of the Poor.

Professor S C Ray of Calcutta University discourses thus in the *Indian Review* on the prevailing economic distress of the poor co-existing with the wealth and luxury of the rich—

The vice of industrialism consists not in manufacturing necessities with the object of mutual help, but in manufacturing products with a view to exploit the human senses for the sake of profit. In such a process, there is a lack of harmony, a lack of a spirit of mutual helpfulness, a lack of a sense of give and take, and a dominance of one-sidedness which is destructive of happiness. Industrialism, which absorbs continually larger and larger shares of the limited food products of the soil diminishes the cultivable area under food-crops, and proportionately increases the area under non-food or commercial crops is responsible for that lack of harmony in the social and economic order which lies at the root of our unhappiness. This unhappiness is manifested in the increased prices

of our necessities for existence and discontent, unrest and distrust of the state which supports this ruthless industrialism. Commerce and industry are progressing as it were ahead of agriculture owing to the encouragement given to the former by the State, riches are unequally distributed in the community, progress is measured by the volume of commerce of the country, and the material wealth of the few, physical power is apotheosised and the power of the soul or spirit is crushed or caricatured. All this does not bespeak a healthy or symmetrical condition of society. Happiness which is a condition of the soul does not consist in the undiluted increase of power, riches, glory or enjoyment of separate groups in isolation but in a synthesis or harmony of the happiness of different groups. Industrialism satisfies the desires of some groups, an agricultural system satisfies the desires of others. A ruthless pursuance of industrialism, side by side with a ruthless pursuance of agriculture does not conduce to the welfare and happiness of humanity. It is rather their harmonious combination, pursued with the view of mutual exploitation. The prevailing economic distress of the poor, existing side by side with the luxury and wealth of the rich is a consequence of the d. harmny due to (1) the emphasis laid on commerce and industry and the neglect of agriculture as far as good crops are concerned (2) emphasis placed on the material wealth of human beings to the neglect of the soul or the spirit (3) emphasis placed on the satisfaction of the senses and the neglect of reason and (4) a lack of the proper appreciation of harmony in the social and world order—a harmony which is not passive, but is creative and active in bringing about a synthesis of human wants governed not by appetite alone, but by reason and mutual sympathy and necessity.

### Drink and Education in England.

Sir Michael Sadler writes in *Indian Education*—

It is disconcerting to be told, though the statistics are rather speculative and for purposes of strict comparison a little unfair, that in the year 1900-21 the inhabitants of the United Kingdom spent £169,000,000 on intoxicating drinks but during the same twelve months paid out of public funds only £25,000,000 on public education. Put the best face on the figures that one can, they do not flatter us. We thirst for beer and spirits more than for the fountain of knowledge. It is true that a good deal of the education which we are obliged to pay for is not of the finest quality. If it were better, we might want it more and be willing to make greater sacrifices in order to get it. But at the same time we get up with a quantity of inferior ale and whisky rather than go without it. And the result is that we have spent times more on drink than on colleges and schools. Drink and education used to cost us in the same ratio each item in the account, the total expenditure trebled. For every penny that we spend out of money on education, we find the means of spending three pence on drink. Clearly, if we are riding down the road to ruin it is not an extravagant passion for culture that sets the pace.

accept the gigantic enterprise that is now being conducted by Soviet Russia. There are all manner of forms of socialism and socialistic theory. There is the Anarchistic Socialism. There is the State Socialism. There is the sentimental and scientific socialism. And finally there is the Guild Socialism. All these various forms and kinds of socialism are permeated by one common idea. That is, that the control of the methods of production, that the control of capital shall be in the hands of the group and that there shall be no room for private rent, private interest or private profits.

There is only one form of capitalism and that is progressive capitalism. Every form of industrial organization is progressive. By capitalism we mean a progressive form of industrial society.

He then calls attention to the achievements of capitalism.

First and foremost, I should say that we must recognize the accumulation of wealth irrespective of where it is and in whose hands it is—the cheapening of production and the accumulation of wealth—because it is undeniable that certain advantages from this accumulation of capital and wealth accrue to the worker. Take as an example the railway system of America with its twenty billions of capital, which would have been impossible in any preceding order of society and consider its benefits in taking the laborer to and from his work every day, take the accumulation of wealth in our Public Libraries, in our Natural Museums of History, in our Museums of Art and in all other things which make for the convenience and pleasure of life. None of these things would have been possible nor have they ever been possible in a state of society where there has not been an accumulation of capital. For while civilization indeed has its spiritual and indubitable ethical and religious ends, there is no doubt that civilization as we know it, even on the spiritual side must needs be built up on a certain material basis and sub-structure. The accumulation of capital itself is an undoubted achievement.

In the second place, I should put the diversification of consumption. Compare the world to-day with what it was in all previous ages and consider what the laborer—even though he be the most poorly paid of all laborers—eats and what he wears and what he has with which to shelter himself. All of this is the result of the capitalist system. The gigantic capitalist machine has rendered possible a diversification of consumption which has been unknown heretofore in the history of the world.

In the third place capitalism is responsible for Democracy. The democracy of classic antiquity [in Europe] was one based on sham, a pseudo-democracy resting upon slavery. The democracy even of our forefathers, when we declared our independence of England, was not a real democracy. It was an aristocracy.

What has brought about democracy is the industrial revolution or modern capitalism and that means a public opinion which has never existed before in the history of the world. As a result, [in the west] every workman, no matter how humble he be, to-day has democracy and enjoys a voice in influencing even to a small extent the management of the affairs of the states under which he lives.

In the fourth place, I should put as one of the

achievements of capitalism, the liberty of movement. In the middle ages there was no liberty. The serf was bound to the soil and it is only since capitalism has developed that we have the modern liberty of movement, carrying with it as a result the liberty of production as well as the liberty of consumption.

And finally, to cap the climax, modern capitalism is responsible for education and for science. Never before in the history of the world have we had a form of public instruction comparable to our own. Weak though it be the amounts of money that are spent to-day in every modern capitalistic society for the public schools for the education that goes down into the kindergarten and up into the State University is something that the world before has never known. And science also is a direct product of capitalism. There was indeed a certain form of science among the Greeks among the Arabs, etc. But science, by which we mean the unlocking of the secrets of nature, is distinctly a modern product. It began only with the introduction of modern capitalism and it is most strongly developed and progressive in the home of modern capitalism. And you all see why that is—because the modern businessman in order to succeed must know the secrets of nature. He must secure the proof and in order to get the proof he must employ and utilize those forms of organized investigation which we call science.

Now those are great achievements. Never before in the several hundred thousands or millions of years that man has been upon the earth have such things been accomplished.

He proceeds next to address himself to the dark side of capitalism, whose existence he does not deny.

What are the weaknesses and excrescences of capitalism? My point is that since capitalism is a progressive form of society, these weaknesses are remedial and these excrescences are being lopped off. What are those weaknesses? In the first place, we have unfair competition between businesses and human beings. But we all realize that this is being gradually done away with.

Society under modern capitalism, is gradually rendering competition more and more fair.

In the second place, we have as one of the sad results, the fact that unjust privileges still continue and that certain forms of integrated organization known as potential monopolies sometimes make their appearance. But we find also that as soon as those evils are recognized they are being counteracted and we have to-day in our trade commission and in many other forms of organization a powerful counteragent which is gradually doing away with many forms of privilege.

In the third place I should say that modern capitalism does result in exaggerated fortunes. The development of a leisured class has its bad sides at a time when everyone ought to be working. But what has society under modern capitalism done?

Nowadays, everyone, the capitalist like the others, not only belches in, but argues for, progressive taxation. We have to-day gone further in United States than in any other—perhaps as some of us think, even too far—with a system that takes up to 69.73 per cent of a man's income and in some cases even

more Progressive taxation is a sign of what modern capitalism is doing to restrict some of its own evils

As regards the effect of capitalism on the laborer, Professor Seligman writes —

When you come to the laborer there are of course some very great evils but they also are gradually being overcome. Take the conditions of work. Many years ago, the reform movement was for twelve hours a day. I remember the ten hour day movement. Then there came the great fight for the eight hour day and now some of our factory laws even permit only a six hour day in certain industries.

As it is with the hours so with the wages. Wages are by no means what they ought to be. Wages are certainly far less than they should be. But wages have been growing during the last hundred years indubitably.

He then deals with the two great indictments of the present system of capitalism

First, the insecurity of employment for the workman—that very great evil which is being attacked and which is entirely susceptible of being eradicated by the application of the same principle that we have applied to accidents that we have applied to many other evils namely the insurance principle. There is no reason why the workman should be made to bear, as he does to-day, the burden of unemployment and of insecurity of tenure.

And finally the last point the joylessness of life. That to a certain extent must continue under any form of industrial government as long as we have the machine. Machines will be needed under socialism as under capitalism. But the real joylessness of the machine tender can be diminished and can be partially done away with by giving him more of a participation in the industry itself as we are gradually doing through what we call industrial democracy. By giving him more hours of leisure as we are gradually doing we are giving him the time in which he can regain the joy which he loses in his work. The joylessness of industry is not so much the indictment of capitalism as it is indictment of machinery. We must meet it and fight it and counter it wherever we can.

In conclusion the writer explains why he is not a socialist!

In the first place as regards the remuneration of labor, Socialism preaches equal pay. A bonus Lenin told us, was something only for bourgeois society. Equal pay means payment according to need. But unfortunately it is not payment according to need but rather according to efficient work that is really productive. Even in Russia to-day they have been compelled to give up their original plans of payment according to need and they now have developed the bonus system to a point even unheard of in the United States.

In the second place let us deal with the other side of the man at the top. If society has progressed at all events in some respects, it is due above all to the man who has been the leader—the leader in industry. Leaders are rare in industry.

The real impulses and tendencies of human nature, the desire for distinctness, for self-expression, for mastery, that all these things affect all centres them-

selves in the effort to do a little better than one's neighbour. We may not believe as our great Emerson said, that we are all as lazy as we dare to be, but it is true that the race horse does best when he has a pace maker and even we who sometimes play golf, don't play as well alone as when we play against a partner.

Now under socialism, the possibilities of leadership would be restricted for two reasons. First, you would not have the incentive that you have now, and in the second place, the risk would be far more limited. Then we finally come to the restriction of liberty.

## The Christian Churches and Politics.

The Bishop of Calcutta writes thus in the *Calcutta Diocesan Record* on the relation of the Christian Churches to politics

The Church exists to bring its principles to bear upon all the relationships of life and it is the duty of every Christian to see that the principles upon which the politics of the nation are based are not opposed to the teaching of Christ and it is the duty of the leaders of the Church to speak out when they believe that those principles are being violated by political and industrial leaders. With the technical details of an industrial settlement they may not be competent to deal though it is well to remember that there are among the leaders of the Church those who are learned in the science of economics but it is the fundamental principles with which they are mainly concerned, and though their witness to Christian teaching in this connection may "divide the Churches," it is far better for that to occur than that the Church should fail in its primary duty.

## Chandpur Affairs

In the same journal the Bishop writes on the happenings at Chandpur and elsewhere as follows —

There are two Christian principles which I do desire to emphasise. Under existing conditions a Government charged to maintain law and order may be compelled to employ force—I gravely doubt from the evidence which has been furnished whether such a necessity existed at Chandpur—but do we as Christians realise that the employment of force is a confession of moral and spiritual impotence? It is not the employment of force in real emergencies which I regard as un-Christian, but the attitude of mind which believes in force as an essential and efficient instrument for the accomplishment of the highest purposes of Government. It may, on occasions, be a deplorable necessity, but it must always denote the failure of those powers of persuasion and conciliation which are the really effective means of good government.

Again I believe that the attitude taken up by those in authority may be defended as being in accordance with reason. I do not believe that they deliberately sided with the rich against the poor, my fourteen years' experience in Chota Nagpur among

the poor has led me to form a different estimate of their conduct than that, but I do feel that they failed to mingle with just that measure of compassion and mercy which the circumstances demanded.

## Racial Equality

To another issue of the *Calcutta Diocesan Record* the Bishop has contributed a letter embodying his considered views on racial equality. Says he

When we say that all men are equal what exactly is it that we mean? Surely not that judged by any standard which we may choose to set up all men attain the same degree of excellence or that all men are endowed in the same degree with like gifts and capacities and characterised by the same qualities. On the face of it such views as these are false whether applied to people of the same race or to those of different races. When we speak of the equality of men we mean that all share in the same common humanity and that all have the same equal rights which the possession of that humanity confers. When the Indian speaks of his equality with the Englishman and claims that he should have the fullest opportunity for the development of his personality he is asking for that which is his right in virtue of his humanity. When he asks that the lives and honour of Europeans and Indians shall be treated by the courts as of equal value he is making a claim for that to which his humanity entitles him. When he asks that he should be given the opportunity of shouldering responsibility in the various departments of human activity he is asking for that which all experience has taught us is one of the most fruitful means of developing his inherent powers. But very often when the Indian and the European are discussing the question of racial equality it is not of this fundamental equality that they are speaking but of the disputable question as to whether they both possess in an equal degree those gifts and qualities which are by no means evenly distributed among men and nations or which they have not had equal opportunities of acquiring.

Referring to the various points in which an Englishman signing himself as John Bull in a letter contributed to Mr Gandhi's *Young India* held that the Indian was inferior to the Englishman the Bishop writes

I would divide them into three categories. First those elemental virtues of truth and purity which all recognise as belonging to true manhood. But in regard to these "John Bull" spoke with an assured generalisation which only a very wide acquaintance with the various peoples of India would warrant but which those who perhaps know most of the Indian people would be slowest to make. Take truthfulness for instance. I certainly know some races of India in which this virtue is conspicuous. The simple aborigines of Chota Nagpur is a wonderfully truthful individual save perhaps a reference to questions of land in which he is personally concerned, but then I have heard that an Englishman's word in reference

to a horse which he desires to sell is not wholly unimpeachable. I will generalise on insufficient data is the danger of which such disputations are liable to in regard to matters coming within this category.

The second category includes certain facts which are generally acknowledged but from which divergent inferences may be drawn. John Bull writes — We find him (the Indian) inferior to an animal. He succumbs to disease. He (if of higher class) usually shirks exercise and he is frequently a worn out old man when he ought to be in his prime. His children die in swarms. I say that while statistics go to prove that these statements as far as certain elements in the population are concerned are correct the inference which he draws from them is open to challenge. Has he ever stopped really to consider why an Indian is frequently a worn out old man when he should be in his prime? If he knew and perhaps he does but it slipped his memory when writing the hurried note of extreme poverty which many experience he would not be surprised at the early worn-out look which characterises them. Or did he ask why the children die in swarms? What a pitiful tale there is to tell of fatal ignorance and neglected sanitation which lies at the back of the fearful figures of child mortality. But one thinks of some of the sturdy Punjab races and the Hill tribes with their amazing powers of endurance and is tempted to ask whether generally true as his facts are John Bull's inference of general racial inferiority as an animal can be substantiated.

In the third category come those qualities to which men of different races attach varying degrees of importance and in regard to some of which they hold diametrically opposite views. When a man of one race constitutes himself a judge of another he is apt to appropriate by his own national standard as though that were one of absolute values. I felt as I read John Bull's indictment of the Indian that what he said amounted to this that the Indian was a very poor impersonation of the character of John Bull and I think that the reply the Indian would make is that he had no desire to be an imitation but he wants to be himself.

The reverend writer holds that there is one absolute standard to which every national standard of character must be brought and that is the standard of the Son of Man. He adds We Englishmen know well how far short the measure of our own attainment falls from that and our own failure should make us slow to judge.

John Bull being out to prove inferiority is not concerned to enquire whether there are any qualities in the Indian character at its best in which we Englishmen are deficient but a balance sheet which sets out liabilities and ignores assets is no true statement of a Society's affairs.

## Education in Co operation

Prof P Mukherji tells us in the *Bengal Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Journal* that education in the principles of Co operation is a great necessity. He describes what is

being done in other lands to impart such education

The objects of the Manchester Co-operative College are thus set forth in the Prospectus—

'To complete the scheme of co-operative education by providing a centre for higher education in the specified subjects required for the full equipment of the co-operator, and the further development of efficiency in the co-operative movement

To provide a centre for the cultivation of the co-operative spirit, the generation of enthusiasm for the application of co-operative principles and the inspiring of students for service in the cause of co-operation to assist in all possible ways in the diffusion of a knowledge of co-operative principles and practice and the cultivation of a healthy co-operative opinion and to co-operate with, and help, all existing organisations having these objects

'To undertake investigations and research that are calculated to aid the general development and progress of co-operation and stimulate the application of co-operative principles in the solution of social problems

The college is open to both men and women, but no student of less than 17 years of age is admitted except under special circumstances

A similar—but more ambitious—scheme has been launched in Russia. In pursuance of a Resolution of the all Russian Co-operative Congress a Co-operative University was opened on the 17th September, 1918 in Moscow at the premises of the Moscow Union of Co-operative Credit Societies. The University is intended to provide highly skilled instructors for co-operative work, properly trained directors for the boards of co-operative societies editors of leading co-operative reviews etc

The French Government have recently taken the important step of founding a Chair of Co-operation at the famous College of France and of appointing Prof. Charles Gide—the *doyen* of French co-operators and the father of the co-operative movement in France—to that chair

In Germany, besides the Berlin University Chair of Co-operation held by Dr. August Müller, classes for co-operative education are held at selected centres

Coming to India he observes

These examples from the West have their lessons for us in Bengal and in India. Last year's statistics show that there are in India 32,430 co-operative societies of all kinds with a total membership of 1,235,897 and a total working capital of 175 millions of rupees

The writer lays stress on the desirability of founding an all India College of Co-operation and University Chairs of Co-operation

## Indian Factory Legislation

The *Social Service Quarterly* for July contains important contributions on Indian factory legislation, which are summed up in an editorial note on the subject, in which it is observed,

The most important matter to be dealt with is hours of work. The Bill should prescribe a working day not exceeding ten hours, as the limitation of working hours to twelve a day is no improvement on the present position. A sixty hours' week may enable some employers to work their factories for five days at a stretch for twelve hours a day, and as it is desirable that this practice should be discouraged it should be provided by statute that not more than ten hours should be worked per day. Then, again, the existing Act makes a distinction between the maximum hours of work for men and women. The Bill provides for the reduction of the working hours per week for men to sixty. It does not, however, provide for a lower limit for women, nor does it reduce the working day for women. It would be advisable to amend Section 24 (c) of the existing Act and to reduce the working day for women from eleven to eight. The Social Service League of Bombay in their memorandum propose a reduction of the weekly limit from sixty to fifty-four hours. As the ideal aimed at is to reduce the hours of work to forty-eight or less, as contemplated by the Washington Conference, there does not seem to be any sound objection to the adoption of the proposal of the League. The adoption of a fifty-four hours week involves the granting of a half holiday if the factories are worked for ten hours a day or the reduction of the working day to nine hours. It can hardly be argued that the adoption of either of these alternatives is an unjustifiable concession to labour. The climatic conditions of India demand, if anything, the fixing of a shorter working day than is deemed a humane standard in the temperate zone, and if a forty-eight hours' week is acceptable to industrialists in the West, there is no reason why Indian employers of labour cannot agree to the principle of a fifty-four hours' week. The consideration that should guide legislators is not what an industry can bear but what the human beings with whose labour the industrial organization is built up are rightfully entitled to claim and enjoy. The League suggests the reduction of the working day for children from seven to five. The Bill provides for a reduction of the hours to six and allows a period of rest of not less than half an hour after five hours of work, and prescribes that the hours of rest shall be so regulated that no child shall be required to work for more than four hours at a stretch. Government thus appear to favour a five hours' day for children and to suggest that children should not be made to undertake prolonged labour. This is a perfectly correct attitude but the proper course then should be for the State to lay down definitely the restrictions it wishes to be imposed in the interest of workers and not merely attempt to regulate by indirect and roundabout methods the action of employers of labour.

## Proposed Modifications in Factory Bill

The same journal observes—

The League as well as Mr. Briston accept, as a compromise twelve as the minimum age for the admission of children to employment, but while this measure is under consideration a definite undertaking should be obtained from Government about the time after which

the limit of fourteen prescribed by the Washington Conference will be introduced. The raising of the age limit for child workers from 14 to 15 is hardly sufficient. The age of adolescence even in tropical countries, is not under sixteen and if other countries adopt 18 as the age at which young persons are deemed fit for full-time employment, it stands to reason that in India where the standard of physical fitness for the labouring classes is extremely poor, the maximum age for half-time workers should be raised immediately to sixteen and later even to eighteen. The absence of any provision for prohibition of employment of women for a period of six weeks both before and after childbirth is adversely commented on both by the League and Mr. Baptista. The necessary provision should be made in the Bill when it goes up before the Indian Legislature. This period should be counted as absence on privilege leave with full pay and the necessary expenditure be borne by employers. The Bill should also provide for a recess allowance of half an hour twice daily to mothers of infants to enable them to nurse their children.

The memorandum of the Bombay Social Service League strongly urges the creation of a state paid health service, the employment of women doctors to be attached to factories, the appointment of full time factory inspectors including a few women inspectors, and the employment of non officials interested in the welfare of labour as honorary inspectors.

Recruitment should as the League suggest, be confined to Indians who are conversant with the language ways of living and habits of the people among whom they have to work. The main task of the inspector is to safeguard the welfare and interests of workers in factories and without possessing the essential qualification referred to above, no inspector can be expected to discharge his duties satisfactorily.

### Prostitution.

The evils of prostitution are thus described in the *Social Service Quarterly*

With prostitution prevailing all round them men's minds get accustomed to the view that the evil is a necessary and inevitable part of life in a modern city, and that personal purity is practically unattainable. Thus the houses of ill fame not only minister to a demand but serve to stimulate it and tend to pervert and corrupt the earliest ideas of young persons about the relations of men and women. And the miseries of the girls and women who are entrapped in this market of vice are too acute to be real and by outsiders. With them it is not a matter of abstract morality or of public decency but of life, and death for once entrapped, or, as is frequently the case, sold in young age by ruthless parents to cruel traffickers in commercialized vice these women are practically all their lives no better than caged human beings. In a majority of the brothels the mistresses or trade procurers appropriate all the earnings of the poor women, the latter receiving merely food and clothing and being kept in a condition which is scarcely distinguishable from slavery.

They are frequently kept under the bondage of debt and are advanced sums of money from time to time. By a recent enactment, it is now illegal to prosecute such women for debt or to force them to remain in brothels against their will, but because of the ignorance and helplessness of the women and the difficulty of getting evidence the law is practically a dead letter.

The friend ship bullies who have entrapped the young women continue practising cruelties beyond description and the women live in mortal fear of their keepers. And so helpless is the position that they have often to continue to ply at their calling even though infected by venereal diseases. If they cease practising the profession and undergo medical treatment they lose their only source of livelihood which, owing to their dependent and abject condition they cannot afford to do. The consequences are serious for them and for the community, and the infection spreads and continues to take its toll of other innocent persons, the young and old men and women.

The editor of the journal rightly believes that

Even an evil of such dimensions and long standing, deeply rooted as it appears to be in our social system, can be diminished if not wholly eradicated, by the organized action of the community. The first line of action is to strike a blow at the hideous business of public pandering to vice and the practice of professional prostitution. Certain legal restrictions operate at present on the traffic and the houses are subject to police supervision. For instance, the police can deal with houses which become disorderly and are a nuisance to neighbours. It is moreover, criminal to detain any woman against her will, if proof of her will can be obtained, or to allure a minor into such house. Finally, the police can ask persons engaged in this traffic to remove from any particular street or building. But pursuit of the traffic in itself is not declared illegal as it now is in England and many other countries, and there is virtually no power, readily applicable, to interfere with brothels, or to set free the occupants. Colombo has lately adopted the sound English law on the subject and public opinion, backed by effective action by the police has succeeded in making Colombo the cleanest port in the East. The Government of Burma, too it is interesting to note, have framed legislation the object of which is to render brothel keeping illegal and to make it a criminal offence for a person to live on the earnings of a prostitute. The Social Purity Committee are convinced that similar action is needed in India definitely to declare as illegal trade in vice. They urge the grant of increased power for the guardians of public order to deal drastically with those who make a living out of the prostitution of others and to render it illegal for a person to keep a house of ill-fame. It is argued by the opponents of such legislation that the stoppage of the trade in vice will foster clandestine and secret immoralities, but experience in other countries proves that such immorality is not increased but diminished as a result of effective action against professional prostitution. And to ensure that the evil does not reappear in a veiled form, the Committee believe that it is necessary to educate public opinion against the degradation of sex and on the need for raising the moral tone of social and domestic life. An effort should be made to raise the standard of purity among



men and women and to establish an equal moral standard for both sexes. Further, knowledge of sex matters should be imparted to the young as a branch of their education so that they may be forewarned against the dangers of immoral intercourse, striking thus at the root of the demand for vicious indulgence. Finally, as everything which encourages health of body and mind helps, opportunities for healthy recreation both physical and mental, should be increased and made easily available to all sections of the community.

## India and Imperial Preference.

*Business World* has the following on the probable effect on India of adopting Imperial Preference as the Fiscal Policy of the Empire

An analysis of the export and import positions of India and Trade would be enough to show how Imperial Preference would harm India. The commodities which India exports are as a rule in great demand in foreign countries. It, therefore, cannot be said that Preference is needed to induce the people within the Empire to buy Indian products and any export duties on commodities sent to countries within the Empire would mean a direct loss to the Indian Exchequer.

The figures for 1913-14, the last full year before the abnormal period of the war and that for 1919-20, the first complete financial year after the conclusion of hostilities and the beginning of a new era in international trade were as follows:—

### Exports from India for 1913-14 in (£) Millions

Countries	Amount	Share per cent
United Kingdom	39	24
Other parts of the British Empire	24	14
Outside the British Empire	103	62
Total	166	100

### Exports from India for 1919-20 in (£) Millions

Countries	Amount	Share per cent
United Kingdom	97	30
Other parts of the British Empire	47	14
Outside the British Empire	183	56
Total	327	100

The Rupee figures for 1913-14 are converted at Rs 15 = £1 and that for 1919-20 at Rs 10 = £1.

If a rebate is to be given on the export duty on commodities sent to the British Empire from India we should be losing in amount whose magnitude is sure to increase on account of the diversion which this duty is sure to produce for the articles hitherto exported to the other parts of the world from those places to the British Empire. As it is according to the latest and the pre-war figures quoted above, we would be losing so much of our revenue as will be proportionate to 38 to 44 per cent of our export trade, if not more according to the future figures which are sure to be greater if Preference be adopted.

Turning to the imports India would be in

Customs revenue in the proportion in which Preference is given to Empire productions. Here again just as low export duties stimulate exports to the countries within the British Empire and make us lose a greater and greater portion of our Customs revenue, so also will Preference stimulate imports from the British Empire so that the loss in revenue will be far greater than that indicated by the latest available figures or that of the pre-war import trade. Even supposing that we base our calculations upon the latest or the pre-war figures, which were as follows:—

### Imports for 1913-14 in (£) Millions

Countries	Amount	Share per cent
United Kingdom	78	64
Other parts of the British Empire	7	6
Outside the British Empire	37	30
Total	122	100

### Imports for 1919-20 in (£) Millions

Countries	Amount	Share per cent
United Kingdom	105	51
Other parts of the British Empire	20	10
Outside the British Empire	83	39
Total	208	100

a reduction will have to be given on about 61 to 70 per cent of her imports. The grant of even a moderate Preference upon imports from the Empire would mean that such goods as have to be and are bought by India from foreign countries would be that much dearer. The consumer, therefore, will suffer to the extent of the rise in price of those articles.

## "The Four Degrees of Art."

In an article in "Rupam" on the Four Degrees of Art Mr J H Cousins writes:—

The truly emotional picture is that in which the emotion is indirect, inherent, not explicit, and it appears to me that the paintings of the Bengal School possess this quality in a pre-eminent degree. "The End of the Journey," for example, by Abanindranath Tagore, is not a picture only of a camel proceeding to squat at the end of a long dry desert journey. It is an outward and visible sign of the camel's feeling. One can almost hear it say, "Thank God in Camel speech. The artist has become identified with—not a humped and long-necked beast as a subject for a picture, but with a camel as a camel, as a sub-human comrade on the same journey of life on the long caravan route of evolution. There is no sense of patronage of the animal kingdom by the human. There is, rather, a sense of equivalence, not in kind but in degree. This attitude comes spontaneously out of the religious life of India. It is one element in the contribution of Hinduism to the psychology of art. In this way, among others, the spiritual philosophy of the East finds interest through which to shine into the substance of art and the work of the juniors of the school is no less luminous than that of the masters.

Again —

This idealistic quality is present in the work of

almost all the modern Indian painters. It impressed me deeply in a monochrome on silk. Companions of the Road by Surendranath Kar which I saw at the School's exhibition in January 1918 and about which I wrote as follows in my book 'The Renaissance in India'. The subject is perfectly simple. A man and woman in peasant garb are walking along a road, the man playing a flute. There is a vital unity between the figures, but it is not labelled by look or gesture; it is far more subtle and moving because it is in neither the one nor the other but comes through both from an enfolding power beyond them. The more one looks at the work, the more one becomes aware of a third invisible companion, shepherding two souls into the unity of the spirit. Then one becomes aware of another companion—oneself—for with eyes to genius the painter has turned the backs of the travellers towards us so that the inner and outer eye go with them along the road—to nowhere in the picture but to joy in the heart and we follow them as invisible shepherds in the companionship.

\*Grihalakshmi by Mr. Natesan has the same quality and much the same method and exalts the human door step to the threshold of Divinity.

## The Art of Abanindranath Tagore

The editor of 'Rupam' says of the methods of art of Mr. Abanindranath Tagore:

Mr. Tagore a poet in thought and expression came to invest modern Indian Painting with a new

meaning and enriched it with a suggestiveness which contrasts with the emptiness and the vacuity of Ravi Varma and his followers. Enlivened with a rare gift of imagination and sympathy Mr. Tagore set forth to study the value and significance of the traditions of Indian Art and to use them for the revelation of the true Indian spirit. It is very little realised that his indebtedness to European Art is no less. In modernising the aims and methods of old Indian traditions he has proceeded on a true eclectic spirit and has freely adopted the principles of the Western colour schemes and composition. Indeed his study of Western Art has been more fruitful than that of any of his predecessors. He seems to have realised from the beginning of his career that Indian Painting may be enriched but need not be dominated by the methods of Western artists. The science of picture-making has made enormous strides in the West and the modern Indian painter could take useful lessons from the experiences of his brethren in the West with a proper sense of the value of his own heritage and of the limitations of Western pictorial methods. In bringing back to Indian Painting the spirit and the flavour of Indianness—the smell and the taste of the soil—he depended on his own visions and intuitions rather than on the mechanical formulae through which artists of the School of Art sought their expression. The methods of his expression have been the subject of incessant experiments. From the old Buddhist fresco to the Persian master or the Mughal miniature to the modern European artist one and all have claimed him as the votary. Recently he has been in a Chinese mood and has done very clever pieces in the manner of Chinese artists.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Public Libraries in England.

Coulson Kernahan writes in *Roman's Magazine*:

The Public Library Act was passed in 1850. That it played no small part in influencing public opinion in favour of greater educational facilities for the community is evident from the fact that within twenty years (1870) Mr. Forster's Elementary Education Act was passed two years after the death of the author of the Public Library Act. Many a man has been immortalised in marble writes Mr. Thomas Greenwood who did far less for the public weal than Mr. Forster. Yet to-day it is Mr. Carnegie whose name is most associated with the movement. Money talks.

Why asked Carlyle long ago, is there not a Majesty's Library in every county town? There is a Majesty's gaol and gallows!

Why the establishment of Public Libraries

should have been opposed as an unprecedented innovation is not easy to understand for there are proofs to the fact, that Nineveh possessed a Public Library consisting of 10,000 distinct works on tablets of clay. There were Egyptian libraries 2,000 years before Christ and later in history the library at Alexandria was world famous. Yet it was not until 1852 that the first Free Public Library was opened in England (at Manchester to that city's honour) an example which has since been so widely followed that a town of importance without a library is now the exception.

### The More Murderous Future Warfare

War in future promises to be more murderous than hitherto. We read in the *Scientific American*—

' Mr Chairman the Chemical Warfare Service, has discovered a liquid approximately three drops of which when applied to any part of the skin will cause a minor death much smaller amounts than this or even vapors from the liquid cause very severe slow-burning burns'

If the reader applies to the Government Printing Office at Washington he can get therefrom a copy of the Hearings at the Third Session of the House Naval Affairs Committee, and he will find there that the words above quoted form part of a statement by Mr Bradner Chief of Research of the Chemical Warfare Service Mr Bradner goes on to remind the Committee that the world war showed it to be possible for an airplane to fly within a hundred feet of enemy troops and machine gun them with impunity and he goes on to state that if instead of carrying machine guns the attacking planes were equipped to carry a tank of this liquid (Lewisite) for discharge from nozzles similar to the ordinary street sprinkler, it would fall like rain killing everything in its path

Then he becomes more specific and tells us that one plane carrying two tons of the liquid, could cover a stretch of country 100 feet wide by seven miles long in one trip and that it could spray down enough of the liquid gas to kill every man in that area simply by the action of the gas upon the skin Then a little later, he becomes even more specific and tells us that during the Argonne offensive the entire first American Army of a million and a quarter men occupied an area of approximately 40 kilometers long by 20 kilometers wide If he goes on to say Germany had possessed 4 000 tons of this material and say 350 planes properly equipped for spraying our entire First Army would have been annihilated in from ten to twelve hours

Now 4 000 tons seems like a big lot of gas but we already possess at the Aberdeen Proving Ground a huge poison gas factory (Edgewood) which was capable at the armistice, of producing 200 tons of gas per day and it would be a simple matter by enlargement and duplication to put this country in a position where it could produce several thousand tons of gas for the supply of our armies and keep the supply going indefinitely Yes the future war will be so horrible as to make the late war restful by comparison Short as it will inevitably be it will last long enough to wipe out mankind at a rate which will turn many a flourishing capital into a deserted village and many a fair campaign into a Sahara of lifeless desolation—for this gas, remember, is as fatal to vegetation as to human life

The editor of the *Scientific American* thinks that all poison gas warfare should be declared unlawful by international agreement of some sort But, what, if

some nation, growing over strong, treats the agreement as a scrap of paper? Another argument the editor himself has answered

'It has been urged that the free use of gas will make future wars so frightful that no nation will dare to provoke a conflict The answer to that assumption is that, in the past the development of new weapons of great destructive power has never prevented a nation from rushing into war

## Storytelling League

At Santinketan School story telling has all along been a part of the educational method In America they have made it a part of the Community Service, as the paragraphs quoted below from *The Play* ground will show

A Storytelling Festival at Jacksonville—The city of Jacksonville, Florida recently held a storytelling festival which provided 6 000 children with an afternoon of delightful entertainment without any expenditure of funds on the part of the city

The city gave the armory for the festival Community Service made the arrangements for the event A number of people volunteered as storytellers and arranged a program of stories which would lend themselves well to costuming The mayor was present and spoke to the children many of whom sat in a semi-circle on the floor A victrola furnished music before the program and community singing at the beginning and end of the festival added to the pleasure of the children

A Storytelling League—As a result of Community Service activities in Houston Texas the city now has a storytelling league Interest was aroused by the sending of letters to the teachers signed by the superintendent of schools and by publicity through the press Approximately 100 people came to the first meeting at which a talk was given by the dramatic organizer of Community Service on the educational values of storytelling At the close of the meeting officers were elected An open meeting was called at a later date with 125 present A second talk was given on the How of Story telling

## What to do with Spare Time

It is true millions in India do not get more than an insufficient meal a day But that does not mean that every one of the starvelings and the fully fed people of India has his time fully occupied Millions have

spare time, but do not know what to do with it. Many must admit that their leisure hours drag. As *The Playground* says.

Many more undoubtedly waste these precious leisure hours. Is it possible—is it tolerable—in this twentieth century that all the glorious world of music art team games human companionship neighborhood projects should be so shut away? Is it thus that America interprets Aristotle? "The noble employment of leisure becomes the chief end of education."

### Toy Making

*The Playground* knows as we all ought to do, that all children reach an age when they want to make things. It is therefore, led to observe—

Just as the little beaver's instincts lead him at an early age to begin his building in the river so the little boy begins his building in whatever place he happens to find himself—be it nursery back-yard or city street. To afford him more scope more material with which to work not too much supervision but just the right amount of it is becoming more and more the concern of those in charge of educational and recreational matters. In schools today may be found a great deal of manual training instruction and often in boys and girls clubs there are many instances of programs developed on the central idea of the child's making his own play equipment and following it up with the individual interpretation of how to play with it.

Toys seem to be the most popular creations.

### The Ideal City

Mayo Fesler writes in *The New York Independent*

A vision toward which to build. A city sanitary convenient substantial where the houses of the rich and the poor are alike comfortable and beautiful where the streets are clean and the sky line is clear as country air where the architectural excellence of its buildings adds beauty and dignity to its streets where parks and playgrounds are within reach of every child where living is pleasant to honorable and recreation plentiful where capital is respected but not worshipped where commerce in goods is great but not greater than interchange of ideas where industry thrives and brings prosperity alike to employer and employed where education and art have a place in every home where worth and not wealth give standing to men where the power of character lifts men to leadership where interest in public affairs is a test of citizenship and devotion to the public weal is a badge of honor, where

government is always honest and efficient and the principles of democracy find their fullest and truest expression where the people of all the earth can come and be blended into one community life and where each generation will vie with the past to transmit to the next a city greater better and more beautiful than the last.

### American, British and Japanese Interests in the Pacific

*The New Republic* of New York thus sums up the interests of America, Britain and Japan in the Pacific ocean.

The whole world is concerned with the Pacific but the three Great Powers most intimately concerned are Japan the United States and the British Empire. Japanese interests are naturally the most significant of all. We have only to consider what position Japan would have occupied if the Russian had beaten her and had established themselves in the government of Korea and all of Manchuria with a paramount influence over China. Japan would have been forced into the role of a satellite state. The menace of Russia is gone but not the greed of the Occident. Japan must be eternally vigilant if she would be safe. British interests involve the protection of concessions and spheres of influence already acquired on the Asiatic mainland the development of trade and above all the safeguarding of India Australia and Canada against untoward influences originating in the Far East. Trade disarmament, and peace sum up the chief interests of the United States.

### Admitting Ignorance.

*The Youth's Companion* is an American paper meant, as the name shows, mainly for young people. But the following passage quoted from it would do much good to many big people and most good to those who appear to know all subjects taught in universities—

We are all ignorant high and low great and little wise and foolish, educated and uneducated. Some may know a trifle more than others but as compared with the vast possibilities of knowledge the difference between ignorances is too insignificant to be of much account. Since that is so, it might be supposed that we should all be ready to admit our deficiencies to acknowledge at once how little we know and to be only concerned humbly and patiently to supply the gaps in our information with such makeshifts as we may. On the contrary it is amazing how most of us toil and struggle to conceal our ignorance. No device seems too petty no pretense too mean if only

we can cover up from others the fact that we do not know any more than they do.

People seem to think that it injures their honour and standing to admit frankly that they have made a mistake that their information was incomplete and that their calculations were incorrect. Teachers are possessed with this delusion. Ministers are led astray by it. Statesmen suffer from it. Parents constantly and that it vitiates their simple and natural relations with their children. They go miles round to evade elude palter and prevaricate rather than say right out that they were wrong. They do not realize that what injures our characters and our usefulness more than anything else is to make a pretense of omniscience and have it exposed as only a pretense.

The truth is that nothing secures the confidence of men so much as the humble frank straightforward admission of ignorance. The guide we trust is he who admits that our difficulties are his difficulties and that if he can see just a trifle farther it is only because he has toiled more arduously and has not obscured his vision by any undue assurance of more ample view. There is nothing that we admire more than such humility in others—nothing that we are more reluctant to practice ourselves.

If the majority of us gave half the effort to remedying our ignorance that we give to concealing it we should think more of ourselves, others would think more of us, and the world would be a more practicable place to live in.

### Against Socialism

*The Youth's Companion* has the following argument against socialism—

The theory of socialism is attractive. It assumes that under the direction of the government all business will be carried on impartially for the use and benefit of all the people and that not individual profit but public service will be the aim in every industry. But theories do not always work in practice as they do upon the pages of the treatise that expounds them. Experience has shown that changing the form of industrial control does not at all change the traits of human nature. Acquisitiveness, indolence, selfishness, all play their parts under socialism. With the opportunity of lawful private gain removed, and the endless restrictions and formalities that always characterize government control both managers and workmen lose interest fall into routine and do not only less work but poorer work. Government work from repairing ships in the navy yards to digging ditches for sewer pipes is always slower, more costly and less efficient than similar work done under private management. Then there is a constant temptation for numerous and well-organized bodies of public servants to use their political power to influence government action for their private

benefit at the expense of their fellow citizens. Competition in the market and in the shop has its disadvantages but it at least encourages industry and economy and rewards efficiency and fair dealing. It does not pile the burden of taxation and extravagance on the shoulders of the nation.

### The Family Tie

Though it is *The Youth's Companion* which tells us what is printed below, it is men and women in the evening of life or approaching the evening of life who will appreciate the observations most.

In youth we do not realize the strength of the family tie just because it is ever present and all-enfolding. The new and transient connections of sympathy and affinity that we are so widely forming seems to us more important and more real than the ties of blood. It astonishes us to find that we can confide in our friends much more freely than we can confide in the members of our own family. The boy or girl that we have known six months seems nearer than our brothers and sisters much nearer than our fathers and mothers. He seems to feel what we feel to want what we want, when the people at home are likely to smile at our little confessions and evidently and completely misunderstand. It puzzles us. Are all families like that? Is home quite what it should be?

Life flows on and we find that somehow friendships slip away. Absence causes terrible breaks and changes. The voice that seemed to echo every sentiment of our hearts grows careless and remote. The car that was always open has become indifferent, distracted by a thousand utterances that flow from other tongues than ours. Tastes change and friends change with them. Those whom we loved and who we thought loved us and who did love us form new connections of their own, and if we are not forgotten we at least experience that chilling of tenderness which is almost worse to bear than its failure.

Then it is that the family tie makes its gentle strength felt just because it is so elastic, we find that it can be stretched indefinitely without breaking, and still and always draws us back. Perhaps our brothers and sisters did not quite understand us, but we are not so sure as we were that anyone else ever did. At any rate we find that with the passage of years old thoughts, old faces, old voices grow wonderfully sweet. And we see—alas how often too late—that the tie of blood is the one that lasts longest and holds strongest of any in the world. For the tragedy comes when we do not learn to prize those who loved us most until we have lost them.

elfish idea of making money, &c. In reply Mr. Park has suggested that it is up to the men to make women's "natural" life and career so desirable that they will choose that instead of seeking "a job and a pay-check."

### A Challenge to Democracy

Dr. Frank Crane writes in *Current Opinion*

Democracy has its shortcomings. It is young yet. It has the excesses and errors of adolescence.

But no great constructive idea ever grew to maturity and perfection in a day. It takes time for it to adjust to itself the old and wrong ideas of the past so firmly imbedded in the common mind.

Put imperfect as Democracy is, it is better than Autocracy, any kind of Autocracy, whether Monarchy, Oligarchy, Plutocracy or the rule of any class, even as what little Christianity we have is better than the most splendid heathenism.

And the very gist and vital element of Democracy is that the Majority shall rule.

The Minority may be wiser often, is but the only way it can rule is to persuade the Majority, in other words to become the Majority.

Any other way is to cut down the tree instead of pruning it.

The menace of Democracy is not the Capitalist Class nor the Working Class as such; it is any Class that, being unable to control the Majority, seeks to gain its ends by force.

When any Group, whether millionaires, militarists, junkers or labor unions, instead of working out their will peaceably through the machinery of Democracy, becomes impatient and proceeds to violence, it strikes at the very heart of Democracy and if they succeed they have slain the government by the people for the people and of the people.

It is said that the strike with its attendant violence and destruction is the laborer's only weapon.

I do not believe any such nonsense.

The laborer's best friend is public Opinion. It is the fact that the majority of the people are just and fair.

The workmen are really in the majority. Let them go ahead and elect what lawmakers and make what laws they please. Nobody objects if it is all open and aboveboard and a fair fight.

But when a compact and petulant Minority decide that they will not take the time nor trouble to play the game according to the rules but gain their ends by duress, that is a direct challenge to Democracy.

In Russia a certain class has done just that. A minority has control of the armed force and is compelling an unorganized majority to do its will. And they are making the kind of mess of it which both England and the United States will be slow to imitate.

### Universal Nuisance.

A *Current Opinion* editorial speaks of selfish nationalism as an universal nuisance, which opinion was eloquently voiced forth in Asia, America and Europe by the poet Rabindra Nath Tagore. The American editor writes—

What caused the war was nationalism. What perpetuates the evils of war in time of peace is nationalism.

The artificial boundaries and the traditional provincialisms of people lead to innumerable conflicts and the development of destructive selfishness.

Nature time and progress, however, are slowly at work wiping out these barriers and creating that feeling of human solidarity which alone can heal the world.

Prominent among these agencies of unity is commerce. Indeed, commerce or business is probably the most wholesome influence in humanity.

### Pure and "Impure" Science

*Science Progress* asserts that the prejudice against useful science among distinguished experts in all fields is not only bewildering to the general public but positively harmful to pure science. It presumes that they will call it impure science and observe—

Those who talk loftily about pure science would have us believe that it is something which is quite separate from all practical objects and everyone has heard of a meeting of men of science who drank the toast of Pure Science with the acclamation "May it never be of any use to anyone." Probably the gentlemen who drank this toast were so enthusiastic because they themselves had never done any work which was of any use to anyone, but it does not follow that those who toil for the service of their fellows would be equally pleased. When we examine the history of science we find that most of it was undertaken for purely practical purposes. Astronomy was created largely in the interests of navigation, Geometry, largely in the interests of architecture and agriculture, Chemistry for the purpose of alchemy and then of innumerable manufactures. Physics in the interests of machinery and invention, Geology,

in the interest of prospecting for valuable metals, coal and other kinds of deposits. Botany for the discovery of drugs. Zoology for the light which it throws on the anatomy, physiology, pathology and growth of the human body. and Medicine entirely for the purpose of preventing and curing disease and maintaining the body in a perfect state of health.

It is seldom that a real man of science actually starts by drawing a distinction between pure and useful science. He is not usually guided by any such considerations, either on the one side or the other. He pushes in wherever he can see an opportunity for useful investigation, whether success is likely to be immediately useful to the world or not.

The people who talk about pure science think that they can jump vast distances—with the result that they generally remain where they are. We can say that the true investigator takes the most promising opportunity offered to him irrespective of the question whether his success will lead to immediately useful results or not, but he always knows this—that whatever new result he may obtain it is almost certain to be a key which will open new treasures of nature for the benefit of men in general. For example when Faraday investigated electricity do we think that he had no vision within him as to the large practical results which might follow his work? He did not talk of these practical results at the moment because before his work was done he could not specify them, but he knew that knowledge brings power and that power enhances prosperity. Another example is that of Darwin. He saw his opportunity in our ignorance of the reason why different species of living things exist and he studied the matter and gave us the Theory of Evolution. True, this was a piece of pure science, but it was not a piece of useless science. It added to the dignity and the honor of human intelligence. It was therefore useful.

### Industry in Undeveloped Countries

Mr Bertrand Russell concludes an article on 'Industry in Undeveloped Countries' in the *Atlantic Monthly* thus—

The conclusion of the argument which we have been conducting is this: that the development of industrially backward countries is in no degree desirable, but is unavoidable owing to the greed of other countries, that if it is done by foreign nations it involves oppression as a rule, though not always, while if it is done by the backward nation itself it involves a very intense militarism in order to prevent foreign interference, that if it is to be done by the backward nation itself it is probably better done communally, since in that way some

of the evils of the capitalist stage of industry can be avoided and the necessary enthusiasm can be more easily generated and that although national Communism affords no guaranty of peace it is probably more likely than capitalism to lead on to an international control of trade and raw materials which would ultimately bring about the cessation of wars.

For these reasons I cannot but think that the method the Russians have chosen painful as it is for themselves is on the whole the best method of developing industry in nations situated as they are.

Some of his observations on the industrial development of backward countries require to be quoted.

*We do not remain industrially undeveloped.*—The case against industrialism considered apart from the balance of forces is very strong. The world existed without industrialism until the end of the eighteenth century and in many ways the spread of industrialism has been the spread of devastation. In Great Britain the destruction of ancient beauty through the growth of factories and mining villages was the despair of every poet from Wordsworth to William Morris, while child labor, long hours and starvation wages used to call forth the protests of philanthropists and social reformers. Now, alas, we have in the main mastered the evils that philanthropists deplored and accustomed ourselves to the ugliness that pained the poets. But in a country like China the process of destroying beauty is still so visible that even the most hardened industrialist can hardly be indifferent to it. As one travels up the Yangtze it is not too much to say that the only ugly objects one sees are those due to industrialism: from factories and oil tanks down to sardine tins. The destruction of handicrafts and all the unconsciously artistic traditions embodied in them is part of the same evil. At last the very nature of human beings seems to change: they become machine-made all on one pattern, no longer self-sufficient individuals, but cogs and bolts in a vast machine.

But the aesthetic indictment of industrialism is perhaps the least serious. A much more serious feature is the way in which it forces men, women and children to live a life against instinct, unnatural, unspontaneous, artificial. Where industry is thoroughly developed, men are deprived of the sight of green fields and the smell of earth after rain; they are cooped together in irksome proximity surrounded by noise and dirt, compelled to spend many hours a day performing some utterly uninteresting and monotonous mechanical task. Women are for the most part, obliged to work in factories and to leave to others the care of their children. The children themselves, if they are preserved from work in the factories, are kept at work in

"5 Pasteur's and Lister's researches resulting in antiseptic and aseptic surgery and obstetrics

"6 The discovery of radio activity and especially for medical use and X Rays (1900 1920)

"7 The discovery that insects carry disease (1899)

"8 The development of a medical literature written by American Authors (1879 1920)

"9. The founding of great laboratories of research"

### Self-Discipline for Children

L. K. Merritt's exhortation to mothers in *Child Welfare Magazine* is

Never discipline your child if you can arrange circumstances to force the child to do it for himself

I remember an instance where a child had formed a habit of slipping older people in the face and who persisted in the act though his parents had punished him severely many times and were about discouraged. One day when he was interfering with other children I decided to interfere as his mother was not there. I reached over and lifted him to my lap intending to hold him until he found out he had to do right before I would let him down.

He raised his hand and slapped me in the face. I returned the blow without saying a word. He caught his breath and slapped again. That slap was returned. I did not strike with much force—it was the unexpectedness of it that took his breath. He gave another gasp of surprise and raised his hand again, then a look of wonder came into his eyes and he held his hand upraised for a moment. Then he let it fall without slapping.

He had thought it out and discovered that I was doing only what he did. He sat very still for some moments thinking. Then he said "I'll be good."

"All right. Run and play."

He had learned his lesson so easily yet I had seen his parents whip him for slapping and it did no good. He never slapped anyone in the face again.

That is what I mean. Shape the events that help your child learn to discipline himself while you are near to see for play and that the results are not too severe. But don't make them too soft. He will have to learn to take some pretty stiff knocks and he will thank you later in life for the lesson.

### East Africa Developed by Indians

We read in Mr H S L Polak's paper on "The East African Indian Problem"

contributed to the *Journal of the East India Association*

Contemporary administrators bear unanimous testimony to the important part played in the early development of the Protectorates of East Africa and Uganda by the Indian population. We find, for example the present Secretary of State for the Colonies, in describing his tour in East Africa shortly after he became Under-Secretary writing in his book, "My African Journey," as follows: "It is the Indian trader who penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man could go, or in which no white man could even a living has more than any one else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication. And that the economic importance of the Indian in East Africa has undergone no change since then is evident from the special correspondence to *The Times* last year, by Dr P. Chalmers Mitchell who says: 'The retail trade is almost wholly in the hands of the Creoles as far as the Sudan and, farther to the South, of Indians, Indian and Japanese products are ousting British. The goods are adapted for local European and native requirements. Indians are rapidly gaining control of the ivory trades and other markets. There are branches of Indian banks in every centre.' Dr Chalmers Mitchell however being a stranger in that country apparently did not know that Indian trade existed in these lands long before any British goods were introduced and that British goods were themselves first introduced by Indian and not by British traders.

As a matter of fact, the Indians outnumber the European settlers by some four to one. They control by far the greater part of the trade of the country and pay the bulk of the taxes. With slight modifications the Indian system of law prevails and until quite recently the local currency was Indian, the rise and fall of the exchange being based on trade and financial relations with India. The clerical staffs of the public services and the railways are manned by Indians as is the mechanical staff of the railway workshops. The building and allied trades are almost entirely carried on by Indian contractors and skilled artisans. Thus, in population, trade industry, and commerce the predominance of Indian interests is overwhelming, and it is safe to say that were the Indian element to be suddenly withdrawn these territories would speedily become derelict and revert to barbarism; for, climatically, they are far more suited to an Indian than to a European population.

Despite their strong claims to special consideration, due to their pioneer work in carrying the products of modern civilization to the barbarous and semi barbarous peoples of the country (with whom they have always



had the friendliest relations) and the vital and trading relations incidental thereto as well as their subsequent enormous contribution to the development and prosperity of these lands. The Indian population have never adopted a selfish attitude or a policy of exclusion in regard to other communities. They have not asked nor do they now ask for preferential treatment. They welcomed all comers with whom they were willing to cooperate on a basis of equality. Prominent members of the Indian community indeed went out of their way to recommend the country for European as well as Indian settlement and in the early days under the Foreign Office which fully recognized and appreciated the valuable and indeed indispensable character of the services rendered by India and the Indian settlers the relations of the Indian community with the Administration were of a friendly character.

### The League of Nations as a League of Culture

Dr Fr W Foerster is a well known professor of pedagogy at the University of Munich whose outspoken opposition to militarism during the war exposed him to persecution in his own country. He is now residing in Switzerland. He has written a pamphlet on 'The League of Nations as a League of Culture' of which *The Living Age* has given a translation. The pamphlet begins thus:

To him who in the modern life of nations has observed the powerful tendency toward separateness the driving force of self assertion and aggrandizement who has noted the passionate desire for the development of national individuality and its cultural and political forms of life who has recognized the plastic strength behind this and the elemental biological force which asserts itself—to him it will no doubt seem as if opposed to these forces the idea of a league of nations must be an impotent abstraction having no vital force behind it and therefore incapable of developing into a living and concrete reality.

But although the principle of national differentiation and individualization has for some time exclusively occupied the stage of the world's history in order that it might develop rich varieties of types and break away from old and oppressive ideas of unity nevertheless this principle even from a purely biological standpoint is neither the only nor the most vital principle. At least equally as forceful is the impulse toward mutual fulfillment and equalization. In fact it is in this urge toward fulfillment that the desire for growth of the living organism finds its proper realization.

Plato terms this impulse which drives us to round out our individuality through association with opposite types the spiritual Eros. He defines this spiritual Eros as the desire of poverty for riches the longing of the part for the whole, the urge of the incomplete toward completeness. Undoubtedly there also exists, in this sense a political Eros which fills a nation with love for talents and endowments differing from its own because with the help of such gifts it hopes to outgrow its own one-sidedness. History has many examples to prove the working of this political Eros. It is certain that the Romans at the zenith of their power, were thus influenced by a love for Hellenic culture. The expedient and practical Roman statesman recognized that here was something far above the calculating practical will—namely, the uncalculating freely outpouring stream of the humanities. He opened his whole soul to this spiritual influence in fact he made himself as Mommsen clearly perceived and stated, the conscious bearer of this Hellenic culture. He ennobled his architectonic powers by the assimilation of the poetical and humanitarian elements of the Greek soul. And it was precisely this emerging from its national one-sidedness this self development toward universality that made of Rome the world-conquering and world-organizing force it became and gave to it a power of synthesis such as it could never have won by the mere force of arms.

The formative element of Roman life deepened through this blending of ideals awakened in the Germanic people through many centuries a desire for intimate cultural relations, for developing their own unformed and unclarified life by the adoption and selection of those things which come from a highly developed but formal civilization.

Regarding the mutually complementary character of French and German talents or gifts the author writes—

There undoubtedly exists between France and Germany in spite of all inherited animosity a latent political Eros which springs from the same difference of endowments from which their enmity arises. This difference of talents or gifts and the necessity of co-operation arising because of the differentiation was illustrated by the French chemist Duham in the February, 1917, issue of the *Revue des deux Mondes*, when he wrote: One of these nations has in excess what is lacking in the other. French science finds its completion in the solid German testing of the hypotheses which French intuition offers. When Renan, going still further once said: 'At the moment when France and Germany become reconciled the two halves of the human soul will again have found each other' he was expressing platonically the thought that the elementary need of opposite individualities for mutual complementation must

some day overcome the tension arising from the historic conflicts of these two nations so greatly dependent upon each other

The French spirit took cognizance of the single man and the rights of man, the German spirit directed itself toward finding for the individual his due place within the whole. The two tendencies were destined to complete each other

We sacrificed the Rights of Man to the Rights of the State. The whole can never count upon the complete devotion of the parts if the whole shows no love and respect for the rights and the idiosyncracies of the parts

In a military way also we perished because the principle of respect for the dignity of man had been made a part of our military organization

The Germanic and the Slavonic spirit can similarly learn from each other

The same may be said in favor of cultural co-operation between the Slavonic and the Germanic spirit. The Slav can undoubtedly learn great things from the disciplined force and the methodical spirit of the Germans and tremendous tasks of organization await us in the East. The Slav is particularly sensitive in his antipathy to the hard and mechanical forces of order, in fact, Slavophiles accuse the State of being death to the brotherhood of man. We may be assured, at any rate that we can again learn from the Slav what the Greeks brought home to the practical men of Rome—namely the spirit of intimate unselfish humanity. Only by humanizing our own principles of orderliness can we help the Slav toward an orderly life

The interdependence of the English and the Germans is next dwelt upon

During the war an English colleague said to me "You Germans do not know how much we have lost because you have imitated us. We were dependent altogether upon your spirituality. We are a practical people but we feel nevertheless that without a spiritual foundation we shall be shipwrecked even in practical matters." Many thoughtful Englishmen perceive this and on the other hand impartial Germans will not deny that we have many and extraordinary lessons to learn from the hereditary political wisdom and other endowments of the English. We are a strongly subjective people, a musical and lyrical folk and we are in constant danger of succumbing to our own emotions. This disposition is indeed an asset but in the sphere of practical politics it is the real cause of our incapacity

Just at present an antipathy for things foreign has been sweeping across India. This, of course, will not and should not be our permanent mood. The German professor is right in observing—

Our ancient German love for that which is foreign was a political asset. It supplied us with a counterbalance against subjectivity. But since these traditions have been lost sight of we have completely lost the genuine political faculty for building a bridge from our own to foreign conceptions of life. The Englishman too has a hard and tough ego but he has also a lively sense that there are others and that they must be reckoned with

The process of which I have indicated a few samples is not one of mere imitation. What in reality is important is the love for that which is different, the joy in the abundance of types, the appreciation of that which is contrary to our own mode of life, the consciousness of our own limitations and one-sidedness instead of the conceited assumption that we are fundamentally superior to all others because in the matter of conquering external things we have made such great strides

The League of Nations which should adjust the disintegrating conflicts of interest among the nations by means of higher methods will thereby create an atmosphere in which this spiritual moral exchange among the nations—immeasurably superior to the exchange of commodities—may again come to life, with a new and profounder meaning

Incidentally we may observe that in the writings of this German author we find proofs of the intellectual and spiritual ferment, caused by Rabindranath Tagore's message, which we came across quite unexpectedly in the current literature of many countries of both hemispheres. The professor writes—

Western pacifism still has too much of the juridical—too much architecture, too little living soul. The world is not yet conscious of the terrible gap between nations to the bridging of which something far deeper and greater than mere international ideas is necessary. In his essay on nationalism Rabindranath Tagore drastically pictures the giant organizations of collective self-seeking which to-day are working against each other and calls a league of nations which would superficially calm these heated forces of selfishness and greedy might a league of steam boilers. Truly, in this world of unscrupulous competition and collectively increasing passions a mere political association would be up in the air if the spiritual condition of the nations were to remain the same—a condition which Meister Eckhard designated as being moonstruck on your own greatness if for instance France were to talk of nothing but its restoration, Germany only of its need and suffering, England to have its eyes set on its own world empire—each single nation merely calling upon the

League of Nations as upon a physician to cure its ills and as an executor of its demands.

Only the root forces of morality, of devotion, of love, can overcome the curse of our civilization. We need a living force, coming out of the depths of the nations themselves which shall stretch far out beyond mere national boundaries, and make justice to others, the needs of strangers, foreign difficulties and foreign possi-

bilities of life, its own. We need, to speak with Bertrand Russell, instead of the possessive mood, which looks only after its own safety by any means possible, the creative mood, by which we devote ourselves far sightedly to the general well being; only by such methods may each people confidently expect reliable guarantees for its own existence.

## TRAINING SCHOOL AT JAMSHEDPUR FOR TECHNICAL APPRENTICES

THE Tata Iron and Steel Company has been endeavouring for several years to train Indians to occupy more responsible positions. This effort has met with a fair amount of success but the Company is still almost wholly dependent upon skilled Europeans in the technical position. The Coke plant and Electrical Department are entirely under Indian direction. The superintendents of both Coke Plants have had Indian university education and had further education and experience in America. The superintendent and assistant superintendent of the Electrical Department are Indian university men with English and American experience.

In the Blast Furnace Department the superintendent, assistant superintendent and all the six general foremen are Europeans, only two are university men but the others have had years of experience in the operation of Blast Furnaces and have had good lower grade educations and some natural aptitude for mechanical and technical matters.

In the Open Hearth Department there are about 40 Europeans and only 3 Indians in positions requiring technical skill. All three of these Indians are university men, 2 of them being from Calcutta University and 1 from Bombay University. These men are the remainder of probably 15 or 20 who have been trained in this Department in the past 3 or 6 years; all the others have proved unsuitable or have found the work too difficult.

In the Mills Indians have slowly replaced Europeans during the past 6 years. At the present time there are about 35 Europeans and probably 25 Indians holding positions which formerly were held by Europeans. In the Roll Turning Shop, there are about 12 Europeans and several Indian apprentices, none of whom are as yet capable of filling a European position.

With the growth of the plant the number of Europeans required will probably be double and the proportion of the technical positions which will be occupied by Indians will be reduced, because it is not possible to develop the Indians for the extensions as rapidly as these extensions will come into operation.

The course is designed to train Indians for these higher technical positions. The Steel Company is of the opinion that it is necessary to start with university trained men. India has at present no

industrial background, particularly all the men who come into industry are from agricultural or clerical families and they have no experience which is of any value in the mills.

There is comparatively little difficulty in securing foremen of the ordinary type. These men are being trained in large numbers in the railway shops and industries of the country and the Steel Company's plant is old enough, so that now they are getting a reasonable supply of skilled mechanics who are competent to fill the artisan position in the shops, electrical department, power house and mills. The experience of these men, however, does not enable them to qualify for these positions which are now held largely by Europeans, at least in the opinion of the management. It is for this reason that the Steel Company has decided to abandon its plan for a training course for artisan and apprentices only and to substitute an apprenticeship which will develop skilled men for the technical departments.

The Steel Company is aware that the Government contemplates a Metallurgical Research Institution at Jamshedpur. The apprenticeship course which is now proposed will in no way conflict with the Institution. It is not their intention to develop highly skilled technical men for special research work, teaching or the few positions in the Steel Works which require unusual technical ability. Their object is solely to develop men who can occupy positions of foremen and assistant superintendents and later who can rise to the positions of superintendents or managers as they acquire broad experience in the manufacture of steel.

You will see from the prospectus that the Steel Company does not guarantee any specific position to these apprentices upon the completion of their course. It is their intention to give them the highest technical position which they can occupy and give them every opportunity to advance in the organisation beyond that starting point—in all probability they would become Heater Foremen on the Coke Ovens or Assistant Foremen in the Bye Product Plant, Assistant Shift Foremen in the Blast Furnaces and Helpers in the Open Hearth Roller Table or other operators in the Rolling Mills and beginners in the Roll Turning Shop. All these positions would enable the men to acquire rapidly a knowledge of the technique of the department in which they are

placed and to move into the higher positions as rapidly as vacancies occur.

The Steel Company proposes that this institution shall be of general use to all the metallurgical industries in India and hopes that it will have the support of the other Iron and Steel Companies in India and large subsidiary industries using steel. These industries will be welcome and will be merely asked to bear their share of the expense and to give the advice in the management and direction of the Institution.

It seems to me that the proposed Institution will be an excellent one and a logical feeder to the Metallurgical Research Institute which the Government will establish in Jamshedpur. Graduates of this Apprenticeship Course will have had thorough grounding in the metallurgy of steel and other metals, both theoretical and practical, and after a few years in the mills should be peculiarly well qualified to take up the research work which the Government wishes to do.

The Steel Company is anxious that the course shall be one which will develop men fully qualified to undertake the work which it has to do.

The number of applications so far received from intending students include many from M.Sc.s and run to several hundreds, from which the Principal will shortly select only 50. The school will probably start work from September this year.

A S

## ABRIDGED PROSPECTUS

### I. OBJECT

The object of the apprenticeship course which is proposed herewith is to train technical men to fill some of the positions now held by Europeans and to furnish skilled men for all departments of the Plant. It is not intended to train foremen or mistries.

### II. GENERAL

In general the plan proposes a two year apprenticeship during which the students are given 12 months of intensive technical education strictly along lines having to do with the metallurgy of iron and steel and 12 months of supervised experience in the steel works.

### III. ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS

Candidates must be at least 20 years old and must have had a collegiate training equivalent to the course leading to the B.Sc. in Indian universities. Unless the candidate comes directly from one of the recognised Indian universities after having successfully completed the required university course, he must pass an entrance examination in at least chemistry, physics and mathematics. These entrance examinations will be equivalent to the final examination in the B.Sc. course.

Each candidate must pass a proper physical examination and must have sufficient physique to ensure that he can withstand the hard work which is required in the apprenticeship course and for permanent work in the steel mills.

Candidates will be accepted solely upon their merits and it must be clearly understood that no applicant will be accepted regardless of his social or other qualifications unless he is fully competent to pass the examinations and meet the physical requirements in competition with other men. It is intended

that entrance shall be strictly upon a competitive basis without favouritism so that all applicants will understand that they have an equal chance to enter the course regardless of any qualifications except those of ability.

If the Government grant be accepted, a percentage of the students each year must come from Bihar and Orissa. These however will be placed on the same basis and will be classified and selected independent from the general applicants. They will be required to meet the same standards.

Each candidate must agree that he will attend all the courses will work in the mills regularly and will forego all pujas and other social and religious holidays except the two holidays granted by the Company under the leave rules. Students who do not meet this requirement will be dropped from the course or in lieu of this may be formally debarred from any prizes or scholarships.

Each candidate will be required to supply a bondman who will agree to reimburse the Steel Company for all salaries paid to a candidate who fails to complete the entire course and to enter into the five year contract which is required at the end of the training. A deposit will be required to cover laboratory breakage or damage to property or books.

### IV. NUMBER OF STUDENTS

The course will be designed to furnish approximately 20 trained men each year. This will require probably 30 men in the first year's course. As the course covers a period of 2 years, there will be approximately 50 men in the Institution.

### V. GENERAL PLAN OF COURSES

It is intended to divide the students in each year into pairs. The training will consist of alternate weeks of class room work and mill work. Each pair will be given a position in the mill and the men will take this position week about. They will stand their regular shifts so as to become familiar with the conditions both at night and in day light. The alternate weeks will be spent in class room laboratory work in the training school.

Each year's work will cover 44 weeks of which 22 will be spent in the mill and 22 in the technical school. 4 weeks will be allowed for holiday or vacation and the remaining 4 weeks will be spent by the students on such work as they may be assigned to do by the head of the Institution.

The course is intended to give each man a general metallurgical knowledge and a general idea of the practical operations in all departments of the plant. The course will be planned, however, in such a way that each man will receive a special training in one department. This special training and education will come only in the second year, the first year course being the same for all students.

At the end of the first year each man must elect one department of the plant for which he wishes to be specially trained. If the men elect to enter all departments reasonably uniformly their wishes may be granted, but if an undue proportion elect one department to the exclusion of others, the Director of the Technical School must re-assign them to the departments so that an approximately equal number is trained in each

department As far as possible however, and so far as possible an effort will be made to provide some specific positions in each department in which each student will have special opportunities for study and experience

The work in the mill will be under the general direction of the Head of the Technical School but the superintendent of each department will be jointly responsible for their training

### VII TRAINING IN THE INSTITUTION

The courses in the institution are designed to give each man an intensive training in subjects relating directly to the metallurgy of iron and steel. The work will consist of from 3 to 5 hours of classroom work daily and about 3 hours of laboratory work.

The laboratory work will include chemical and physical examination and testing of raw materials intermediate and finished products, slags, etc. and during the first 6 months of the second year each pair of men will be required to devote their laboratory periods to some one problem upon which they will submit a thesis. It is expected that most of the original research work required by the Steel Company for its operation will be done by the students in these theses. This research work may be either in the laboratory or the steel plant.

In addition to the class room and text book work there will be occasional practical lectures by the superintendent of each department. These will be given after the men have had sufficient experience and technical training in each course to enable them to appreciate the points which are covered by these talks.

Visits will be made to the ore mines, quarries and collieries so that the men may become familiar with the sources of the Company's raw materials.

### VIII SCHOLARSHIPS

Scholarships for foreign study will be awarded to three men each year. These men will not be selected from the graduates of the course of that year but will be selected from men who have been out of their course for 12 months and have been out of their course for 12 months. This extra year of training is intended to enable the management to select for foreign training men who are showing particular ability not only in technical matters but in the handling of men and operations in the mills. In addition a man who has had 12 months of practical experience will be more able to assimilate the information which he will acquire by foreign study than a young student who has had only limited experience in operating matters.

These scholarships will be for a period of 12 months in England or the United States. Second class travelling accommodations will be given. During the scholarship period the men will be expected to spend their time in at least 2 steel works in a position which will give them the best possible opportunity for further experience. The scholarships will include sufficient funds to enable them to live with some comfort and they will be entitled to keep their earnings in the mill for their own use. It will be stipulated that electrical and like positions cannot

be accepted. Each man must hold an operating position in Steel Works during the entire 12 months.

He will be required to make a monthly report of his own work and each month's report must include a description of some department of the Steel Company in which he is employed or some technical problem which he has found. At the end of his 12 months' training he must submit a summary of his work and a detailed discussion of the English or American Steel Works practice which he has observed. These monthly reports will be submitted to the Head of Technical School with copies to London or New York Offices.

### IX STUDENTS' SALARIES

The students will be paid Rs 60 monthly during the two years. This will amount to Rs 1,440 per student for the entire course. With 50 men in training, the total annual cost will be Rs 36,000. This will be borne by the operating departments, for it is assumed that each man will hold a position which would command a salary of at least Rs 2. The extra Rs 2 being paid the student who is in the Technical School will be sunk in operating costs. These salaries are therefore not included in the budget.

### X POSITION AFTER COMPLETION OF COURSE

No definite positions will be promised the students, but each man will be guaranteed that upon successful completion of his course he will be given a five years contract with the Steel Company at an initial salary of Rs 175 with increments during the five years depending upon ability and results shown.

Upon entrance each apprentice must obligate himself to execute this contract at the end of his course if requested to do so by the Steel Company. This option must rest with the Steel Company for in all probability some men will complete the entire course without showing sufficient ability to justify the Company entering into a firm contract for a period of five years.

### XI TEACHING STAFF

The staff of the Technical School will consist of three European Professors and Instructors with two Indian Assistants in the laboratories and library.

### XII DETAILED CURRICULUM

The details of the curriculum are given below. In making of this curriculum it is assumed that Indian college graduates are capable of absorbing approximately 10 pages of technical text per class room hour. In America the figures range from 10 to 12 pages. Definite text books have been selected, but these are taken merely to serve as a guide in laying out the course. The actual selection together with all other details of the courses will rest with the Director.

#### FIRST YEAR COURSES

- (a) General Metallurgy
- (b) Elementary Steel Metallurgy
- (c) Strength of Materials
- (d) Refractories

- (e) *Manufacture of Coke*
- (f) *Fuel*
- (g) *Labor*
- (h) *Cost Accounting*
- (i) *Electricity*
- (j) *Mechanical Drawing*

## SECOND YEAR COURSES

- (k) *Manufacture of Pig Iron*
- (l) *Manufacture of Steel*
- (m) *Rolling Mill Practice*
- (n) *Heat Treatment of Steel*
- (o) *Metallography*
- (p) *Metallurgy of other metals*
- (q) *Economic Considerations*
- (r) *Theses*

The curriculum which is given above with particulars omitted is all that a student can be expected to carry during the two years he is training and some of the courses may have to be reduced if it were given in 20 months continuously the students would not be able to carry such a variety of subjects or cover so much ground. It is believed however that with the alternate weeks in the mill which allow time for the student to digest the technical work which he has covered the previous week and which will give him an opportunity for extra study, the course can be carried.

## XIII TEXT BOOKS

The text books required for the entire course will cost some Rs 300 to 400. For 25 men annually this would represent a total cost of Rs 7500 to Rs. 10,000. This cost is too high to be borne by the students themselves without some assistance.

The text books will be loaned to the men by the Technical Institute and each student will be debited with their cost. If the course be successfully completed the students will be expected to repay the cost of the text books during the first two years of their contract the cost being deducted from the salary monthly. If the men fail the text books will

be taken back by the Technical Institute and resold to incoming students at a reasonable valuation.

In addition to the 3 scholarships awarded at the end of each year of experience 3 additional prizes will be given. These prizes will be the cancellation of the charge for the text books and the award of one extra text book to each prize winner.

## XIV LIBRARY

The Technical Institute must have a thoroughly good library relating to the metallurgy of steel. It must include the proceedings and transactions of the principal steel metallurgical societies in England, America and if possible France and Germany. It should have a file of the best steel works journals and the principal steel works journals should be taken regularly. All the courses will require some collateral reading particularly in the trade journals where descriptions are given of modern mills erected in various countries. This library will be increased from year to year.

## XV LABORATORIES

There will be two laboratories one for chemical work and the other for physical testing. The chemical laboratory which must be well equipped will include various types of combustion furnaces in addition to the usual chemical apparatus. There will be one small research laboratory separate from the main room in which special research may be carried on if required.

The physical laboratory will be equipped with machines of various kinds for testing steel. This will include a tensile testing machine, a torsion machine, an impact machine, an abrasion machine and such others as might be found necessary for special research work in the future.

Separate from the main physical laboratory will be the laboratory for metallography which will contain grinding and polishing machines and the microphotographic camera. Attached to this will be a Dark Room.

## THE SONG

When the evening steals on western waters,  
Thrills the air with wings of homeless shadows,  
When the sky is crowned with star-gemmed silence,  
And the dreams dance on the deep of slumber,  
When the lilies lose their faith in morning,  
And in panic close their hopeless petals,  
There's a bird which leaves its nest in secret,  
Seeks its song in trackless path of heaven

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

## NOTES

## All-India Congress Committee Meeting.

We support all the resolutions passed at the recent meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay, with the exception of clause (7) of the resolution relating to the boycott of foreign cloth, viz, "to collect foreign cloth from consumers for destruction or use outside India at their option," and some other details. Every one is, of course, at liberty to destroy any foreign cloth in his possession, but we are entirely opposed to such destruction. If any one wishes to give up the use of such cloth, he may make over such cloth to poor people who are almost naked. There is famine of both food and cloth in Garhwal, Kangra, Mirzapur, parts of Sindh, Khulna, Ganjam, etc. Cloth is needed in these places to enable the poor people to preserve health and decency. One may even go further and say that it is required for the preservation of life itself. For in parts of the district of Khulna, women are clad in such rags that they feel ashamed to come out of their houses to beg or to accept the doles of rice given them. We respect the sentiment of those who consider it a point of national honour not to use foreign cloth. But we cannot understand why, when some persons do not feel any disgrace in using *foreign* motorcars for their own convenience, they should feel it a disgrace for others to give foreign cloth to naked or semi-naked and starving poor people. It has been said that when drunkards and drinkers become teetotallers they do not give away their stock of wine to other people,—they simply destroy it, and therefore when one abjures the use of foreign cloth one should destroy the stock of such cloth in one's possession. But this is false analogy. The point is, is foreign cloth harmful in itself like intoxicating liquors? Intoxicating liquors are bad for people of all countries. But has foreign cloth ever injured any body's skin

or muscles or bones? No doubt, it is degrading for us to have to use foreign cloth. But such also is the case with the use of other foreign things. We can understand concentrating our energies on the boycott of foreign cloth alone at first for the sake of success; we also know that it is foolish not to give up the use of some foreign things because we cannot give up the use of all; but in reality the use of every foreign thing which we can ourselves produce from our own abundant raw materials reflects discredit on ourselves. Therefore, men who have not given up the use of all foreign things, have no right to ask or insist that foreign cloth must not be given even to clothe the naked poor.

It has been recommended that discarded foreign cloth may be sent to the poor people of Smyrna. But when drunkards turn teetotallers, do they send their stock of wine to Smyrna for the people there to consume? And, as Smyrna is neither in Britain nor in Japan, would it not be an insult to the people of Smyrna to send them what to them also is foreign cloth?

Of course, we have no idea that anybody is thinking of forcing any starving and naked non-co operator in a famine-stricken area in India to wear foreign cloth.

It has been said, that just as we do not give rotten or uneatable food-stuffs to poor people, so should we not give discarded foreign clothing to them. But rotten or uneatable food-stuffs, whether deshi or foreign, are injurious in themselves; they do not nourish the body, which is the object of taking food. But old clothing, in a clean condition (and it is only such clothing which should be given), is not injurious to wearers; old clothes do cover the body preserving decency and health, which is the object of clothing. No doubt, it is never good for one's self respect to receive alms of any description; but that applies to the receipt of

help of every description, not merely of foreign cloth

Some go so far as to say that the use of foreign cloth is a sin. This is an absolutely wrong view. Sin is something spiritual. It does not appertain to any classes of material objects. But suppose it is a sin to use foreign cloth. Then its sinfulness would be due to its being foreign. By the same process of reasoning sinfulness ought to attach to the use of every kind of foreign things; therefore the use of all foreign things being sinful, ought to be given up. There cannot be any compromise with any kind of sin. Those who consider the drinking of intoxicating liquors a sin, do not say that it is sinful to drink brandy but not gin or whiskey, etc. To steal is a sin. But we do not say that it is sinful to steal only money or food but that it is not sinful to steal cloth.

This mania for burning may lead anywhere. Suppose Mr. Gandhi comes to think that it is a national disgrace for us to have to derive most of our knowledge from foreign books or from Indian books printed on foreign paper and suppose he recommends that all foreign books and Indian books printed on foreign paper should either be burnt or shipped away to Smyrna. Must we obey him?

The burning of clothes may be meant as a demonstration to strike the imagination of some classes of people. But the burners may rest assured that the mercantile classes, whether Indian or foreign, are too shrewd to be taken in by a demonstration alone.

The burning of cloth is economically wasteful. It represents destruction of so much wealth. Those who are destroying their clothing must again buy cloth in the market. And the supply of cloth being limited, this additional buying is sure to make it more difficult than now for poor people to get their supply of cloth.

We are in entire accord with all the recommendations and exhortation of the Committee for increasing the production of yarn and cloth in the country.

Every word of the resolution relating

to the visit of the Prince of Wales is true.

The generous citizens of Bombay certainly deserve to be warmly praised for their princely donations to the Tilak Swaraj Fund for without them the crore could not have been collected. The custodians of the Bengal Fund ought to say where and in what form its 25 lakhs have been kept.

In connection with the anti-drink movement we think it right to give special prominence to the following resolution, which we fully support —

The All India Congress Committee notes with deep satisfaction the growth of public opinion and the campaign against the use and sale of intoxicating liquors or drugs by means of peacefully picketing shops licensed for the purpose of selling such liquors or drugs and notes with concern the undue and improper interference commenced by the Government in various parts of the country with the recognised right of the public to wear weak members from temptations to visit such shops and desires it to be understood that in the event of such interference with the peaceful exercise of the said right being persisted in the committee will be prepared to recommend the continuance of picketing in disregard of such interference and advises the Working Committee to investigate cases of interference and authorities disregard thereof whenever and wherever it may be considered desirable and in the interests of the movement.

The All India Congress Committee congratulates the Thana District Board for its resolution on picketing and the determination to continue it and calls upon other Local Boards and Municipalities in India immediately to follow the splendid lead of that Board.

The All India Congress Committee appeals to the keepers of shops for the sale of intoxicating liquors or drugs to recognize the growing force of acute public opinion against the continuance of such trade and to respond to the wish of the nation by immediately discontinuing it.

The resolution on Non-violence also deserves to be quoted —

The All India Congress Committee deplors the excesses committed by crowds at Malegaon and recently by some people in parts of the city of Aligarh even though under grave provocation and advises Congress organizations to inculcate among the people the importance of observing the spirit of complete non-violence as an indispensable part of non-co-operation and whilst condemning these isolated instances of popular violence the Committee desires to



congratulate the people of India upon their having exercised complete self-restraint notwithstanding grave provocation given by the local authorities in Dharwar, Matiar, Guntur, Chirala, Peral, Kerala, North West Frontier Province, Keonjhar and elsewhere.

The All India Congress Committee tenders its sympathy and congratulations to the families of those who have lost their lives by the unprovoked fire opened upon them by the local authorities at several places and congratulates all those brave and innocent citizens who have been wounded or are suffering imprisonment and records its deep appreciation of the fact that in the majority of cases the patriots went to jail without offering any defence whatsoever.

The All India Congress Committee is of opinion that the way to freedoms lies only through voluntary suffering and therefore through imprisonment of innocent men and women without defence or bail.

Whilst we appreciate the motives and sentiment of those who have not defended themselves or offered bail, we cannot blame those who have entered on a defence or offered bail irrespective of circumstances.

The following resolution of the Committee on civil disobedience is at once straight forward and statesmanlike —

The All India Congress Committee has taken note of the reasonable desire of workers in the United Provinces and other parts to take up civil disobedience in answer to the repressive measures of Local Governments and has also taken note of the fact that the administration in the North West Frontier Province has even prohibited the entry into that Province of the members of the Frontier Inquiry Committee appointed by the Central Khilafat Committee to enquire into the outrages alleged to have been committed by the local officials in Bannu but with a view to ensure greater stability of non-violent atmosphere throughout India and in order to test the measure of influence attained by the Congress over the people and further in order to retain on the part of the nation an atmosphere free from ferment necessary for the proper and swift prosecution of Swadeshi, the All India Congress Committee is of opinion that civil disobedience should be postponed till after the completion of the programme referred to in the resolution on Swadeshi after which the Committee will not hesitate if necessary to recommend a course of civil disobedience even though it might have to be adopted by a Special Session of the Congress provided however that it is open to any Province or place to adopt civil disobedience subject to the previous approval

of the Working Committee obtained within the constitution through the Provincial Congress Committee concerned.

### Congress Elections in Madras and Bengal

We hold with Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar that the elections to the All India Congress Committee by the Provincial Congress Committees of Bengal and Madras were illegal and *ultra vires* and that those elected were not duly elected members of the All India Congress Committee. We do not think "the interest of the country" is served by the use of unconstitutional and undemocratic methods. That is not the way to promote true *swarajic* mentality.

### A Resolution on 'Untouchability Wanting'

In our last July issue we quoted Mr. Gandhi's latest programme

It is clearly as follows: (1) removal of untouchability, (2) removal of the drink curse, (3) ceaseless introduction of the spinning wheel and the ceaseless production of *khaddar* leading to an almost complete boycott of foreign cloth, (4) registration of congress members, and (5) collection of Tilak Swaraj Fund.

Regarding the first item Mr. Gandhi wrote —

I have put untouchability in the forefront because I observe a certain remissness about it. Hindu non-co operators may not be indifferent about it. We may be able to right the Khilafat wrong but we can never reach Swaraj with the poison of untouchability corroding the Hindu part of the national body. Swaraj is a meaningless term if we desire to keep a fifth of India under perpetual subjection and deliberately deny to them the fruits of national culture. We are seeking the aid of God in this great purification movement but we deny to the most deserving among His creatures the rights of humanity. Inhuman ourselves we may not plead before the Throne for deliverance from the inhumanity of others.

The Congress is mainly a political body and has mostly and during the greater period of its existence busied itself with questions of a political and politico-economical character. That being the case so long as nobody makes social reform of any sort a part of its programme, it would be unreasonable to find fault

with it for not passing resolutions on any social question. But in Mr Gandhi's programme for the attainment of Swaraj—and the attainment of Swaraj is a political question—the removal of untouchability occupies the first and foremost place. Therefore, if we find that, whereas the Congress Committee passes resolutions on all other important requisites for the attainment of Swaraj it leaves the removal of untouchability severely alone and even Mr Gandhi the paramountness of whose influence was unmistakable did not even refer to this (in his opinion) the most important requisite there is certainly just ground for criticism. It is for this reason that we pointed out in *Prabasi* our vernacular monthly that even Mr Gandhi had nothing to say on the removal of untouchability at the Bombay meeting of the All India Congress Committee. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* missed the point of our criticism when it wrote—

Mr Ramananda Chatterjee for example writing in the current number of the Bengali monthly *Prabasi*, has criticised Mr Gandhi for not fighting the many evils of our social system with the vehemence with which he is fighting the bureaucracy.

We are not so obtuse as to do that. Everybody cannot do everything even Mr Gandhi has that human limitation. But as Mr Gandhi has said again and again that the foremost condition to be fulfilled for the attainment of Swaraj is the removal of untouchability he is bound to tell the country and its leaders how it can be removed. The All India Congress Committee met to tell the country what had to be done for winning Swaraj and Mr Gandhi's influence thereat was predominant. But, we repeat even he had nothing to say there as to how untouchability could be removed. We hope we have made our position clear.

#### The Interdependence of All Kinds of Reform

We hold that no reform in any sphere of life can be fully effected without reform in the other spheres too. All kinds of reform are inter-dependent. This does not imply that

and every public body can or should try to promote every kind of reform. What is necessary is that according to one's aptitude powers inclination and opportunity one should devote oneself to some particular kind or kinds of reform. But in the country as a whole, no kind of reform should be without an adequate number of able zealous and ardent advocates and whatever the sphere of life in which a reformer works he should know that reformers in other fields are doing important work which it is indispensably necessary to promote. All kinds of reformers should feel like comrades.

All earnest attempts at reform, whether religious social political or of any other description are based on faith in the ultimate triumph of truth and justice and humanity which is synonymous with a belief in the moral government of the universe. Therefore all reforming activities when genuine and sincere have a spiritual foundation. Hence without a spiritual revival national life cannot be thoroughly renovated. Without wisdom and men of faith and character political social or economic reform cannot be effected.

#### "False Issues",

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says in the note from which we have quoted above that there are certain sections of opinion in this country which want always social and religious reform to precede political regeneration. We do not want any kind of reform exclusively to precede any other kind of reform we want all persons who keenly feel the need of any kind of reform to devote themselves to it without waiting for any other kind of reform. But though we long for and advocate religious and social reforms and consider them very urgent think that they cannot wait we have never held that we ought not to have self rule before we have removed social abuses and got rid of all religious errors and superstitions. We wrote follows on this point in the *Modern Review* for August 1917.

"It has been suggested that before demanding Home Rule in the

reform and social purity, attention should be paid to the private character of leading public men, education should be improved and spread more widely, the condition of the backward classes should be improved, the position of the women raised and their appearance in public and participation in public movements secured, malaria banished from the country, etc.

"We quite agree that all these things should be done, and have repeatedly called attention to these matters. What we object to is the demand that we should carry out all these improvements and reforms *before we ask for self rule*. Our objection is based on various reasons. The first is that all reforms are interdependent, and if we are to proceed far in any direction, we must have political power. The second is that neither social reform, nor educational progress, nor any other social item in the above prescription, is a definitely fixed quantity of which the accomplishment or attainment can be measured. Is there any country, free or not, in which no social reform is necessary? Is there any free country in which society is perfect? When the countries which are now free entered on their career of freedom, as we now aspire to do, had they thoroughly accomplished the work of social reform, secured complete social purity, raised the most backward classes to a position of equality with, say, the middle class gentry, found means to educate all boys and girls, emancipated and enfranchised their women and obtained for themselves the leadership of public men who were all saints in their public and private lives? The little of history that we have read does not enable us to answer these questions in the affirmative. We know, in the best communities, societies, nations, &c, that have yet existed on earth, there have been and are defects. The third reason for our objection is, therefore, this, that nobody can definitely fix the point or stage after arriving at which along a certain line of progress a people may be entitled to claim self-rule. But unless that is done, however great our social, educational or other non political progress may be, any superior person may tell us from his high pedestal

at any time, 'Make further progress, O ye degraded fellows, before you can demand self rule.' "

### If the British Army Left India

Since the article on the Military Defence of India in the present number was in print, we have found an unexpected support of our contention in the *Pioneer* of 12th August (Dak edition), which publishes the following parable illustrating what would happen to India if it were given *Swarnaj*. We shall not stop here to inquire into the truth of Lord Curzon's dictum—that parables and other kinds of veiled writing are a characteristic of a timid enslaved race,—as it is well known that that super-viceroy had the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in his mind and could not anticipate a day when the *Pioneer* would resort to the same literary device. We only want to draw our readers' attention to the admission made by the writer in the *Pioneer* (evidently a high English military officer) that in the day of England's need, the British army will evacuate India, without having first trained the natives to defend themselves and act as organizers and leaders of campaigns, and the condition of the Indians will be exactly that of the ancient Britons when enslaved and massacred by the savage Picts and Scots from the north and Saxons and Jutes (Japanese?) from the south. Our English defenders are sick of the political agitation in the country, and after keeping a monopoly of King's Commissions in their own hands to the last moment, they will mercilessly desert the country, leaving the ungrateful natives to suffer the natural consequences of their ingratitude. As for the assertion that the cowardly and perverse natives refused to enlist in the I. D. F., we shall call upon Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar to recount his own experiences in Madras. He is no traitor, no professional agitator, no extremist.

HISTORY MIGHT REPEAT ITSELF  
(From *The Pioneer*)

One of the three was dressed in the poorest of native garb, such as a serf [Anglican cooke] would wear. His body was thin even to emaciation. Sesonax [—Mr Gaudhi] looked what he was, an honest fanatic.

The other two Cingetorix [= Mr Mohamed Ali] and Carvilius were well nourished clean shaven with hair cut short and both wore the Roman toga [= the English dress]. Carvilius [= Mr C K Das] short fat and perpetually perspiring had a great reputation as an orator.

(The viceroy asked) "Or what did you appeal Carvilius?"

"For Liberty for Freedom bawled Carvilius striking his fat chest with his closed fist that Liberty for which our fathers fought and died."

"And you Cingetorix what are your grievances this time?"

"I desire to be ruled by just laws."

"Is not Roman Law just?"

"It is not our law. We should be ruled by our own Moots and Councils. Centenariations in the Legions [= King's Commissioners in the Indian army] are all filled by Romans. We should fill those and all other posts of honour."

(The viceroy replied) "You choose to forget, moreover that four years ago [i.e. in 1916] when the Lex Julia was relaxed you who call yourselves leaders of the people were urged to form voluntary exiles [i.e. in India Defence Force] for your own defence and you would have none of it."

Segonax spoke in a low voice with eyes fixed on the open sky as though he described a dream.

"All these things you describe [i.e. British roads, peace schools, colleges and industries] are bad things. Your arts and trades we do not want since they lead to luxury. We would get back to our life as it was before you came. A life in our own villages or in our own marks [i.e. village unions] safe set in the woods where we can grind our own grain, make our own clothes and be always content."

"If other people will let you stop there Segonax which is not likely. How ever (continue the viceroy) I have now an announcement to make to you which will doubtless fill you with all joy. Here is an order from Caesar himself to leave you entirely free. 'The Legionaries march at once [back to England] Good-bye!'"

"But what of the Scottish tribes?" cried Cingetorix, even now they attack our brethren in the North [i.e. the V V Province]. The Legion cannot leave."

"Ah said Plantus (the viceroy) you know that do you? I wonder if you had any hand in it. In any case it will interest you to know that the Sixth marches south [i.e. to the Marathas at Bombay] at once. [The allusion here is to Mr Mohamed Ali's alleged letter inviting the Afghans to invade British India.—EJ M F.]

"But cried the Britons 'this is murder. A moment ago you called it freedom and the viceroy."

But our Freedom must be protected. Of course it must my elegant friend and you are at liberty all of you to go and protect it."

Segonax true to his creed went North [i.e. to the Punjab and the Frontier Province] to persuade his brethren not to use violence against the Picts and Scots explaining to them how wrong it was to use violence against any body.

But seeing that this creed in practice meant to them the loss of their villages and of their wives and daughters and of their own lives they crucified him. Cingetorix and Carvilius having lost for a time their occupation as agitators found another in a most unexpected way. They were found [by the British invaders] in a pig sty half dead with fright and entered their new profession which they worked at all their lives as slaves with quite handsome bronze collars round their necks.

On page 128 of colonel J C Wedgwood's latest book entitled *The Future of the Indo British Commonwealth* (Theosophical Publishing House Madras) we find a passage which might possibly be Mr Gandhi's reply if he were confronted with the *Pioneer's* very polite parable. The Colonel writes—

"If we go you will have anarchy. To that Gandhi calmly replied 'I prefer anarchy to alien rule.'"

"If we go you will have the Amir in Lahore, Holkar in Delhi and the Gurkhas in Bengal."

"If we can break the English rule says Gandhi, no other rule can stand against us. Such is one side of Mahatma Gandhi—the fanatic with supreme faith."

### Burning Foreign Cloth

The burning of foreign cloth is certainly more exciting and sensational than the multiplication and introduction of spinning wheels and handlooms. But as human energy and enthusiasm are somewhat limited not inexhaustible it may not be unnecessary to consider whether after the collection and destruction of foreign cloth there would be sufficient energy and enthusiasm left for the humdrum work of producing and working a sufficient number of *charkhas* and handlooms.

### "His Master's Voice"

There is a persistent rumour that the Gramophone Company limited incorporated in England is about to sue some teachers of the Post graduate Department.

of the Calcutta University for infringing their right in the trade mark "His Master's Voice".

### Bengal Council Resolutions.

Before the present issue of the *Modern Review* reaches our readers, many of the resolutions "to be moved at the next sitting of the Bengal Legislative Council to be held on the 29th instant (August 1)," will either have been carried or rejected. A few of these resolutions may be noticed. Mr. Sudhangsu Mohan Bose has given notice of a motion for removing the sex disqualification of voters at the election of members of Council. Bengal has taken up the question of woman suffrage rather late. But it is to be hoped that our legislators will make ample amends for this delay. So far as the women of Bengal are concerned, many of them have been recently up and doing. Mrs. Kumudini Basu, B. A., of 6 College Square, Calcutta, has contributed a series of well-informed articles to the *Servant* meeting all objections, and has brought them out in the form of a pamphlet. This pamphlet should be read by all supporters and opponents of woman suffrage. Meetings have been held in Calcutta in support of the franchise being given to women. At one of the most crowded of these meetings, held in the Theosophical Society's Hall, Messrs. Bipin Chandra Pal, Surendra Nath Mallik, Sarat Chandra Bysack, D. L., and Hirendra Nath Datta spoke. After the president had been elected and taken his seat, Mrs. Kumudini Basu read Rabindranath Tagore's message supporting woman suffrage. Mr. Pal spoke with his usual eloquence, vigour and logic. Mr. Mallik's speech was humorous and convincing. Mr. Hirendra Nath Datta is a leading representative and leader of the orthodox community. He claimed to speak as an orthodox Hindu, as he had a right to do. His speech was very effective, both on account of its reasoning from general principles and of the arguments which he brought forward from the shastras. But it is to be regretted that the reporters of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Bengalee*, the *Indian Daily News*, and the *Servant* did not report or even refer to his masterly speech.

Meetings have been held in many mofussil towns supporting woman suffrage and the members of the Bangiya Naree Samaj (Bengali Women's Association) have been interviewing members of the Bengal Legislative Council and converting opponents into supporters.

### University Examiners and Examinees Related to Them.

Among the other Council motions we find the following in the daily papers against the name of Mr. Jatindra Nath Basu :—

This Council recommends to the Government that steps be taken to amend the law relating to the University of Calcutta so that no one shall be competent to be an examiner at an examination at which any of his near relations is a candidate."

The very fact that it has been considered necessary to move such a resolution is discreditable to the educated and education-seeking public of Bengal. No doubt, owing to the poverty of the country and the paucity of careers for the literate classes, examinations and certificates of having passed them have come to acquire an abnormal importance. Nevertheless, it is highly discreditable that even a small section of the public should consider it more important to pass university examinations and that sometimes "with credit," by means honorable or dishonorable, than the acquisition of knowledge and the formation of character. The object of Mr. Basu's resolution is laudable, and if his motion be accepted his object may be gained to some extent but not wholly. For there may be persons who though themselves not examiners, may have and exercise undue influence over paper-setters, examiners, moderators, and tabulators of marks. It is impossible to do away with such influence and its evil results, unless the University bodies be truly democratic in constitution and *unless there be a sufficient number of able and honorable men available to work hard for making such a constitution successful.*

Some may wonder why a resolution like the one to be moved by Mr. Basu has been at all thought necessary. They may

find one reason in what Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar wrote in our last July number (pp 67) the shuffling of examiners for the benefit of particular candidates cannot be kept a secret. It leaks out and causes the university to be suspect and all its graduates to be regarded as 'dumped goods more or less'. The suspicion may be entirely unfounded. But as the University educates public servants and workers and is the nursery of public life all its ways should be above suspicion. But it is to be regretted that that is not the case. Facts like those collected from the Minutes of the University and narrated below relating to a rejected thesis for the Premchand Roychand Studentship may make people suspicious.

In the year 1918 a student named Birajankar Guha submitted a thesis for the P.P.S. entitled 'On the Ethnology of Later Schmidt's Austro-Asiatic Tribes'. Anthropology is a science but this thesis was classed as a Literary Subject as distinguished from Scientific subjects. We learn from a letter published in the *Prabasi* for Srabati last from Mr. Bijay Chandra Majumdar that he examined this thesis and commended it. But as two other theses by two other candidates were very highly commended by two other examiners they got the studentship. Guha did not. As Mr. Majumdar is an anthropologist and teaches the subject in the Postgraduate department it should be presumed that he was competent to examine Guha's thesis. So far there was nothing to complain of as regards the arrangements for the examination of the theses. A word of comment is needed however as regards the publication of the results. In making the award of the studentship for scientific subjects the Board of Examiners after giving it to Janendra Chandra Ghosh added: 'The Board desire to add however that the theses submitted by Tarik Nath Bhattacharyya (Mathematics) and Sisir Kumar Mitra (Physics) are deserving of high commendation. The

question therefore arises why the Board of Examiners in Literary Subjects did not in making their awards say something similar as regards Guha's thesis which in the opinion of its examiner was deserving of praise (Vide Calcutta University Minutes Part IV 1918 Volume LVII pp 191-4).

We now come to the year 1919. At the meeting of the Syndicate held on the 1st November 1919 there were present amongst others Sir Asutosh Mookerjee his son-in-law Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee and Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhusan. Besides being a member of the Syndicate Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee was a candidate for the P.P.S. Among the other candidates were Mr. Birajankar Guha and Mr. Dhires Chandra Acharya, a nephew of Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhusan. The subject of Mr. Guha's thesis was 'Anthropology of the Austrisch Races' based on Biometric principles. This thesis was classed as a thesis on a Literary subject as distinguished from Scientific subjects. We do not know why is Biometry not a part of any science? Let us however see how the Board of Examiners in Literary Subjects was constituted by the Syndicate at this meeting of November 1919. It consisted of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee (whose son-in-law was a candidate), Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhusan (whose nephew was a candidate), Dr. W. S. Urquhart, Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Dr. Ganganath Jha and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. The number of candidates like the number of examiners was six. Among the theses to be examined there was one Mr. Guha's as mentioned above on 'Anthropology of the Austrisch Races' based on Biometric Principles. But among the examiners there was not a single man who is known to the public as an anthropologist, or as possessed of a competent knowledge of biometry. We write this subject to correction. If we be mistaken let the University authorities say who examined Mr. Guha's thesis and what were his qualifications for examining such a thesis. It cannot be said that anthropologists

could not be found among the teachers and professors of the Calcutta University. There was Mr. Bijay Chandra Majumdar who examined and praised Mr. Guha's thesis in 1918. Why was not Mr. Majumdar, an anthropologist, chosen an examiner to examine Mr. Guha's anthropological thesis? Was there any fear that he might, as in 1918, consider it deserving of commendation and of the Premchand Roychand Studentship? Then, there was Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal, a distinguished anthropologist. Why was he not appointed an examiner? It is not against the rules of the Calcutta University to appoint external examiners. And, therefore, if there were good reasons to exclude Mr. Majumdar and Dr. Seal, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy of Ranchi, a distinguished anthropological author of Western fame, could have been appointed. But, for some reason or other, there was no anthropologist among the examiners, though there was a technical anthropological thesis submitted for examination.

Let us see how the studentship was awarded. The award was made at the meeting of the Syndicate held on December 13, 1919. There were present, among others, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, his son-in-law Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee (one of the candidates) and Dr. Satishchandra Vidya-bhushan (uncle of one of the candidates). The Report of the Board of Examiners in Literary Subjects, after recommending that the Studentship be awarded to Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee (Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's son-in-law), proceeded to observe:

The Board further recommend that in view of promise of useful research contained in the theses submitted by Babu Haridas Bhattacharyya, M.A., and Babu Dhreshchandra Acharyya, M.A., a second studentship should be awarded this year, to be divided equally between them. The Board however are of opinion that the thesis on "Evolution of Individuality" submitted by the former, and the thesis on "Germs of some of the later systems of Hindu Religion and Philosophy in the Rigveda" submitted by the latter, must be recast and amplified before they are published.

The Report was signed by "Asutosh Mookerjee, Satishchandra Vidya-bhushan, K. P. Jayaswal, D. R. Bhandarkar."

The son-in-law of one signatory and the nephew of another got the studentship. It is to be noted that the theses of two of the recipients required recasting and amplification, and that Mr. Birjasankar Guha's thesis did not receive even this kind of qualified recognition or praise. Not having seen any of the theses and not possessing the qualification to judge of the merits of such learned productions, we neither say nor suggest anything regarding their merits or demerits. We only bring to the knowledge of the public the bare facts as to how examinations are sometimes arranged for and conducted. (*Vide Calcutta University Minutes, Part IV, 1919, volume LXIII, pp. 3-4 and p. 210.*)

A word more about Mr. Birjasankar Guha. We have seen above that his thesis was commended by his examiner in 1918. We do not know what his examiner in 1919 said about his thesis in 1919. But this we know, that he submitted it to the authorities of Harvard University, who awarded him a research scholarship for three years. Thereupon, he has proceeded to America and is now carrying on his studies and researches at Harvard. Such a student was a "rejected candidate" in two successive years. It may be his theses deserved to be rejected. But then we ought to know the reason why. And we support Professor Jadunath Sarkar's suggestion (*Al. R.*, July, 1921, p. 10) that "the names and opinions of the examiners of all theses, whether accepted or rejected, should be published, as is done in the case of the Griffith Memorial Prize."

The facts of a connected case have now to be narrated. Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee's thesis for the P. R. S. was on "International Law and Custom in Ancient India." We learn from the Minutes of the Syndicate meeting held on December 13, 1919, that Mr. Banerjee submitted a thesis on "International Law in Ancient India" for the Onauthnath Deb Research Prize in Law for 1920. We understand that this thesis was entirely or practically identical with his thesis for the P. R. S. If we have been misinformed, we hope some one will authoritatively correct

us Rule 4 for the above Prize provides that a thesis meant for it shall be submitted under a distinguishing motto. The name of the candidate must also be forwarded at the same time in a sealed envelope with the motto outside. This rule is obviously meant to prevent examiners from knowing who the writer of a particular thesis is. Now in the case of Mr Banerjee's thesis the following facts have to be noted. His thesis for the P R S was examined by Mr D R Bhandarkar and Mr K P Jayaswal. In any case they were two of the four examiners who recommended that he be awarded a P R S for that thesis. The examiners for the Onauthnauth Deb Prize were Dr S C Bagchi, Mr D R Bhandarkar and Mr K P Jayaswal. It is clear then that the majority of examiners for the Onauthnauth Deb Prize thesis were the same as those for the P R S and the thesis was the same. And Mr Banerjee won the Onauthnauth Deb Prize too in addition to the P R S. The question is was not the object of Rule 4 of the Onauthnauth Deb Prize enjoining secrecy defeated in this case by the appointment of a couple of identical examiners to examine the same thesis for the Prize and the P R S? The details of the cases given above were published by us in the *Prabasi* more than a month ago. As no mistake has yet been pointed out they may be taken as correct.

There are some other notorious cases which are true. But as we have not as yet come into possession of printed documents supporting the facts in every detail we refrain from mentioning them.

Mr Jatindranath Basu's resolution has not been very carefully drawn up. In the case of lower examinations the number of candidates is so large and the examiners so numerous that it would not be practicable to exclude every professor from an examinership who has any relative as an examinee. It would suffice to lay down that the Controller of Examinations should take every possible care not to send the answer papers of a candidate for examination to an examiner related to him (if there be any). Should

it be found that the answers of a candidate have been examined and marked by an examiner related to him the examination in his case should be declared null and void and his answers re-examined by another examiner. Paper setters should also be told that they would be bound by honour to say whether any relative of theirs would appear at the examination for which they had been asked to set a paper. In the higher and highest (post graduate) examinations it would be practicable to give effect to Mr Basu's resolution. When all is said and done however the fact remains that you cannot make people virtuous and honorable by means of rules alone.

### Calcutta University Finance

The agenda of the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council includes several resolutions on the financial condition and administration of the Calcutta University standing against the names of Babu Debendra Lal Khan, Babu Rishindranath Sarker and Mr Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy. The financial affairs of that body certainly require looking into. We have already written much on this subject in previous issues of this Review as well as in the *Prabasi*. Nevertheless attention may be drawn to a few points.

In the Budget Estimates for 1920-21 we find that the Fee Fund had an opening balance of minus 249 108. It should be enquired to what circumstances this heavy deficit of two lakhs and a half was due. From the same estimates, we find that the total expenditure for Post Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science from University Funds has been put down at Rs 5 67 25½. Of this amount Rs 4 39 666 is for Arts and only Rs 1 07 592 for Science. It should be asked why so little was provided for Science. It is true that from the Palit and Ghose Endowments provision for a total expenditure of Rs 1 52 000 was made for the University Science College. But even this additional sum brings up the total expenditure for Science to only Rs 2 69 59½ which is a few thousands more than half the total expenditure for Arts. It is well known that scientific education



is much more expensive everywhere than education in Arts

It is to be noted that from its Fee Fund the University contributed to the Science College Rs 91000 in 1917 18 Rs 86105 in 1918 19 and Rs 48946 in 1919 20 But in the Budget Estimates for 1920 21 we find *no contribution from the Fee Fund to the Science College* The work of the latter has been expending but the contribution from the Fee Fund has gradually dwindled down to zero It may be asked whether the next step in this algebraical progress would be or has been *minus* something that is to say something taken from the Science College Endowments income for expenditure in the Arts Department In the Budget the total receipts of the Fee Fund are shown as Rs 9 17 654 for 1911 19 Rs 10 25 645 for 1919 20 and Rs 14 19 945 for 1920 21 This shows that the receipts have been progressively larger and larger, and the contributions to the Science College have been retrogressively smaller and smaller until in 1920 21 when the receipts were about 4 lakhs more than in 1919 20 the contribution has become *nil*

In reply we presume to our criticism in the *Prabasi* which was in the main the same as above the University has prepared an account sheet showing that the Science College has received *on an average* from the Fee Fund more than Rs 1 03 660 per annum We will take its accuracy for granted and ask the following questions —(1) What was the expenditure per annum *on an average* on the Post graduate Arts side? Was it or was it not much higher? (2) If there be utter absence of rainfall in any country (which depends on rainfall for agriculture) in any particular year but if the *average rainfall* for the preceding decade be found sufficient does that average worked out on paper help the farmers to raise crops? Does a piece of paper with the average rainfall printed on it satisfy the hunger of the famished stricken people of the country? (3) It is said that a mathematician ignorant of swimming coming to the bank of a river calculated that the average depth of the

water of the river was 3 feet and on the strength of that calculation proceeded to ford the river at a place where he did not know that it was very deep and was consequently drowned Could his calculated average depth save his life?

The yearly contribution to the Science College is meant to enable it to carry on its work How can an average worked out on paper help the college to do its work as usual in any year when there is no contribution?

So far as we are aware the Palit and Ghose endowments do not provide for the teaching of Zoology Experimental Psychology and Bio chemistry But we find in the Budget Rs 18548 provided for the laboratories equipment &c for these subjects The sum of Rs 152200 from which this amount is to be spent comes entirely from the Palit and Ghose Funds with the exception of Rs 12000 given by Government If the sum of Rs 18548 has been spent out of the Government grant (for it cannot be taken from the Palit and Ghose Funds) there is still a deficit of Rs 6548 Whence has this amount been conveyed? It should also be enquired from what fund the salaries of the Professors of Zoology Experimental Psychology and Bio chemistry totalling Rs 33900 per annum are paid We have not been able to find out the answer

From the Ghose Fund the Science College got Rs 37 396 in 1919 20 and Rs 81 700 (estimated) in 1920 21 This increased income of Rs 44 364 in the latter year is due we believe to Sir Rashi Behari Ghose's second endowment for Chemical Technology &c But though the increased income works out to Rs 44 364 the increased expenditure has been only Rs 12 000 for the salaries of the two professors of Applied Chemistry and Applied Physics There may have been other slight additional expenditures but it is not clear whether they are from the second Ghose Endowment or any other source But one thing is clear that there has not been any workshop provided for these professors to enable them to do their work *Applied Chemistry and Physics cannot be taught by mere lectures* Yet it cannot be

that there was no money. There was at least a sum of nearly Rs 30 000. An enquiry should be made as to how this amount has been spent. All this was pointed out in the *Prabasi* for Srābrān (17th July 1921). The foundation stone of a technological workshop was laid on the 10th August. We do not insist that the former led to the latter. But let us wait and see when the building is constructed and fully equipped.

We take some passages from one of the Palit Trust Deeds —

in the event of the said endowment income being found insufficient for the purpose the said University should make such a *recurrere* grant or contribution as will supplement the deficiency.

This appears to show that the University contribution whenever made was made to supply a deficiency. It was not optional charity, and that it should be recurring and cannot be entirely stopped in any year as it has been in 1920-21.

Another passage is—

That in connection with the said two chairs the said University shall from its own funds provide suitable Lecture rooms, Libraries, Museums, Laboratories, Workshops and other facilities for teaching and research.

It was pointed out in the *Prabasi* for Srābrān last (17th July) that there was no Library and Common Room for Science College students. We do not know whether these have since been provided.

Another extract from the Trust Deed runs as follows —

That the said University shall from its own funds make such recurring and periodical grants or contributions as may be required for the following purposes namely — (c) for the maintenance and repairs of the buildings and structure to be erected at No 97 Upper Circular Road.

It was pointed out in the *Prabasi* for Srābrān last that the Science College building stood urgently in need of repairs. Since then some slight repairs have been made in a perfunctory manner but on the whole the work of thorough repair remains yet to be done.

All this shows that the terms of this Trust Deed have not been properly fulfilled. As the Khaira Fund scheme betrays the

pecuniary embarrassment of the University and may lead to still greater embarrassment we shall now briefly refer to it.

### The Khaira Fund

The Senate of the Calcutta University accepted the munificent gift of Kumar Guru Prasad Singh of Khaira on the 3rd January 1920 and 3rd June 1921. According to a High Court decree the ultimate use of the Fund is to be carried out by the University under the direction of and according to a scheme to be framed by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Sir Asutosh's scheme is dated 29th July 1921. Therefore the Senate accepted the gift without seeing the scheme, and without being in a position to judge whether it was solvent. This was neither prudent or wise nor consistent with the self respect of the Senate. The scheme so far as appears at present is worked out on the basis of an yearly income of Rs 30 000. This income will just suffice to pay the salaries of the five professors of Indian Fine Arts, Phonetics, Physics, Chemistry and Agriculture. But section XII of the scheme lays down—

That the Senate do on the recommendation of the Board make adequate provision for laboratories, museums, workshops, appliances and all other requisites essential for the due discharge of the duties by the Professors and Readers.

May we ask from what funds the Senate is going to provide these laboratories &c? Even their annual maintenance and working expenses would estimate on the basis of such expenses for 1920-21 provided for the existing physical and chemical laboratories come up to Rs 22 348 and a similar annual expenditure for agriculture may run to Rs 11 174. Wherefrom is the Senate to get this annual sum of Rs 33 000? Workmen cannot work without tools. Professors of science must similarly have their laboratories, &c. The Senate is already at its wit's end for money and has to pledge securities of Funds entrusted to its care. Why, then, did it accept a gift without seeing what expenditure it would involve them in?

Section XI of the scheme runs as follows —

That notwithstanding the provisions hereinbefore made, the Senate shall be at liberty to pledge temporarily and for a period not exceeding two years a sum not exceeding three lacs out of the securities of the Fund to borrow money to carry on Post-Graduate Teaching and Research.

Provided that no such pledge shall be effected without the previous written consent of Sir Asitosh Mookerjee.

Provided further that this clause shall be in operation for a term of five years, but the period may be extended from time to time by Sir Asitosh Mookerjee for such additional periods as he may consider necessary.

This sort of power to pledge the securities of an endowment and borrow money for carrying on, not the work for which the Fund was donated, but some other work, seems unusual. But we do not lay stress on that point. We want to point out that the taking or giving of this power shows by itself that the University is in dire pecuniary straits, otherwise the scheme would not have contained any such provision. We also wish to point out that this section XV does not say who shall pay the interest for the sum borrowed nor from what funds it shall be paid. But the greatest omission is that it is nowhere said who shall repay the loan raised by mortgage and from what funds the repayment is to be made. The senate is in pecuniary straits in spite of the big Fee Fund being at its disposal; but even this Fund will greatly decrease when the Intermediate and Matriculation Examinations are taken away from the hands of the University. The Senate has no property of its own which it can sell to pay off such big debts. We do not know whether the Board of Management of the Khaira Fund would be in any way responsible for the loss of the three lacs worth of securities, should the debt remain unpaid. The members of the Board ought to be able to say. By the way, we find among them the names of "Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, B.L., D. Litt." and "Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, Kt., C.S.I. C.F., M.A., D.C., F.R.S." We understand that their names have been put down without consulting them and obtaining their consent. Why has this been done?

All educational endowments are noble things and the public should always be

grateful to the donors for the same. Criticism is meant not to minimise the importance of the gift but to point out obstacles in the way of the attainment of its object. The temptation to create new chairs without making due arrangements for their work, should be resisted.

### Bageswari and Guruprasad Singh - Professorships.

It is reported in the papers that Babu Abanindranath Tagore has been appointed Bageswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts, and that Babu Sunitikumar Chatterjee, Meghnad Saha and Jananendranath Mookerjee have been appointed: Guruprasad Singh Professors of Phonetics, Physics and Chemistry respectively, by the Senate of the Calcutta University. All these appointments are worthy of full support.

### Pledging University Trust Funds.

*The Bengalee* asks: "Is it a fact that the Calcutta University proposes to pledge the trust funds in its custody, in order that it may earn an extra profit by investing the money so raised in mortgages of private property?" We have also been informed that some such thing is going to be done, that the Board of Accounts has passed a resolution for re-investing the more important Endowment Funds in suitable securities in order that the income may be substantially increased, and that for this purpose the sanction of the High Court has been applied for or already obtained. We are not qualified to speak on the legal aspect of the affair, but it seems to afford another proof of the financial embarrassments of the University. We have heard and the *Bengalee* also says that the University has not yet been able to pay the fees of its Matriculation, Intermediate and B. A. examiners this year," though the examination fees from the candidates were all realised some months ago.

### Constitution of University Bodies.

Babu Jatindra Nath Basu has given notice that he will move the following resolution in the Bengal Legislative Council: "The Council recommends to the Government

that pending the final decision as to the carrying out in full of the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission regarding the withdrawal of intermediate courses from the University early legislative measures be introduced to remodel on a popular or a democratic basis the constitution of the administrative and academic bodies of the University including the organisation for post graduate teaching.

The democratisation of all University bodies is urgently needed. It is to be hoped that a sufficient number of well informed able honest and independent men would be forthcoming to work a democratic constitution. Some people particularly Anglo Indian journalists, seem to think that the Calcutta University already enjoys Home Rule and that the many complaints made against it prove the unfitness of Bengalis for self rule. Without entering into a consideration of the latter proposition, we hold that the University does not enjoy Home Rule. We find from a list of Fellows dated August 1 1921, issued by the Registrar that there are 98 ordinary and 5 ex-officio Fellows total 103. Of the 98 ordinary Fellows 80 are nominated. This itself shows the character of the Senate. Of the 18 elected Fellows only 9 are elected by registered graduates, *numbering about 200 on the 16th November 1920* and the rest elected by the Faculties. Thus out of 103 Fellows, only 9 are elected by what may be somehow styled a popular constituency of some sort. Surely this is not Home Rule.

### Other Resolutions

There are many other resolutions worthy of support. A few of these are mentioned below.

Mr P. D. Rakat asks that steps should be taken to improve the breed of cattle in Bengal. Babu A. D. Aditya would have the slaughter of calves and prime cows prohibited.

Mr Razaur Rahman Khan urges the institution of military training under the Auxiliary Volunteer Corps in Indian schools and colleges. Manly Lakramal Haq puts forward some proposals regarding schemes to avert the silting up of the River Bhagirathi.

Babu Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy asks that members of the Bengal Legislative Council should be exempted by the Government of India from the operations of the Indian Arms Act of 1920.

Mr S. M. Bose desires two scholarships of £200 each tenable for three years to be awarded annually from 1922 to Indian women resident in Bengal for study in foreign countries.

A Medical School at Bhowanipour is required by Babu S. N. Mulla.

Both Babu Indu Bhushan Datta and Rai Radha Charan Pal Bahadur wish the Railway Board to intervene in the Assam Bengal Railway strike.

Mr Syed Erfan Ali recommends the revival of cottage industries and the opening of demonstration farms.

Rai Radha Charan Pal Bahadur makes the suggestion that a committee should study the problem of middle-class unemployment.

### Rabindranath Tagore's Tour in Europe.

Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar has been for some time past residing in France. Having been near the places and countries where the poet Rabindranath Tagore was received by the people, he was in a position to judge of the character of the ovations. We reproduce his narrative from *The Collegian*, as it indirectly reveals the present attitude of Central Europe towards India.

#### TAGORE'S TRIUMPH IN TEUTONIC TERRITORIES

It will be necessary to open the map of Central Europe and refresh our memory of political and ethnic geography in order to follow with ease Rabindranath Tagore's triumphal procession from city to city during the months of May and June. Only then can we realize the magnitude of the service this ambassador from INDIA has rendered in laying the foundations of a new rapprochement between the East and the West.

#### TEUTONIA'S RECEPTION TO YOUNG INDIA

The poet-pedagogist patriot *Indira* (conquest of the quarters) began at Geneva, the terminus of Latin civilisation in Western Europe and had to be cut short for the time being at Prague the threshold of the East-Slavic Culture in the East. The sweep embraced all the centres of Teutonic Kultur in the Helvetic Federation, Bavaria Prussia the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden and the republics of Czechoslovakia and Austria. And the reception which Dame Teutonia, both official and non-official, academic and non-academic, has offered to the maker of Young India's creed of love, almost everywhere at a moment's notice is unparalleled in the annals of ovation which monarchs generals, poets or preachers may ever have received in the two Hemispheres.

and by a group of publicists among whom there were Countesses WILKOMITZ and TROIII Miss OHMAN who has travelled in and written on India and the Rector of the University

#### A SWEDISH FOLK FESTIVAL

The same evening Tagore was taken to witness the festival of the Swedish folk in the compounds of an art museum which is devoted exclusively to the arts and crafts of the peasants and rural population. There the poet of rural Bengal was treated in a North German European rustic restaurant to the popular food and drinks of age-long history. And the rural songs of the peasant men and women of Sweden, untuned to any instrument greeted this strange guest from Asia somewhere.

#### SWEDEN'S ROYAL HONOUR TO INDIA'S NATIONAL HERO

The Press Association of Stockholm organised a public lecture at the Concert Hall where Tagore spoke on *East and West*.

A private audience was given to India's patron by His Majesty the King of Sweden. The European King and the champion of Asia's freedom exchanged views in English.

The Indian Nationalist was interviewed by Dr BRANTING the first president of the League of Nations.

#### TAGORE AND THE SWEDISH ACADEMY

In conformity with the tradition of the Swedish academy every Nobel prizeman has to give a Nobel speech before the Academy. Tagore was invited to make his communication at a dinner at which about one hundred people including members were present. Among them SWEN HEDIN is well known in India. SFLMA and MONTELIUS also have international reputation and professor HALLSTROM is one who is conversant with Sanskrit and Bengali and who has also written on Tagore. The Archbishop of Upsala presided at the function. In the course of his speech the venerable priest said 'The Nobel prize for literature is intended for the writer who combines in himself the artist and the prophet. None has fulfilled these conditions better than Rabindranath Tagore.'

#### THE UNIVERSITY OF UPSALA

In Sweden there is one of the oldest Universities of Europe. This is the University of Upsala. On May 2<sup>nd</sup> Tagore was received by the University but the reception was preceded by a procession from the Cathedral in which the lead was taken by the Archbishop himself.

#### TAGORE IN BERLIN

In Berlin Herr Dr BRUNNER Minister of Education gave a dinner to Tagore in which HERRMANN ex-Premier's MURPHY and others were present. As the last of the University

of Berlin is not spacious enough to accommodate tens of thousands the students and professors (i.e. the gowms) had to maintain the honour of Germany by voluntarily giving up their seats in favor of the non-academic citizens (i.e. the townies).

#### MESSAGE TO YOUNG GERMANY

On June 3 Tagore went of himself to meet the students and made an extempore speech. I am come to you said he in part. O young men and women of Germany because I know that you are my friends and you love me in my own country likewise it is the youth that loves me. And I also understand and love the young wherever they be because I know it is only the young who can re-construct the world.

#### OTHER BERLIN EXPERIENCE

The Indians of Berlin about thirty in number invited Tagore to tea. He was entertained at dinner by Dr RATHEVAL German president of the Reparations Committee.

The record section of the Prussian Library (*Lauterbetungen der Preuss. Staatsbibliothek*) at Berlin sent its director to take the record of Tagore's voice. The peroration in the essay on the *Message of the Forest* was first taken. Then the poet sang the Bengali song, 'Mor wara uthe kon sure baji' 'Kon nava chanchala chhanda' which also was recorded.

At Charlottenburg readings were given before the Tagore Circle.

#### TAGORE IN BAVARIA

Munich the centre of old German *Kultur*, received Tagore on June 6. There was a lecture at the University. Kurt Wolff the publisher gave an address at home in which authors like THOMAS MANN about whom we wrote in the *Colquhoun* some time ago were present. While there Tagore came to know of an organisation which was raising money for the Children's Benefit Fund. He made a donation of 10,000 marks.

#### THIS TAGORE WEEK IN DARMSTADT

At Frankfurt Tagore was received by the Grand Duke of Hesse and driven in his state auto to Darmstadt. There a regular series of functions covering a whole week had been planned beforehand by Count Keyserling well known among tourists and writers interested in China and Buddhist lore. The programme included a lecture at the University.

#### TAGORE GUEST OF THE AUSTRIAN REPUBLIC

Vienna made conspicuous arrangements for the reception of Tagore. On the 14th of June he spoke for the public in the Concert Hall under the auspices of the University. The crowd was immense. As guest of the President of the Austrian Republic he dined at the Foreign Ministry.

liberal culture and genuine research. Perhaps our appeal may not reach the ears of the European professors or be heeded by them, but we make bold to say a word or two to the Indian professors. Scientific research and scientific education are no doubt, very expensive. But the Dacca professors of science know better than ourselves that many of the most eminent scientists of the West had no laboratories worth mentioning compared with the present day laboratories of the world. But why go to the West? In what sort of laboratories did our professors J. C. Bose and I. C. Ray work for years and what big grants had they? Where there is a will there is a way. Let the Indian scientists determine to go ahead in spite of difficulties. We are sure they will not be comparing their salaries. What salaries did our leaders in scientific research have for decades? The professors on the Arts side too, know better than ourselves what what poor libraries some of our biologists and others have done remarkable original work.

We had a desire to present our readers with Prof J. C. Bose's address on the occasion but unfortunately the most important portion which was delivered *impromptu* has not been reported.

### Khulna Famine

Mr Edward Walker of the Salvation Army after inspecting the affected area of Khulna has submitted a report from which the subjoined extract is given.

I found the people in the most destitute condition. I have had some experience in famine work in India but I do not think I had seen anything to compare with this sight. Women were practically naked. In some cases the rugs were so threadbare that their nakedness was not covered.

Mr Walker's opinion is important in much as he cannot be styled an anti-Government Bengali agitator and as he has had experience of famine-stricken areas elsewhere. The Maha vidyalay of Bardwan, member of the Bengal Executive Council has said after touring in the affected parts

In some of the villages where the affected

a very rank poverty prevails among the poor population who have got no stock of food-grain and who partly through being unaccustomed to manual labour other than the work of cultivation and partly owing to the geographical difficulties of the district cannot earn a living by earth work or other kinds of labour.

There is not the slightest doubt that in almost every centre visited by the Hon. the Member the need of cloth for the suffering population particularly among the womenfolk is very great.

Government has decided not to make a formal declaration of scarcity under the Famine Code in its opinion the most useful form of help which Government can give is to supplement by grants the funds of the existing Relief Committee organisations. Actual relief of the starving and the naked is what is required. A declaration of scarcity or famine would be of value if it led to such relief. But if Government supplements private charity by fully adequate grants the public will not find fault with it for not declaring a famine. Meanwhile, generous help from the public remains as urgent as ever.

### Poll for and against Liquor at Nagpur

The Nagpur City Congress Committee took a poll for and against liquor along with the local municipal elections in August. The total number of electors present at the municipal polling station was 2176 and the total of those whose votes about liquor were recorded was 2343. Only 3 voted in favour of liquor, 6 were indifferent and 2332 were against liquor. The example of Nagpur ought to be followed everywhere else so that a strong case for local option may be made out.

### Feminine Advance in France

The following from *The Roman Citizen* will be read with interest—

In Paris the number of women students in the colleges has markedly increased. The custom of teaching girls the same studies as their brothers is becoming general in France. They take their degrees and then continue their studies in the nearby University of Lyon. At Lyons in Provence many young girls are studying law and medicine. Schools heretofore reserved for men, and zoology, are open to

of technical education for women have been founded

### AS BRICH AS MEN

His most recent examinations show that women's intelligence is on a level with masculine intelligence. At the October granting of degrees out of thirty candidates four women were accepted and no men while five women passed and no men. The next day with the same number of candidates two men were accepted and six women. It was a woman who won the grand prix de Rome for musical composition. It is a woman who ranks first in l'Ecole des Chartes. It is a woman who is champion at tennis.

But the enemies of feminism remain unconvinced. Dr C. Bon when interviewed by a reporter of the *Echo de Paris* said: "It is useless for our women to try to pass examinations and to saine in them as was the case in the last university examinations. There never has been and probably never will be a feminine Victor Hugo."

### Unwarlike Indians

Mr Balachandra Chintaman Vaidya, M.A., who hails from Maharashtra, writes as follows in the *Asiatic Review* of London—

The British Government has now classed the men from Bengal and Madras as unwarlike. But the earlier troops of the East India Company were recruited from these provinces. They bore the brunt of the fighting against the Marathas and were very faithful and true to their officers. The troops with which Sir Arthur Wellesley made his famous march on Poona in 1802 a distance of sixty miles in one day, were composed of men from Madras and Mysore. We remember the famous march of Lord Roberts from Kabul to Kandahar but let nobody forget the famous march of Wellesley. I believe with proper care any community can furnish suitable military material.

### Unity of India

The same writer gives in the same journal a proof that Indians have had for a long time the idea of the oneness of India. Says he—

I believe that the idea that India was one country must have been familiar to us for a long time. The man in possession of Delhi was held to be in theoretical possession of India. Every conqueror first turned his eyes to Delhi. We have an interesting conversation at the Court of King Shalva between two rival ministers. Shrijatma the Pratimudi (Chief Secretary) maintained that the Marathas ought to turn their attention to the south and consolidate it. Bajirao I., the Peshwa, maintained that they

ought to look north and capture Delhi. Until they had done that the Marathas would not be honoured as the masters of India. This is enough to show that a vague idea of political unity must always have been before statesmen. Why is not Paris or London or Berlin or Vienna termed the capital of Europe? No conqueror would think himself master of Europe simply because he held Paris or Berlin. This is because the idea that Europe is a single country is unthinkable.

### Women and Smoking.

*The Indian Witness* writes—

Yes women may smoke, if they so choose polluting their breath, imitating rowdy manners showing contempt for decency, wear immodest dresses and in other ways bringing reproach and ridicule upon their sex. But the sequel of this course is too well known. The fact that many of the opposite sex are addicted to the use of tobacco and related habits is scarcely a reason for women, who should be self-respecting and should cultivate the real charm of womanhood to stoop to such ignoble practices.

Men, too should not do that which they consider improper and bad for a woman to do.

### "Bombay the Beautiful"

Looked at from the outside Bombay is beautiful. Some aspects of Bombay life are particularly attractive and augur well for the future of India. One such is the complete freedom of movement which the women of Bombay enjoy and of which their leaders have made splendid use for the welfare of their sex and of the laboring poor. But the overcrowded condition of Bombay is an ugly feature of her life. Some idea of this congestion may be had from some facts mentioned by Mr Findlay Shirras in the course of a recent lecture. Said he—

I expectant mothers leave Bombay before the birth of the child for their parents' home an advantage to the newly born child, as it is brought in healthier surroundings than in Bombay. At the Census of 1911 76 percent of the population lived in one room tenements. There were over 106,000 of these tenements and the average number of persons per room was 4.47. In Hyderabad 91 percent of the population lived in one room tenements and in Travancore the other mill area per excellence 92 percent as against 64 percent in Chinnappati. He then referred to the construction of the large number of one-roomed tenements to be built in Bombay for the work ing classes.

Such a state of things is highly injurious to bodily health decency and morals. It is one of the evils of industrialism, which, if not destroyed, must bring about its downfall.

### An English School Book on Germans

The world has had too much of national hatred. Why seek to perpetuate it by means of school books? And what sense is there in trying to prejudice Indian school boys now against the Germans? A correspondent has sent us from the Central Provinces the following extract from an English school book used there —

The Germans are indeed a savage and a brutal race. In this war they have broken every law of God and every law of man. They say openly that solemn treaties are mere scraps of paper to be broken at any time they please. They kill their prisoners in cold blood. They torture those they do not kill. They murder women and children. They toss them on the points of their swords and laugh at their screams of agony. They destroy churches and hospitals. They shoot doctors and nurses. They poison the wells and the streams and the air. They cut down the crops and the fruit trees. They lay waste the whole country as they go over it, burning down the villages and leaving the towns heaps of smoking ruins. They are without religion and in their cruel hearts there is no mercy, no pity, no kindness, no truth, no honour. They can not be counted among civilised nations and are indeed more like wild beasts than men. — *History of India for Junior Classes* by E. Marsden B. 1. 1919 Page 234

Another correspondent has sent us we cannot trace from where, a cutting from *The Australian Worker*, June 30, 1921, containing an article entitled 'Is Ludendorff the Model?' Under this heading are the following lines —

It is often very necessary to compare facts and happenings. In the following article taken from the *Glasgow Worker* J. K. Campbell contrasts the action of the British forces in Ireland with that of the Germans during their occupancy of Belgium.

The article begins thus —

During the war the Government set up a Committee under Lord Bryce to investigate the alleged atrocities in Belgium. It is safe to say that every atrocity which that report alleges the Germans to have committed can be paralleled by similar atrocities perpetrated by the British forces in Ireland though there are some

identities which have taken place in Ireland recently which would turn a German militarist sick.

Then follow comments, descriptions and lists under the captions "shooting of young boys", "shooting of women", "incendiarism", and "shooting of old men", which we will not quote. One remark under the heading "incendiarism" runs as follows —

Of course after burning down the towns mentioned above our brave and gallant forces have ventured to suggest that the whole business was the work of the Sinn Féiners. In this they show their manifest superiority to the Germans who as far as we know have never ventured to suggest that the Belgians burned down Louvain.

One other passage requires to be quoted.

The most popular charge made against the Germans was that they persistently drove civilians before them in their advances so that the Belgian troops could not fire on the advancing enemy without hitting some of their own people.

In December 1920 Major-General Strickland, a fervent apostle of brutality, issued the following order to the troops under the command in the Cork area.

In future a Sinn Féin prisoner is to be taken handcuffed in the front of each lorry which comes into or leaves their areas.

*The New Statesman* of May 28, 1921, describes the revelations made by General Crozier through the medium of the *London Daily News* as 'the most damaging indictment that has ever been brought against a modern civilised government.' It summarises the allegations as follows —

Very briefly what General Crozier alleges is that the Crown forces under his own command were guilty of a systematic policy of murder, theft and the torturing of prisoners, and that this policy is not only officially condoned but that the very highest officers in the service have conspired both to suppress and to invent evidence relating to these crimes. Evidently the General knows what he is talking about, for he admits that he himself was a party in certain cases to these attempts to pervert justice. But, as we have said we knew almost all of it before. General Crozier merely makes our knowledge more precise. Take for example the case of the Drumcondra shootings, where two men, Kennedy and Murphy, admittedly innocent of any crime, or of any connection with the Sinn Féin movement,



a determined attack was made by the British on the Police force and troops by armed bands coming from Tanjavur, Tirunelveli and the adjoining Amshors on the west and from Tirunelveli and the Amshors on the east as far as Ponnala and Kottikal. The attacks were beaten off but two officers were surrounded and butchered by the mob.

The first paragraph is rather vague and unconvincing. From whom did the magistrate receive information regarding the existence of war knives? What was the character and position of the informers? What sort of weapons are these war knives? It is not mentioned in the communication that any such knives were found after the search. What was the definite nature of the incitement to outrage for which three men were arrested? The Governor of Madras informed Mr. Yakub Hasan in the course of the interview which he granted him that there was every reason to suppose that the present disturbances were due to the persistent efforts of the [Non-co-operation] organisation of which he was a prominent member. Was the District Magistrate suffering from Noreophobia and was he the source of the Governor's information? As non-co-operation is a non-violent propaganda we cannot believe without positive proof that any non-co-operating organisation could have been guilty of incitement to violence. Did the Moplah police officers really remove their boots before entering the mosque? Or did they really enter it with their boots on and the explanation that they took off their boots before entering it is

and cannot under present circumstances be. It is therefore only ignorant men blinded by their fanaticism who can even under grave provocation think of getting the better of the British Government by violent means.

The Associated Press has informed the public that the rioters have plundered and murdered many Hindus and forcibly converted many others. If they have done so they have undoubtedly done a wicked thing. But we must not allow the bureaucracy to exploit these stories for creating bad blood between Hindus and Moslems. *In all cases of forcible conversion of Hindu the religious and social heads of Hindu society should immediately take steps for the re-conversion of the converts.*

The proclamation of Swaraj by the Moplahs if true can be treated seriously only as it is fraught with further mischief. Otherwise it is a fiasco and a farce pure and simple. That they have fought from trenches and used explosives will not stand them in good stead.

### Indians in the Dominions

The following resolution adopted at the Imperial Conference though not entirely valueless in the abstract can have little practical value until we are masters in our own country —

claims Mr. De Valera's letter does not recognize this and further negotiations would be futile unless definite progress is made towards the acceptance of the basis Government proposed to give Ireland control of every nerve fibre of her national existence. She would have her own language her own religious life complete power of taxation and finance only agreeing to keep trade and transport as free as possible to Great Britain. Ireland would have uncontrolled authority in education in land agriculture conditions of labour industry, health, homes of people and defence. Thus she would be free in every aspect of national activity, expression and development. Even the States of America do not enjoy such rights. The proposals moreover invite Ireland to be partner in the commonwealth of the free nations united by allegiance to the King. The Government considers the proposals fulfil your wish as regards the principle of government by consent of the governed. Mr. Lloyd George points out that Mr. De Valera in advancing his claims has drowned all famous Irish leaders from Grattan to Parnell and Redmond. Mr. De Valera's argument that the relations of Ireland with the Empire can be compared with those of Holland and Belgium with Germany are premises no British Government can ever accept. He points out that no political principle can be applied without recognising the limitations imposed by physical and historical facts. We believe that a permanent reconciliation between Great Britain and Ireland cannot be attained without the recognition of physical and historical interdependence which makes complete political and economic separation impracticable for both. We cannot discuss the settlement involving Ireland's refusal to accept our invitation to a free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth under one sovereign.

The following is the text of Mr. De Valera's reply to Mr. Lloyd George —

Dail Eireann by a unanimous vote has rejected the proposals of your Government. From your letter of August 14th it was clear that the principle we were asked to accept was that the Geographical propinquity of Ireland to Great Britain imposed the condition of the subordination of Ireland's right to Britain's strategic interests as she conceives them and that the very length and persistence of the efforts made in the past to compel Ireland's acquiescence in foreign domination imposed the condition of acceptance of that domination. Now we cannot believe that your Government intended to commit itself to the principle of sheer militarism destructive of international morality and fatal to the world's peace. If a small nation's right to independence is forfeit when a more powerful neighbour covets its territory for military and other advantages it is supposed to confer there is an end to liberty. No longer can

a small nation claim the right to separate sovereign existence. Holland and Denmark can be made subservient to Germany, Belgium to Germany or France Portugal to Spain. If nations that have been forcibly annexed to the empire lose thereby their title to independence there can be for them no rebirth to freedom. In Ireland's case to speak of her seceding from the partnership she has not accepted or from allegiance she has not undertaken to render is fundamentally false just as the claim to subordinate her independence to British strategy is fundamentally unjust to neither. Can we as representatives of the nation lend countenance if our refusal to betray the nation's honour and trust reposed in us is to be made the issue of the war by Great Britain? We deplore it we are conscious of our responsibilities to the living as we are mindful of our obligations to the heroic dead. We have not sought war and do not seek war but if war is made upon us we must and shall defend ourselves confident that whether our defence is successful or unsuccessful no body of representative Irishmen and Irishwomen will ever propose to the nation to surrender its liberty right. We long for the end of the conflict between Britain and Ireland. If your Government is determined to impose its will upon us by force and antecedent to negotiation to insist upon conditions involving the surrender of our whole national position and to make negotiations a mockery the responsibility for the continuance of the conflict rests with you. On the basis of the broad guiding principle of government by the consent of the governed peace can be secured a peace that will be just and honourable to all and fruitful of concord and enduring amity. To negotiate such peace Dail Eireann is ready to appoint representatives and if your Government accepts the principle proposed to invest them with plenary powers to meet and arrange with you for its application in detail —  
Renter

The question turns on Ireland's right to have a separate existence, if and when she chooses. Colonel Wedgwood defends this right under certain conditions in his work on "The Future of the Indo British Commonwealth." Says he —

It seems to me that if a great body of citizens desire to secede from any country, and are prepared to take their share of that country's old indebtedness and liabilities they are entitled to do so.

An unwilling partner is a greater danger to any country than a separate country free and no longer held by force.

I do not know whose fleet is supposed to be going to threaten Great Britain from the safe refuge of Berehaven but I would rather have an enemy using Berehaven than twenty million bitter Irishmen scattered throughout the

are seizing every opportunity to destroy those who hold their country down in any case whether the danger be greater or less the right to secede is the right to govern oneself it is primary. The Jews went out into the wilderness. The Boers trekked north into the unknown beyond the great river. Both were within their rights. So too as we now reckon, were the thirteen states of North America within their rights when they seceded, so was Brazil when it left Portugal or Columbia under Bolivia.

Qualifications are however necessary. One is that joint obligations responsibly entered into must be honoured. A right is to be preserved. Another that a majority of all inhabitants of the seceding area must be for secession not only some who happen to be white or powerful. Another that the minority who do not wish to secede must not suffer for their convictions.

Viewed from this perfectly democratic point of vision Ireland has a right to secede from the British Empire and the five counties or the greater part of them have a right to secede from Ireland—provided that the seceding Irish will take their share of the National debt for the incurring of which they are as responsible as are the rest of us. What their share may be is a matter for arbitration.

### Vivekananda on Ram Mohun Roy.

Sister Nivedita left some 'Notes of Some Wanderings with the Swami Vivekananda' which were published by the Libodhan Office of Calcutta after her death. One of these notes relate to what the Swami said in Vaimi Tal about Ram Mohun Roy.

It was here too that we heard a long talk on Ram Mohun Roy in which he pointed out three things as the dominant notes of this teacher's message: his acceptance of the Vedanta his preaching of patriotism and the love that embraced the Mussalman equally with the Hindu. In all these things he claimed himself to have taken up the task that the breadth and foresight of Ram Mohun Roy had mapped out.

It were much to be wished that some one had preserved this long talk.

1921, p. 211. "The first great man of our age who had the profound faith and large vision to feel in his heart the unity of soul between East and West. I follow him, though he is practically rejected by my countrymen."

### Postcard Reproductions of Indian Art.

Reproductions of old Indian sculptures and paintings are of great use to three classes of students: those who are interested in the history of Indian religions; those who are interested in the history of Indian culture; and those who are students of Indian Art in itself. They also deserved to be cherished by the cultured public in general. The Oxford University Press has rendered good service by reproducing from the British Museum collection seven specimens of old Indian sculpture and eight specimens of drawings and paintings of the Mughal and Rajput schools, in the form of pictorial postcards. The cards are thick and smooth and the reproductions are neat and clear. The specimens have been well-chosen.

### The Munitions Case.

In the communique issued by the Industries Department of the Government of India it is observed:—

As the decision to withdraw has been taken and is irrevocable, it is now useless to discuss the question whether Government should or should not, in any circumstances, have withdrawn from the prosecution. Different opinions may not unreasonably be held as to the course which Government should pursue when it realises that a costly prosecution may fail for reasons inherent in the case itself at any stage in the judicial proceedings, but while the Governor-General in Council agrees that circumstances may render it justifiable to withdraw a prosecution on a reasonable doubt arising as to the attitude...

Justice should be administered as to call for the most emphatic repudiation from Government. In particular Government must take the strongest exception to the suggestion that it may be preferable that men though guilty should escape punishment rather than that a large number of innocent persons should suffer loss. It is seldom that the conviction of an offender fails to involve loss or suffering to innocent persons and considerations of this nature cannot be permitted to influence the course of justice.

As the Governor General in Council has condemned the grounds on which the prosecution was withdrawn, it is no longer necessary to examine them. But we do not understand why the decision is irrevocable.

The Governor General in Council concludes his statement thus—

There remains the final point. The circumstances in which an assertion was made in court of the guilt of the accused in this case have already been explained. It is the Governor General in Council believes entirely contrary to the usage observed in such cases and it is he strongly maintains contrary to the spirit of justice that a definite assertion should be made of the guilt of accused when it is intended to withdraw from the prosecution and thus to deprive him of the opportunity of testing or rebutting the evidence alleged to exist against him.

It is definitely stated that Sir Thomas Holland has resigned. But should he let off so easily? What are the 120 Swadeshi industries which would have collapsed if the prosecution of Karnani and Banerjee had been proceeded with? Should there not be a thorough going investigation to ascertain whether the brief and worthless agitation in Calcutta urging the withdrawal of the case was not a got up affair? There are good grounds for believing that the agitation was instigated by interested parties including some officials. It is the bounden duty of Government to find out these men and punish them. Very grave insinuations and accusations against some persons are passing from mouth to mouth and some of these have even been repeated in the public press. For instance *The Catholic Herald of India* (August 10) wrote

It has been stated that the extent to which the public has been swindled in connection with the Munition Board amounts to nine crores

of rupees. If this is true the lakh and a half placed to the discredit of the three accused is only a flea bite. What the public in Calcutta thinks of it is this. Government in the course of its investigations discovered that the number of those implicated in the conspiracy was so great and included men of such high standing—officials, knights of this and that C. I. L., commercial magnates—that appalled by the magnitude of the scandal, it withdrew its charges.

The withdrawal of the case against those who are alleged to have stolen a lakh and a half may be irrevocable but why not prosecute the others who stole the remaining eight crores and ninety-eight and a half lakhs?

Sir Thomas Holland's story discloses the fact that Karnani had a claim against the Government amounting to over two lakhs of rupees for the supply of munitions not connected with this case. Sir Thomas was approached (by whom it is not said) in connection with this claim, and "the Hon. Member made it clear to those who approached him in the matter that Government would not consider the question of withdrawal so long as a suit for these claims was threatened." Thereupon, 'early in July intimation was received from the solicitors of Sukhlal Karnani withdrawing without prejudice but at the same time without condition the civil claim preferred by him. Does not this story originating from Sir Thomas tend to bring Government into contempt by leading itself to the construction that justice is a commodity for barter? And should not its author, therefore, be prosecuted for sedition? As in another munitions case similar barter is alleged to have been suggested by an official, the matter deserves serious consideration.

The reasons given by Sir Thomas for hurriedly deciding to withdraw the case without consulting the Chief Controller of Surplus Stores and the Governor General are flimsy. The heavens would not have fallen and the ten dozen 'Swadeshi' industries would not have gone to the dogs if a week's adjournment of the case after July 30 had been obtained for such consultation.

If the prosecution succeeded he thought that Government might suffer from the

imputation that has deliberately done harm to Indian industrial development by striking at this [Barnani Industrial] bank.

There would not certainly have been any such imputation if Government had prosecuted both European and Indian firms guilty of theft. As things stand Government cannot prevent the rumour spreading that two minor Indian culprits have been let off in order to save the major culprits, including officials and Europeans. We, therefore, consider a sifting enquiry indispensable.

We have quoted a passage from *The Catholic Herald of India* of the 10th August. In fairness we ought to quote passages from its two subsequent issues too though they are long. It wrote on the 17th:

Is Government really the great culprit? If the accused were guilty were they the only culprits? Government has blundered but even so it has blundered cleverly by discharging accused Indians first and thus silencing the bulk of the Indian press. At any rate we do not see what else Government could do but back out of the prosecution as gracefully as it could as soon as it realised that in a conflict with the combine of wealth it was sure to be beaten. Were not Sir Edward Carson offered to come out to defend European firms?

It is futile to press for the conviction of two accused if they are only the small fry of the fish pond and if such a bevy is to be hauled up as will disgrace every European in India. Besides the prosecution would probably cost more than the case is worth.

The significance of the Munitions Board Case lies elsewhere. It gives us the measure of our own public morality. Let us be careful not to accuse the rich promiscuously. Many of them have shared with the poor and the middle classes the worst trials of the war and displayed equal bravery, but capitalism as a system has come out of this war with more cash than credit. It has speculated on the flood of the country. It was the same in the war of 1870 when capitalists supplied the soldiers with boots in cardboard and the men had to tramp and fight with their bare feet in the snow. It has been the same during the great war in England, France and Germany. And from Calcutta we have despatched to our soldiers in Egypt and Mesopotamia food that was rotten and pocketed the profits. Who cared? We are comfortable. Let us all bear the shame of it and not blame Government for a legal blunder when the blood of our soldiers is on our own heads.

On the 24th it wrote thus in part. —

We wrote two articles on the Munitions Board Case. The first which sharply criticised Government's method of withdrawing the case against the Indian accused was reproduced by the Anglo-Indian press and ignored by the Indian press; the second which excused Government for the fact of the withdrawal was ignored by the Anglo-Indian press and reproduced by the Indian press.

Our contemporary is mistaken. Indubitably its editor does not read the vernacular papers of Bengal. We know of at least two Bengali journals *Hindusthan* (a daily) and *Prabasi* (a monthly) which besides writing vigorously on the case quoted from the *Catholic Herald* of 10th August.

The *Herald* of August 24 proceeds —

It is evident that the arguments used by the Advocate-General for backing out of the prosecution were about the latest the most callously unjust the most mischievous the most illegal he could have hit upon. Yet at the same time it must be admitted that if Government saw the impossibility of prosecuting European firms the fairest thing it could do was to stop its prosecution against the Indian firms as well. The action was plausible but the method was not.

This has created an exceedingly piquant situation. Both the European Association and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce have loudly summoned Government to disclose its true reasons. The fun of it is that these two bodies know the true reasons perfectly well not only that but they know that Government knows the true reasons and cannot dare not give them. We never saw the devil twisting his own tail as circumlocutionally as that. It is really too cruel. Though a number of European firms and individuals be it said to their credit, have kept a clean conscience and clean hands, it is public knowledge that Government has been robbed to the tune of nine crores by both Indians and Europeans that against the latter Government has not got the ghost of a chance and now the bodies that represent them can afford to lecture it on the absolute necessity of ruling with equity and justice on the crime of striking at the very fundamental principle of commercial morality. They will have a public meeting of protest they will clamour for the head of Sir Thomas Holland for the heads of the two Indian accused. They would clamour for the head of the Viceroy had he not been quick in stating he knew nothing about it and as a *Clive Street* journal puts it there was Homeric laughter in Clive Street when the daily press announced the official retreat from an untenable position and the laughter rose to a

"In case of a roar after the apology of the Advocate-General was read and understood."

The *Herald's* advice, which Government has not followed, is contained in the paragraph quoted below.

What is Government to do? One thing we can advise is to stoop down, and with a finger write on the ground, and if they insist, say "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her."

There is another alternative it is for Government to disregard interests of class and race and bring to book whoever is guilty, and perish the consequences. It is the honourable part of justice along the costly path of law. Government will be beaten, as justice is often beaten by law, but it will save its soul. We have no hesitation in saying that this is the more honourable course, but we doubt whether Government commands the heroism to follow it. If this is what is meant by the Chamber of Commerce, and the European Association, all honour to their bravery.

### The Late Mr Prabhat Kusum Ray Chaudhuri.

It is with deep regret that we record the death of Mr. Prabhat Kusum Ray Chaudhuri, Barrister-at-Law. He was very popular with his colleagues of the Calcutta Bar, connected with many public institutions and rendered good service to them. He was an excellent organiser and threw himself heart and soul into anything that he undertook to do. At social functions, his help, most willingly and ungrudgingly rendered, was invaluable,—he would often of his own accord cheerfully and with quiet dignity do even such duties as are entrusted to servants. He was secretary to the Prisoners' Aid Society and to the Calcutta Motor Drivers' Association, and president of the Budge Budge Mill Labourers' Union. The signal service which he rendered in connection with the taxi strike some months ago endeared him to the Drivers. He worked indefatigably in connection with the Congress organisation in Calcutta in 1917 and 1920, which contributed very much to the success of the Congress sessions in Calcutta in those two years. He was also for a term a member of the All-India Congress Committee. He made excellent arrangements for the sittings of the non-official commission, presided over

by Mr. C. Vijiyanaghavachariar; to enquire into the Calcutta riots of 1918. Since the death last year of his father, the late Babu Deviprasanna Ray Chaudhuri, founder and editor of the *Nabynbharat*, he had been editing that monthly with his usual zeal and ability. In the course of a few months, he was able to effect many improvements both in the get-up and the contents of the review. Many thoughtful and well-informed articles on political, educational and other subjects appeared in it during the last few months. Mr. Ray Chaudhuri was of a charitable disposition and used to help poor students. The poor found in him a hospitable host. He has been cut off in the prime of life,—he was only 43 at the time of his death. We deeply sympathise with the bereaved family.

### Professor Sylvain Levi

The educated public will be glad to learn that the distinguished French indologist, Professor Sylvain Levi, is coming out to India in October next to work at Bolpur in connection with the Bisva-Bharati, which is the nucleus of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's projected international university. He will deliver lectures, and also train students in methods of research. He has been in India before. When in 1897 an article by Pandit Haranprasad Sastri appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* on "Palm Leaf Mss. in the Durbar Library of Nepal", the French Professor started at once for India, came to Calcutta and then went to Nepal. During his short stay there, he made himself very popular with the Buddhists and collected many important and unique manuscripts, many of which he has published with French translations and notes. Some of his important contributions to our knowledge of ancient India are his great work on Nepal, his work on the Hindu Theatre, his edition and translation of the *Sutra-lankara* and his investigations into Chinese and Central Asian literature for facts of Indian history and Indian antiquity.

## The use of Security Sections &amp; Sec 144

## 1 The Kisan [or Peasant] movement

A very determined and persistent effort has been made by Government to kill this movement. Early in February Ramchandra Kedarnath and D. O. Narain were arrested. There was no assistance of any kind and Government was emboldened to take concerted action to crush the Kisans. Columns of cavalry, artillery and infantry were marched through the principal districts and people were forced to supply food etc. to the troops. In one place school boys were made to salute the European troops.

In Rai Bareilly and Fyzabad large numbers of Kisans were arrested ostensibly for the part they took in the looting in January. Most of these Kisans were innocent and their sole offence was that they were panches. Hundreds were kept in jail and then released without trial. Hundreds are still in jail awaiting trial. Some weeks ago there were nearly 700 Kisans in the Fyzabad jail. They had been there for three months without trial. Prisoners who have been released say that the men in jail are given such good food that cholera has broken out and they are dying in numbers.

In Sultanpur and Pratapgadh districts there was no disturbance of any kind. But even here hundreds of panches and sarpanches are in jail or have been made to give security. The usual offence charged against them is **हम सदाके परमेश्वर का और आनंदी समाने शरीर का प्रेम पर ध्यान करते हैं**. Sometimes it is added that **साज सावित्री कर दिखेगी**.

There was some truth in these allegations in December last and in January. But since then there has hardly been a single case of social boycott in these districts. False cases are started on these allegations and conviction almost invariably follows. Most of these cases are instituted by private parties at the instigation of the local police or Zamindar.

The Seditious Meetings Act has been in force in Fyzabad, Pratapgadh, Sultanpur and Rai Bareilly. Before this act was applied all meetings were prohibited under Sec 144 in some of these districts. This order was obeyed and no meetings were held. In spite of this the Seditious Meetings Act was enforced.

Our workers in these districts are harassed in a variety of ways. Villagers are threatened lest they join the Congress or help us in any other way. They have been told orally that to use a charkha is against the law to shout **Matanwa Gaudhiki jai** is a heinous offence to sign the Congress form is illegal &c &c. Men who have signed are threatened with legal proceedings and bribes are extorted to hush matters up.

Six young student workers in Pratapgadh were sent to jail for distributing leaflets. They were asked to give security but they refused to

do so. Two workers have been sentenced to 6 months rigorous imprisonment on a false charge of breaking the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act. One of these was beaten and kicked by a policeman.

## 2 Conviction of workers

A considerable number of Congress and Khilafat workers have been proceeded against and sentenced. None of the leaders of the movement have so far been touched but many of their efficient lieutenants have gone.

Some volunteers have been sent to jail in connection with the anti-drink campaign.

## 3 Security Sections and Sec 144

There has been an extraordinarily wide use of the sections and there is hardly a prominent worker who has not been served with a notice under Sec 144.

## Miscellaneous

Many gun licences have been confiscated. Government servants have been threatened with dismissal because their relatives were non-cooperators. Orders have been issued prohibiting the use of the Gandhi cap. Notices have been issued threatening those who collect and those who pay subscriptions to the Swaraj Fund.

Congress and Kisan Sabha offices have been raided by the police.

In Benares some students and others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

## The Late Mr Ullal Raghunathayya

A *New India* correspondent writes that with the passing away of Mr Ullal Raghunathayya at the age of 81, Mangalore has lost its earliest, bravest and the most exemplary figure in social and religious reform, as also an indefatigable humanitarian worker. He was a most pious man of a quiet disposition. Behind his simple and unpretentious exterior lay concealed the soul of a true hero. His practice never differed from his professions.

Social persecutions and domestic and other calamities of the most tragic character that befell him during all time of his life never for once shook his faith in his principles and led him away from the path of duty. The local Brahmo Samaj, Social Reform Association and the Depressed Classes Mission owe their success entirely to his efforts and inspiration while the recent growth of the popularity of these movements is due very largely to the example of his life.

He once presided over the All India Theistic Conference. A full and detailed account of all that he did and suffered for

## Local Government in Ancient India

Students of ancient Indian civic and political institutions are gradually succeeding in making many a leading man of Britain recognise that Indians in ancient times had elaborated suitable administrative machinery for the conduct of the affairs of villages towns districts and states. These Western thinkers and statesmen are also inclined to think that in modern India civic and political evolution may be better brought about by attention to the ancient institutions and their adaptation to modern needs than by the importation of exotic ones. For instance, Lord Haldane writes with reference to Professor Radhakumud Mookerji's work on "Local Government in Ancient India"

You have brought out the facts establishing the existence of a highly organised system of local self-government in ancient India, so completely the outcome of the spirit and tradition of the communities concerned that it survived through changes in sovereignty and even through revolutions.

Its bearing on the problem of Indian self-government and on the imperial questions involved is obvious. The history of ancient India shows how organic growth solves questions that are not capable of treatment from any mechanical point of view alone. The life of a nation exists in growth and not in external causation.

Similarly Lord Bryce wrote

One of the great needs of India seems to be now a construction or reconstruction of the old fabrics of local self-government and I have endeavoured to state this view *à propos* of the new legislation proposed by Mr Montagu.

Dr A. B Keith observes

If we adapt the principle to modern conditions it will follow, not that the greatest measure of freedom in the central government provincial or imperial is not essential but that no form of government in India will ultimately meet the needs of the country which does not make the fullest use of delegation of powers and which does not resuscitate and restore local self-rule.

## Nautical School in Calcutta

A committee was appointed to consider the question of establishing a nautical institute in Calcutta. It has submitted its report and the Bengal Government have

published a resolution thereon. The upshot of the whole affair is that no school is to be started.

The question cannot be solved by Government alone. Until shipowners are prepared to take Indian youths as apprentices on their ships with a view to enabling them to qualify for mates and masters and employ them as ship's officers after they have qualified, the provision of nautical schools and theoretical training can be of no avail.

Though this is true, it is not true that Government alone can do nothing. A zealous national government, like Japan's, can do much. But ours is not a national government. Therefore we have to nationalise our government, and in the meantime do our duty as suggested by the following remarks of Mr P. N. Guha, a member of the committee.

The people of the country must bear a large share in solving this problem. There are several big merchants in the Bombay Presidency, who own vessels and recently a few joint-stock concerns have been started. Lots of young men of Bombay are now being trained and employed in the vessels owned by Indians. I am afraid it will not be possible for the Government to do much in the direction of opening the career of seamen for the younger generation of Bengal unless and until there is a sufficient number of ships owned and run by Indians.

## Interest on Postal Savings Bank Deposits

A correspondent suggests that the postal authorities should pry interest on Saving Banks deposits at the rate of 6 per cent, instead of at 3 per cent, as at present. As interest is increased all round the suggestion is quite just. Members of the Indian Legislative Assembly should move resolutions on the subject.

## Education under Russian Soviet and British Indian Governments

In the midst of and after the most radical and cataclysmic revolution in history, the Russian Soviet Government took up, worked out and gave effect to an elaborate scheme of universal education. Why does not the British Government in India find it practicable, after and in the midst of its boasted century long *Pax Britannica* to introduce free compulsory primary education



following each his own business will no longer harass the kingdom, the king's revenue will go up, the country will be quiet and at peace, and the populace pleased one with another and happy dancing their children in their arms will dwell with open doors.

The king accepted the word of his chaplain and did as he had advised. And those men following each his business harassed the country no more. And the king's revenue went up and the country became quiet and at peace.

After this he invited and consulted all his people and when they gave their sanction saying that the time was suitable and his majesty might offer the sacrifice he celebrated it in a manner quite different from that in which sacrifices were ordinarily performed in those

days. That sacrifice was for his wealth and welfare.

### Errata in the Article on

'Reform of Fighting in Courts of Law

P 305 Col 2, l 7—omit the comma after the word *said*

P 306, Col 1, para 2, l 6—read *thus* for *these*

P 306 l 13—omit *and* before the word *pronounce*

P 307, foot note—for p 371 read p 378

## In the October Modern Review

The Cry of the Mother to the Indian Youth (a poem)

—By Sister Nivedita of K. A.

Indian Nationality a Mode of Thought

—By Sister Nivedita of K. A.

The Hidden Treasure

—By Rabindranath Tagore

Indian Mineral Waters

—By Major B. P. Basu M. A. (Rtd.)

Subsidising British Industries at India's Expense

—By Sri Nihal Singh

Siam Today (illustrated)

—By Dr. Sudhindra Bose M. A. Ph. D.

The Foreign Policy of Young India

—By Benoy Kumar Sarkar M. A.

The Contrast Between Socialism and Eastern

Communalism

—By Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee Ph. D.

The Making of the Moghul School of Paintings (Illustr.)

—By Samarendranath Gupta

Priests' Dean

—By W. W. Pearson M. A. B. Sc.

The First Lord Minto's Indian Administration

—By Historians

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Reviews and Notices of Books

Gleanings Notes

etc etc etc



# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## THE CRY OF THE MOTHER TO THE INDIAN YOUTH

By SISTER NIVEDITA DE RAJA

Sons of the Indian past awake  
From Jagannath to Dwarkanath  
From Kedarnath to Comoria  
Are ye not One

In your today lives all the greatness of the past  
Awake then and arise  
Struggle ye on and stop not till the goal is reached

March ye in your armies  
March forth in your hosts  
Are ye not One?  
Children of one motherhood  
Nurslings of one land  
Brethren of a single home  
Are ye not One?

Sons of Bengal heirs of ancient Magadh  
The one time centre of a ring of sovereigns  
You who sent forth the word that bred strong peoples  
You who bore gospels East and North and South  
You who created scriptures and made great learning  
Shall ye be nought  
My children of Bengal!  
Lo the past lives in you!  
Are ye not One?

Sons of Ajodhya children of Benares  
Dwellers in far famed shrines and royal towns,  
Awaken and arise! In you lives all your past!  
Are you not One?

Sons of Gurus! People of the Prophet  
Children of heroes strong and austere!  
Even are ye One!

Rajput Mahrata Sikh Mussulman and Dravid  
Is not your past yours?  
Fear not machines!  
Assert the mind that lives in you  
Include create assault and take by might  
The strongest city of the mind of man  
Be not content to crawl  
But leap ye high

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## INDIAN NATIONALITY, A MODE OF THOUGHT

By SISTER NIVEDITA OF RK.-V.

“ALL that we are,” says Buddha, in the opening words of the *Dharmapada*, ‘is the result of what we have thought. It is founded on our thoughts. It is made up of our thoughts. Never could the truth of this sublime utterance be better exemplified than in India at the present day. We have before us the task of Nation building. But our means of accomplishment consists solely, in the first place, of *thought*. By clear and direct thinking, we may hew a path through all the forest of our difficulties. By weak and confused thought we can only defeat our own aim.

All men are at bottom the friends of truth. There is no vested interest that can make a man eternally inaccessible to the call of right. Do we not often see the son of a reactionary, working hand in hand with the *Swadeshi* leaders striving by all means in his power to establish nationhood? What does this mean? It means that family and party and ease can make no permanent stand against *conscience*. It means that any man may be captured by the highest *truth*. It means that we are all *ahimsa* one, in *dharma* and in God.

The duty of all who understand the Indian situation today, then is to *regain* those eternal verities on which the cry for nationality is based. If we are strong and clear ourselves, in the essential idea, none will be able to resist the love of the Motherland in us. We shall ourselves stand as its embodiment and appeal. Even the general of the opposing army will surrender to the power of our thought.

But no great Indian mind has ever believed in uncontrolled emotion, in unbridled use of force. Sattvic charity, says the Gita, is that which takes careful note of person, place and time. Good feeling, without this discrimination, is merely

Tamias. Our thought about our country, our love and clinging to her, must be judged and sifted. We must retain all this in one place, and emphasise it in another, or we shall do our country nothing but harm, and what we thought was our patriotism, will stand demonstrated as our self-indulgence. Feeling must always be interwoven with thought. Love requires ever the illumination of knowledge.

But thought or knowledge alone, would be as defective as feeling alone, in coping with the Indian situation. Let us watch the fate of some high spirited child, thrown into the care of stern and just guardians, who have no love for him. Some natural action, more or less mischievous or rebellious calls down a severe reprimand. The reproof outruns the offence, and the boy's pride is wounded. He comes to regard the authorities as his enemies, and drifts into meaningless and unending antagonism. Everything forbidden by the guardian becomes a delight. Not seldom, a career of criminality has begun in such a way.

Let us suppose, however, that in the midst of his childish misdeeds the boy's own father and mother appeared suddenly on the scenes. Instead of feeling appalled at the wickedness of their son, they are delighted to hear of the strength and daring that his tricks exhibited. The lad responded to their warmth of approval, and strove to win more of it. In due time he becomes an Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, or a Ram Mohun Roy, or a Dwarkanath Mitter.

Now the difference here between parents and guardians was not one of knowledge. The same facts were before both. But the guardians saw the child's action with the head, and the parents with the heart. The one took note of one element in the character, and the others were impressed by something entirely distinct. How often

have we seen in the course of the Volunteer Movement the boys who formerly had been apt to demand the polite attentions of the police as soon as they had to do work for the motherland became the best guardians of law and order!

In moral questions then—which means in almost all *human* affairs—events are determined in this way by our own predominant thought and feeling by our attitude towards various forces that go to make up the event. But it is a tragedy to one whom we love to look upon him through the eyes of an enemy. There are always two ways of looking at a thing. A certain occurrence is reported and the crowd remarks: How disunited are the Indian people! But suppose the self-same incident had struck someone somewhat as showing Indian unity? Stranger things have happened. Would it not be clear that there must here be two different ways of approaching the spectacle? Many people can look at the haughty child with the eye of a judge for one who can bring to bear on the case the heart of a father. Yet which is wiser? Which is after all more just? Which view has more truth? Viewed side by side with the records of criminals, the peccadillos of a small boy look very trivial yet they may easily be converted into the driving force that impels man to crime. We must take up the responsibility of judge and director out of that wider experience that can put the instance in its true light. It is not always the obvious interpretation that is the most correct.

Now we have to understand that India will be a nation just as soon as she conceives of herself as a nation. All that she needs is the realisation of this *thought*. India is One is the formula of nationhood for her. A mantra means a great deal when it has *realisation* behind it though without this it is not even as good as a juggler's spell.

India is one. How much of India is one? Just so much dear friend as can summon up strength to realise the fact! India is one. But she is so disunited! Is she? Look again. Look facts in the face. Break through all hypnotism. Fear

not. Go deep down into the truth of it all. It may be that you shall some day say that never was there a country or a people so united so woven together in all their parts so fundamentally *one* as this India of ours.

Is India disunited? She has so many castes, so many one. And how could she ever be a nation if she had not? Her enemies are not her enemies. They are her children from the Islamic point of view. Hinduism offered the tradition and the culture necessary to great unification. But today from both these antithetic factors it is necessary to disengage the common secular element that constitute nationality. Hinduism carries along with it a long memories adhesion of the people to the place, the Indian system of civilisation. And Mohammedanism possesses the traditional feeling of democracy so essential to the national heart, the patriarchal culture of manners and personality and a complementary idea capable of enriching Indian poetry and religion in all directions.

A nation, a country is no narrow or limited unit. It has room, and to spare for all to which it can offer *love*. The Mohammedan's gain is not the Hindu's loss, but just the reverse. The Hindu *needs* the Mohammedan, the Mohammedan *needs* the Hindu if there is to be an Indian nation. The battles of the past have been merely the struggle to assert an equal strength. Like the border warfare of Englishmen and Scots they have proved the wrestling matches of combatants who knew themselves for kinsmen. Each whetted his sword on the weapon of the other. Nothing is a better basis for friendship than the fighting of brave men. Look at the British Empire. Is the ship's engineer quarreling with his fate because he is not the Viceroy? How could there be an Empire if all its elements were statesmen? The ship's engineer is at least as necessary. But without his cheerful acceptance of the honour of his work the responsibility of his place he would be no help, no strength. A nation is a *complex* unity. Even a small village requires many castes. How shall there be a *nation* without differences of social degree?

The Indian nation of the future is in need of every element that we see ready for it today. The Hindu alone without the aid of the Mohammedan could never make a nation. From the time of Asoka to that of the Gupta Emperors of Patliputra, the Aryan organisation of society, which is always that of a university carefully graduated for the development and maintenance of a great scheme of culture, found itself confronted with the democracy of the Buddhist orders. In the time of Akbar again who dreamt of a national India.

Even the history of a *struggle* becomes a basis of unity, so soon as it is thought of in this way. To see a future task before the Indian Unity is already to be a lover of things Indian. The one word in a nation's heart is the name of the Homeland the *Swadesh*. The song of the soil is murmured in all its dreams. Let Indians love and strive for the Indian good and they are at once citizens members of a nation.

Thought and love are the key to the whole mystery. It is good for a nation that 'careers' as Toussaint L'Ouverture announced and Napoleon Bonaparte repeated should be open to ability. The motherland must recognise no caste for that would prevent her availing herself of the best possible service. For this the presence of a social formation representing democracy, is absolutely necessary. So far from recognising caste indeed education must be absolutely democratised in order that all talents may be discovered and the remaking of the *Swadesh* may proceed apace.

But the same man who in the Council Chamber or in the market place is outside all caste in his home or in the temple takes again his own place in an organised society. Here a seeming paradox is resolved by clear thinking. Again all castes are equal in *dharma*. It is by the fulfilment of *svadharma* one's own duty not by the dignity of the task to be performed that a man's social virtue is measured. The integrity of a scavenger may be more essential to the commonwealth at a given moment than that of an emperor. All

tasks are equally honorable that serves the motherland. The complexity of a strong and cohesive national unity, is not its weakness but rather its strength.

It is a mistake to think that India has not in the past been a well organised nation. Asoka two and a half centuries before Christ, Chandragupta Vikramaditya four centuries after Christ, and Akbar and his immediate successors have all been men who understood the idea of Indian Nationality, and loved and worked for it. Today it cannot be recovered till common man recognises in himself a love for India and a responsibility to her interests, that formerly seemed to be the prerogative of emperors. Today, it is not a throne, but a nationality that is to save and keep the Motherland. But this thing shall be! It is true that all the materials for the building have been provided in abundance but it is not true that they have never been wrought into a pile. The old time *dharma* of the great sovereigns the code of piety of kings of the *Santhi Parva* represents the most beautiful product and expression of a nation's unity that the world has ever seen. It is not the picture of Rama winning the allegiance of the tribes that impresses us so much as that of Valmiki dreaming two thousand years ago of the statesmanlike federation. In the time of the poet the Indian people were accustomed to assume that they were parts of a great nation.

Let them but learn again to think in similar fashion. Let them seek by all means to realise the thought. In so seeking they shall but open their eyes to find their realisation true. We are a nation as soon as we recognise ourselves as a nation. What? Is a village not so serious a symptom in the body politic? The child stole sour mangoes as his mother worked over the cooking fire but it is not there fore proved that the child has all the instincts of a thief! Courage my friends courage. Let trifles take on their true proportions. Turn we to reckoning our wealth instead of our poverty! Have we not love of village and home? Are not our rivers and mountains sacred to us? Why then shall we not have love?

in indeed Only hear what my condition  
Once our family was the most prosper-  
ous in the village but now our condition  
is so miserable that we can hardly hold up  
our heads I beg you to tell me how we  
can restore ourselves to prosperity  
again"

The sannyasi laughing slightly said  
"My son why not be satisfied with your  
present position? What is the use of trying  
to become wealthy?"

But Harihar persisted and declared that  
he was ready to undertake anything that  
would restore his family to their proper  
place in society

Thereupon the sannyasi took out a roll  
of cloth in which an old and stained piece  
of paper was wrapped It looked like a  
horoscope The sannyasi unrolled it and  
Harihar saw that it had some signs in  
cypher written within circles and below  
these was a lot of doggerel verse which  
commenced thus —

For attainment of your goal  
Find a word that rhymes with soul  
From the Radha take its r  
After that at last put dha  
From the tamarind banyan's mouth  
Turn your face towards the south  
When the light is in the East  
There shall be of wealth a feast

There was much more of the same kind  
of riddle

Harihar said "Father I can't under-  
stand a single word of it"

To this the sannyasi replied "Keep it  
by you Make your puja to the goddess  
Kali and by her grace you or some  
descendant of yours will gain the untold  
wealth of which this writing tells the  
secret hiding place"

Harihar entreated him to explain the  
writing but the sannyasi said that only  
by the practice of austerity could its mean-  
ing be discovered

Just at this moment Harihar's youngest  
brother Shankar arrived on the scene and  
Harihar tried to snatch the paper away  
before it could be observed But the  
sannyasi laughing said "Already I see  
you have started on the painful road to  
greatness But you need not be afraid  
The secret can only be discovered by one

person If anyone else tries a thousand  
times he will never be able to solve it It  
will be a member of your family, so you  
can show this paper to anyone without  
fear"

The sannyasi having left them Harihar  
could not rest until he had hidden the  
paper Fearful lest anyone else should  
profit by it and above all lest his young  
brother Shankar should enjoy this hidden  
wealth he locked the paper in a strong  
wooden box and hid it under the seat of  
the household goddess Kali Every month  
at the time of the new moon, he would go  
in the dead of night to the temple and  
there he would offer prayers to the goddess  
in the hope that she would give him the  
power to decipher the secret writing

Some time after this Shankar came to  
his brother and begged him to show him  
the paper

"Go away you idiot!" shouted Hari-  
har "that paper was nothing That  
rascal of a sannyasi wrote a lot of non-  
sense on it simply to deceive me I burnt  
it long ago"

Shankar remained silent but some  
weeks afterwards he disappeared from the  
house and was never seen again

From that time Harihar gave up all  
other occupations and spent all his wak-  
ing moments in thinking about the hidden  
treasure

When he died he left this mysterious  
paper to his eldest son, Shyampada who  
as soon as he got possession of it gave up  
his business and spent his whole time in  
studying the secret cypher and in worship-  
ping the goddess in the hope of good luck  
coming to him

Mritunjaya was Shyampada's eldest  
child so he became the owner of this  
precious heirloom on his father's death  
The worse his condition became the greater  
eagerly he showed in trying to solve  
the secret It was about this time that  
the loss of the paper occurred The visit  
of the long haired sannyasi coinciding  
with its disappearance Mritunjaya deter-  
mined that he would try to find him  
feeling sure he could discover everything  
from him So he left his home on the  
quest

surface of the stone. Looking closely he saw a circular symbol which was familiar to him. It was partly obliterated, it is true, but it was sufficiently distinct for him to recognise the design as that which had appeared at the top of his lost piece of paper. He had studied it so often that it was clearly printed on his brain. How many times had he begged the goddess to reveal to him the meaning of that mystic sign as he sat at midnight in the dimly lit temple of his home with the fragrance of incense filling the night air. To night the fulfilment of his long cherished desire seemed so near that his whole body trembled. Fearing that by some slight blunder he might frustrate all his hopes and above all dreading lest the sannyasi had been beforehand in discovering his treasure, he shook with terror. He could not decide what to do. The thought came to him that he might even at that very moment be sitting above untold wealth without knowing it.

As he sat repeating the name of Káli evening fell and the sombre darkness of the forest resounded with the continual chirping of crickets.

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Just as he was wondering what to do he saw through the thick foliage the distant gleam of a fire. Getting up from the stone on which he was seated he carefully marked the spot he was leaving and went off in the direction of the light.

Having progressed with great difficulty a short way he saw from behind the trunk of a tree the very sannyasi he had been seeking with the well known paper in his hand. He had opened it and by the light of the flames he was working out its meaning in the ashes with a stick.

There was the very paper which he longed to. Mritunjaya and which had belonged to his father and his grandfather before him in the hands of a thief and a cheat! It was for this then that the rogue of a sannyasi had bidden Mritunjaya not to sorrow over his loss!

The sannyasi was calculating the meaning of the signs and every now and then would measure certain distances on

the ground with a stick. Sometimes he would stop and shake his head with a disappointed air, and then he would go back and make fresh calculations.

In this way the night was nearly spent and it was not until the cool breeze of dawn began to rustle in the leafy branches of the trees that the sannyasi folded up the paper and went away.

Mritunjaya was perplexed. He was quite sure that without the sannyasi's help it would be impossible for him to decipher the mystery of the paper. But he was equally certain that the covetous rascal would not knowingly assist him. Therefore to watch the sannyasi secretly was his only hope, but as he could not get any fool without going back to the village Mritunjaya decided he would return to his lodgings that morning.

When it became light enough he left the tree behind which he had been hiding and made his way to the place where the sannyasi had been making his calculations in the ashes. But he could make nothing of the marks. Nor after wandering all round could he see that the forest there differed in any way from other parts of the jungle.

As the sunlight began to penetrate the thick shade of the trees Mritunjaya made his way towards the village looking carefully on every side as he went. His chief fear was lest the sannyasi should catch sight of him.

That morning a feast was given to Brahmans at the shop where Mritunjaya had taken shelter, so he came in for a sumptuous meal. Having fasted so long he could not resist eating heavily, and after the feast he soon rolled over on his mat and fell sound asleep.

Although he had not slept all night Mritunjaya had made up his mind that he would that day take his meals in good time and start off early in the afternoon. What happened was exactly the opposite for when he woke the sun had already set. But although it was getting dark he could not refrain from entering the forest.

Night fell suddenly and so dense was the darkness that it was impossible for him to see his way through the deep



as slippery and I shall kill me if you wish, then I can become a guardian spirit to watch over this treasure of mine. But if I live you will never be able to take it. Never! Never! Never! If you try I will bring the curse of a Brahmin on you by jumping into this well and committing suicide. Never will you be able to enjoy this treasure. My father and his father before him thought of nothing but this treasure and they die thinking of it. We have become poor for its sake. In search of it I have left wife and children and without food or sleep have wandered from place to place like a maniac. Never shall you take this treasure from me while I have eyes to see!

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The sannyasi said quietly. Mritunjaya listen to me. I will tell you every thing. You remember that your grandfather's youngest brother was called Shankar?

Yes, replied Mritunjaya, he left home and was never heard of again.

Well, said the sannyasi, I am that Shankar!

Mritunjaya gave a gasp of despair. He had so long regarded himself as the sole owner of this hidden wealth that now that this relative had turned up and proved his equal right he felt as if his claim were destroyed.

Shankar continued: 'From the moment that my brother got that paper from the sannyasi he tried every means in his power to keep it hidden from me. But the harder he tried the greater became my curiosity, and I soon found that he had hidden it in a wooden box under the seat of the god-dess. I got hold of a duplicate key and by degrees whenever the opportunity occurred I copied out the whole of the writing and the signs. The very day I had finished copying it I left home in quest of the treasure. I even left my wife and only child neither of whom is now living. There is no need to describe all the places I visited in my wanderings. I felt sure that as the paper had been given to my brother by a sannyasi I would be able to find out its meaning from one so I began to serve

sannyasis whenever I had the chance. Many of them were impostors and tried to steal the writing from me. In this way many years passed but not for a single moment did I have any peace or happiness.

At last in my search by virtue of some right action in a previous birth, I had the good fortune to meet in the mountains Swami Rupananda. He said to me 'My child give up desire and the imperishable wealth of the whole universe will be yours.

He cooled the fever of my mind. By his grace the light of the sky and the green verdure of the earth seemed to me equal to the wealth of kings. One winter day at the foot of the mountain I lit a fire in the brazier of my revered guru and offered up the paper in its flames. The Swami laughed slightly as I did it. At the time I did not understand that laugh. But now I do. Doubtless he thought it is easy enough to burn a piece of paper but to burn to ashes our desires is not so simple!

When not a vestige of the paper remained it seemed as if my heart had suddenly filled with the rare joy of freedom. My mind at last realised the meaning of detachment. I said to myself, 'Now I have no more fear, I desire nothing in the world.'

Shortly after this I parted from the Swami and although I have often sought for him since I have never seen him again.

'I then wandered as a sannyasi with my mind detached from worldly things. Many years passed and I had almost forgotten the existence of the paper, when one day I came to the forest near Dharagole and took shelter in a ruined temple. After a day or two I noticed that there were inscriptions on the walls some of which I recognised. There could be no doubt that here was a clue to what I had spent so many years of my life in trying to discover. I said to myself, 'I must not stay here. I must leave this forest.'

But I did not go. I thought there was no harm in staying to see what I could find out just to satisfy my curiosity. I examined the signs carefully but without

There was the sound of a flint being struck and the next moment there was a light. The sannyasi said: "Well Mritunjaya, let us go."

Mritunjaya "Then, father, is all my trouble to be in vain? Shall I never obtain that wealth?"

Immediately the torch went out. Mritunjaya exclaimed—"How cruel!", and sat down in the silence to think. There was no means of measuring time and the darkness was without end. How he wished that he could with all the strength of his mind and body shatter that gloom to atoms. His heart began to feel restless for the light, for the open sky, and for all the varied beauty of the world, and he called out "Oh! Sannyasi, cruel sannyasi, I do not want the treasure. I want you to rescue me."

The answer came "You no longer want the treasure? Then take my hand, and come with me."

This time no torch was lighted. Mritunjaya holding his stick in one hand and clinging to the sannyasi with the other slowly began to move. After twisting and turning many times through the maze of tunnels they came to a place where the sannyasi said, "Now stand still."

Standing still Mritunjaya heard the sound of an iron door opening. The next moment the sannyasi seized his hand, and said "Come!"

Mritunjaya advanced into what appeared to be a vast hall. He heard the sound of a flint being struck and then the blaze of the torch revealed to his astonished eyes the most amazing sight that he had ever dreamed of. On every side thick plates of gold were arranged in piles. They stood against the walls glittering like heaped rays of solid sunlight stored in the bowels of the earth. Mritunjaya's eyes began to gleam. Like a mad man he cried "All this gold is mine—I will never part with it!"

"Very well," replied the sannyasi, "here is my torch, some barley and parched rice, and this large pitcher of water for you. Farewell."

And as he spoke the sannyasi went out, shutting the heavy iron door behind him.

Mritunjaya began to go round and round the hall touching the piles of gold again and again. Seizing some small pieces he threw them down on the floor, he lifted them into his lap, striking them one against another he made them ring, he even stroked his body all over with the precious metal. At length, tired out, he spread a large flat plate of gold on the floor, lay down on it, and fell asleep.

When he woke he saw the gold glittering on every side. There was nothing but gold. He began to wonder whether day had dawned and whether the birds were awake and revelling in the morning sunlight. It seemed as though in imagination he could smell the fragrant breeze of daybreak coming from the garden by the little lake near his home. It was as if he could actually see the ducks floating on the water, and hear their contented cackle as the maidservant came from the house to the steps of the ghat, with the brass vessels in her hand to be cleaned.

Striking the door Mritunjaya called out: "Oh, Sannyasi, listen to me!"

The door opened, and the sannyasi entered. "What do you want?" he asked.

"I want to go out," replied Mritunjaya, "but can't I take away a little of this gold?"

Without giving any answer the sannyasi lighted a fresh torch, and placing a full water pot, and a few handfuls of rice on the floor went out closing the door behind him.

Mritunjaya took up a thin plate of gold, beat it and broke it into small fragments. These he scattered about the room like lumps of dirt. On some of them he made marks with his teeth. Then he threw a plate of gold on the floor and trampled on it. He asked himself, "How many men in the world are rich enough to be able to throw gold about as I am doing!" Then he became oppressed with a fever for destruction. He was seized with a longing to crush all these heaps of gold into dust and sweep them away with a broom. In this way he could show his contempt for the covetous greed of all the kings and maharajahs in the world.

At last he became tired of throwing the gold about in this way and fell asleep.

## THE FIRST LORD MINTO'S INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

THUS, although Lord Minto considered the Indian Empire safe either from the rebellion of the inhabitants of the territories then under the administration of his countrymen, or from the aggression of the Maratha princes, there was still apprehension of invasion of India by some foreign power or powers. For the first time in the history of British India, the Northwestern Frontier assumed an importance which it has ever since maintained in its administration.

Lord Minto's administration of India is noted for its foreign policy and hence more than a passing allusion should be made to it. But none of the measures of his foreign policy originated with him. He merely carried out and gave effect to what had already been initiated by the Marquess Wellesley.

The king of Afghanistan had, during the administration of Lord Minto, a grand opportunity of invading India. But the Marquess Wellesley had taken steps which had the effect of paralyzing all the energies and attempts on the part of that Afghan sovereign to invade India with any certainty of success. It was no longer now Zeman Shah who ruled the turbulent Afghans; it is certain that had that prince been ruling in Afghanistan during the administration of India by Lord Minto, he would have made some attempts to take advantage of the critical position of the British in India and invaded it.

The measures which the Marquess Wellesley had initiated in preventing the Afghan sovereign from ever invading India were also given full effect to by Lord Minto. It was the Marquess Wellesley who, to disable Zeman Shah from invading India, sent an embassy to Persia and opened intrigues with the inhabitants of Sindh and the Punjab provinces which were at that time nominally at least, subject to the king of Cabul. Not very long after his arrival in India, the Marquess Wellesley directed his attention to checking the movements towards India of the Afghan sovereign. With this object in view he wrote to the Hon. Jonathan Duncan at that time Governor of Bombay, a letter dated Fort William, 8th October 1798. In this letter, he wrote —

"I concur with you in thinking that the services of the native agent whom you have appointed to reside at Bushire may be usefully employed for the purpose mentioned in that letter, and as the probability of the invasion of Hindustan by Zeman Shah seems to increase I am of opinion that Mehdi Akhbar cannot too soon commence his operations at the court of Baba Khan. It would certainly be a very

*desirable object to excite such an alarm in that quarter as may either induce the Shah to relinquish his projected expedition or may recall him should he have actually embarked on it.*"

The words put in italics show how anxious the Governor General was to prevent Zaman Shah from invading India. He was not content with what the Governor of Bombay had done by sending an agent to Bushire. He sent an embassy to Persia under a British officer. It is an English saying that ambassadors are sent abroad to lie for their countries. So lying was the principal mission of the British ambassador despatched to the court of Persia. The name of this ambassador was Captain (afterwards the well known Sir John) Malcolm. He was sent to Persia towards the end of the year 1799. In his letter of instructions dated Fort William, 10th October, 1799, Colonel Kirkpatrick, military secretary to the Marquess Wellesley, wrote to Malcolm —

"At Bombay you will be furnished by the Governor in Council with copies of all the correspondence which has passed between him and Mehdi Akhbar a native agent employed for some time past by Mr Duncan under the instructions of the Governor-General, in opening and conducting a negotiation at the court of Persia with a view to preventing Zeman Shah from executing his frequently renewed projects against Hindustan."

"You will apprise the court of Persia of your deputation as soon as possible after your arrival, either at Bussorah or at Bagdad, intimating in general terms that the object of it is to revive the good understanding and friendship which anciently subsisted between the Persian and the British Governments. It is not desirable that you should be more particular with any person who may be sent to meet you or to ascertain the design of your mission, but if much pressed on the subject you may signify, that among other things you have been instructed to endeavour to extend and improve the commercial intercourse between Persia and the British positions in India."

Of course, this was a pure and simple lie, for such was not the real object of the mission. The real object is disclosed in the letter, for continued Colonel Kirkpatrick —

"The primary purpose of your mission is to prevent Zeman Shah from invading Hindustan, or should he actually invade it to oblige him by alarming him for the safety of his own dominions, to relinquish the expedition. The next object of his lordship is to engage the court of Persia to act vigorously and heartily against the French in the event of their attempting at any time to penetrate to India by any route in which it may be practicable for the king of Persia to oppose their progress."

Such was the mission of Malcolm to Persia. He was authorized to conclude a treaty with the king of Persia.

To engage to prevent Zemaun Shah by such means as shall be concerted between his Majesty and Captain Malcolm from invading any part of Hindustan, and in the event of his crossing the Attock, or of the actual invasion of Hindustan by that prince, the King of Persia to pledge himself to the adoption of such measures as shall be necessary for the purpose of compelling Zemaun Shah to return immediately to the defence of his own dominions.

To play the part of Judas to betray a prince of his creed and faith, the king of Persia was tempted with a huge bribe.

The Company (so ran the article of the treaty) to engage to pay to the King of Persia for this service either an annual fixed subsidy of three lacs of rupees during the period that this treaty shall continue in force or a proportion not exceeding one third of such extraordinary expense as his Majesty shall at any time actually and *bona fide* incur for the specific purposes stated in the foregoing article.

It was necessary to create distractions in the dominions of the Afghan sovereign. With this object in view Malcolm was written to —

In considering the different means by which Zemaun Khan may be kept in check during the period required you will naturally pay due attention to those which may be derived from the exiled brothers of that prince now resident in Persia under the protection of Baba Khan. If occasion should offer you will cultivate a good understanding with those princes but you are not to contract any positive engagements with them without the specific authority of the Governor-General.

Another instruction to Malcolm ran as follows —

You will endeavour during your residence at the court of Baba Khan to obtain an accurate account of the strength and resources of Zemaun Shah and of his political relations with his different neighbours and to establish some means of obtaining hereafter the most correct and speedy information on the subject of his future intentions and movements.

Thus it is clear that the secret object of Malcolm's mission to Persia was to intrigue and conspire against Zemaun Shah. It must be added that all these intrigues and conspiracies were successful for these brought about within a short time the downfall of Zemaun Shah. In 1801 that is within less than two years after

happening so soon after the embassy of Malcolm to Persia bear a significance which no one possessing the least insight into the Occident's statecraft will fail to take proper notice of. It is not straining one's imagination too much to say that the British very dexterously manipulated the affairs of Afghanistan through Persia in a manner which turned out very beneficial to them.

Besides instigating the king of Persia to create distractions in Afghanistan, Malcolm's mission also had in view the engaging of the court of Persia to act in concert with the English against the French. In the letter of instructions to Malcolm from which extracts have been already given above Colonel Kirkpatrick wrote —

With respect to the second object of your mission or the engaging of the court of Persia to act eventually against the French his Lordship deems it unnecessary to furnish you with any detailed instructions. The papers with which you will be furnished and your own knowledge and reflection will suggest to you all the arguments proper to be used for the purpose of convincing the court of Persia of the deep interest it has in opposing the projects of that nation and of inducing it to take an active and decisive part against them.

At the time of Marquess Wellesley, there was no likelihood of the French intriguing with Persia and of invading India. But with that Frankophobia which was so characteristic of the Irish Governor-General he negotiated with the king of Persia to oppose the projects of the French which only existed in his imagination. But in the time of Lord Minto, that the possibility was not so much of French as of the Russian designs on India, was fully believed in by the politicians and statesmen of England. From this period commences that era of Russophobia which has proved a curse to the British rule in India. This has stood in the way of Indian prosperity and good government of the country.

At the time when Lord Minto was the Governor-General of India the British were afraid of the invasion of India by the combined forces of Russia and France through Persia. Previous to Lord Minto's arrival in India Russia was the friend and ally of England. But, writes Sir John Kaye

pretextates. It was believed that the attack would be made by land rather than by sea and that Persia would become a basis of operations against the North-Western Provinces of India. The danger was not an imaginary one. It was the harvest time of great events and the invasion of India by a mighty European force did not seem to rise above the ordinary level of the current history of the day.

But this invasion of India by the combined forces of France and Russia never became an accomplished fact. When however it suited the political expediency of Napoleon, he did not scruple to forge the so called will of Peter the Great and spread Russophobia among the inhabitants of Great Britain.

The invasion of India by France and Russia was seriously believed by the ministers of England and so they contemplated despatching an embassy to Persia.\* Lord Minto on his

\* Countess Minto, in her work on *Lord Minto in India* writes —

"At the beginning of 1806 Persia, being engaged in hostilities with Russia, sent an ambassador to Paris to desire the assistance of France. A cordial receipt on was given him and it was announced that a splendid mission having authority to make a treaty of alliance between France and Persia would be despatched from Paris to Feheran.

"In order to counteract the effect of these proceedings a similar course was adopted by England. An envoy was appointed to Persia, and, with the object of lending greater dignity and importance to his credentials, it was suggested by the Court of Directors that while remaining the Crown paid agent he should be invested with the character of representative of the Crown. The proposal was acceded to by the ministry of Lord Grenville. There could be little question that Persia was only important to France as a weapon of offence against Great Britain.

Sir Harford Jones was appointed to the Persian Mission, to represent the Crown while receiving instructions from the Company.

Sir Harford Jones was directed to proceed in the first instance to St Petersburg to offer to the Czar the mediation of Great Britain between Russia and Persia.

"The peace and alliance between France and Russia had rendered the failure of this preliminary mission a certainty.

"In the meanwhile the aspect of affairs was becoming daily graver, as the co-operation of France and Russia in the East grew more probable." (Pp 99-101.)

In her work on *Lord Minto in India* Countess Minto writes —

"In January 1808 rumours reached India of the march of a French army under General Menon towards Persia on the way to India while it became known that a great military embassy attended by four and twenty French officers and three hundred French soldiers had actually arrived there, giving it out that they were the advanced guard of an army. The first project is believed to be to take possession of a port on the coast of the Persian Gulf, by which they may communicate with the Mauritius, and receive supplies by sea, and from whence they may attempt an invasion of the Western coast of India, and unsettle the minds of

arrival in India was thinking to send an ambassador to Persia. It is foreign to our purpose to refer to the friction that arose between the authorities in England and India regarding the choice of the proper person as ambassador to Persia. Lord Minto thought it proper to send an Indian officer as representing the East India Company at the head of the Embassy to Persia. The officer so selected was Sir John

the native princes by promises, menaces, and intrigue.

No one knew better than Lord Minto himself that these rumours were quite baseless. In a secret letter, dated Feb 2 1808 he wrote —

As long as France, might be engaged in continental wars in Europe, the project of directing her arms towards this quarter must be considered impracticable but if her armies have been liberated by a pacification with Russia and by the continued submission of the Powers of Europe, the advance of a considerable force of French troops into Persia under the acquiescence of the Turkish, Russian and Persian powers, cannot be deemed an undertaking beyond the scope of that energy and perseverance which distinguish the present ruler of France.

† But Lord Minto seemed to believe in the possibility of French invasion of India through Persia. In continuing the letter from which an extract has been given above, he wrote —

"If one body of troops should succeed in penetrating as far as the Persian dominions, others may be expected to follow, and it may then be no longer at the option of the Government of Persia to prevent the complete establishment of the French power and ascendancy in Persia.

"The ascendancy of France being once established in the territories of Persia in the manner described it may justly be expected that, from that centre of local power they may be enabled gradually to extend their influence by conciliation or by conquest towards the region of Hindustan and ultimately open a passage for their troops into the dominion of the Company.

Arduous as such an undertaking must necessarily be, we are not warranted in deeming it in the present situation of affairs to be altogether chimerical and impracticable under the guidance of a man whose energy and success appear almost commensurate with his ambition. We deem it our duty to act under a supposition of its practicability and to adopt whatever measures are in our judgment calculated to counteract it even at the hazard of injury to some local and immediate interests.

Again in a private letter he wrote —

"What would have seemed impossible has become scarcely improbable, since we have seen one state after another in Europe, among them those we deemed most stable and secure fall like a house of cards before the genius of one man."

Lord Minto was a victim of Frankophobia and Russophobia. He was desirous of fighting France and Russia in Persia. So in a letter to Sir George Barlow, he wrote —

"I am strongly of opinion that if this great conflict is to be maintained, we ought to meet it as early and

Malcolm who had once before been sent to Persia by the Marquess Wellesley. Malcolm was

as far beyond our own frontiers as possible. We ought to contest Persia itself with the enemy and to dispute every step of their progress. The force which we can oppose to them in that stage of the contest is indeed much smaller than they would find assembled against them in our own territories; but in Persia we should have much less to contend with also, and we should meet an enemy much less prepared than he will be if we wait at home till he is ready to face us.

"This system however depends on the disposition of Persia herself to neutralise—that is to let the French and us fight it out fairly between us. For if Persia is determined to support the French with all her power I acknowledge that we cannot possibly defeat such a force from our Indian Army as that state of things would require. At least we should do so with the risk of losing means to divide Persia and to have all Europe divided as well as the French."

The last sentence in the above extract has been put in italics to show the Machiavellian policy which the noble Lord was anxious to adopt in dealing with Persia. He stood in need of a man who would play on the diplomatic stage of Persia to his satisfaction. In Malcolm he found such a man. To Right Hon. R. Dundas, President of the Board of Control Lord Minto wrote—

a past master in the art of lying, duplicity and intrigues. He returned from Persia towards the end of the year 1810. In his journal he entered the manner in which with deceit, falsehood and intrigue, his mission to Persia was crowned with success. He wrote in his journal—

What a happy man I am! It is impossible to look back without congratulating myself on my good fortune at every stage of my late vexatious and unpromising mission. I have now turned my back and I hope forever on deceit, falsehood and intrigue, and I am bending my willing steps and still more my heart toward rectitude, truth and sincerity.

This mission to Persia of Malcolm was ostensibly undertaken to make the King of Persia an ally of England against the French and Russians.

#### HISTORICAL

By Colonel Malcolm, if by any man living we may hope to detach her from hostile alliance with our enemy, and if that benefit is no longer attainable we shall receive from Colonel Malcolm authentic information and judicious advice. If Sir H. Jones should have arrived in Persia, Colonel Malcolm will, of course, withhold his own credentials and diplomatic powers in Persia.

#### AN AMERICAN WOODSMAN

I WAS walking one brilliant morning in April through one of the richly wooded gorges near Colorado Springs. I had for many weeks been travelling through the great cities of the States and was weary. I longed for a few hours of peace and I wanted to be alone. I watched the birds as they played with the splashing water of the stream which flowed beside the path and listened to their songs as they sped from tree to tree in an abandonment of joy at the mere bliss of living. I saw a squirrel leaping from branch to branch of a spreading maple and a fish swimming slowly against the swift current of the stream. The forest was filled with the green glamour of sunlight and where I sat was bright with the silvery crystal air of an early Spring morning. I was feeling soothed by the silence and was glad that I had risen early enough to have a chance of solitude when suddenly I heard footsteps approaching. I looked up and saw a man coming quietly up the path. At first I was annoyed but when

he came nearer and I was able to see his face I felt that he quite naturally belonged to that woodland scene. I greeted him and joined him as he walked further up the glen. He carried an axe in his hand. His eyes were clear and bright though his hair was turning grey and he had a look of peace and contentment which is rarely seen in the faces of those who live in great cities. In conversation with him I found that he had been for more than thirty years a forester and most of the year he spent out of doors. In the fall and winter he lived in Arizona where he studied the insect pests and fungus moulds of the great desert. In the summer months he was constantly in the forests examining the trees and making a study of the ways in which their growth could be improved or their diseases prevented. He seemed part of the forest life and knew the ways of all the woodland creatures. He pointed out how certain birds were building their nests under water falls. We stood and watched them flying backwards and forwards

Each sharer is entitled to a *vari* or portion of a *vari*, i.e., the right to work the well for a day and night (8 *prahars* or watches) in the cold weather, and for a day or a night (4 *prahars*) in the hot weather and the succession of the *varis* is determined by lot. The movable gear (rope and bucket) is the property of the sharer and repairs to the well have to be executed at the joint cost. There are minute regulations to protect mutual rights. Again the large village ponds are common property. All the villagers have the right to take water from the village pond for household purposes to water their cattle and to take clay to repair their houses and to make bricks and earthen vessels and all are bound to join in deepening it from time to time, as we have already described.

The village hedges or ditches which are a great protection against cattle theft are also common property. They are kept in good condition by all the adult males of the villages doing the necessary repairs as need arises.

The rights in the common pasture grounds or in the common lands when they are still left undisturbed by the revenue system and administration are strictly guarded against individual encroachments.

#### COMMUNALISM APPLIED TO MODERN CONDITIONS

The same principle of co-partnership in the complex tools of production the most remarkable characteristic of our economic life might be extended to the specialised machinery, work shops and powerhouses of modern scientific industry when the latter shall be introduced into our village communities. Machinery and complex instruments of production the use of which is beyond the access of individuals will be owned and operated in our villages on social principles, rather than the principles of private property. Shares will be distributed in the same way as those of a co-operative irrigation establishment: the wear and tear will be recouped by the whole body of co-proprietors or labourers interested and the products appropriated according to the labour and service of each. The standard of life of the workers and of quality in work will be protected by the guild organisation expanded and adapted to meet the more complex economic needs and requirements of to-day and administered in the interests of society as a whole and not merely in the interests of producers.

Where labour cannot be standardised and a special degree of technical skill is required as in modern scientific industry the labourer will be remunerated with special wages corresponding to his technical ability over and above his share as a co-owner of the communal workshop. These special wages will be determined according to an ethical standard which will take account of the cost of living of the labourer's family and of maintaining that special kind of labour to the degree of the required efficiency. Thus the principle of the determination of wages here will

be fundamentally the same which regulates the wages of the village carpenter, blacksmith and other skilled artisans and workmen.

#### INDIAN LAND SYSTEM DISTURBED BY BRITISH MISUNDERSTANDING

The chief targets of the socialistic attack on the present distributive system are rent and high business profits. These are 'unearned' in comes in the possession of wealthy individuals which cause a large portion of the national wealth to be consumed with little benefit to society. The Indian communal organisation is such that it absorbs rent and profits into communal income or wages. In the Indian system though private property exists property is not allowed to exchange freely with other forms of wealth. Land is not wholly a marketable commodity. Thus rent as a separate economic asset transferable for distribution cannot raise the differential profits on lands above the margin of cultivation are absorbed into wages. Every villager is a landlord or *zamindar*, as he is called and though there are tenants both are equally alike in the eyes of customary law so far as their right of cultivating possession is concerned. Each of them can cultivate the land so long as he pays a share of the revenue allotted to him by the head man; neither of them has the right of transfer.

But British jurisprudence assumed that the absolute right to each plot of land must rest in some individual or body of individuals subject possibly to subordinate rights of other persons which were considered as limiting the absolute rights of the proprietors of the land. The introduction of these ideas led to endless confusion. Individuals were selected from the general body of cultivators and declared to be proprietors, which they were not. The whole body of villagers who were co-proprietors were classed as tenants or ordinary cultivators and at the same time restrictions on the sale or transfer of land were withdrawn. The evils of rack renting were soon manifest. Here is one of the phases of the substitution of economic systems accompanied by great economic unsettlement in all directions.

In many cases the village system withstood the attack. The men who were declared proprietors voluntarily remitted the proprietor's due to the whole body of cultivators; such tenants paid no more than the proprietors on their actual cultivation. Thus the communal organisation survived. The proprietors take from the tenants the customary share in kind, after paying the state's demand, and the various cesses in cash divide the surplus or make up the deficiency according to their respective shares in the whole village.

#### EASTERN VOLUNTARY CO-OPERATION CONTRASTED WITH WESTERN STATE COMPELSION

The communal system of agriculture seeks to convert rent into wages of communal income,

The communal control of industry seeks to convert the extra profits of production in competitive industry into the consumer's surplus. The structure of industry is such that a conflict of classes or expropriation of unearned increments by privileged individuals is discouraged. The system of voluntary co-operation is much better than state socialism or land nationalisation along one line, which implies coercion, bureaucratic control and discouragement of private initiative.

State socialism would maintain industrial peace by coercion. Communalism seeks the same object by co-operative assent. Behind the contrasted types of economic organisation, Western and Eastern, there are two modes of action. In the Western economic organisation, decisions by the states on industrial questions are dogmatic and enforced by class feelings. In the East decisions by the communal groups would be empirically obtained, and secured with the consent of all parties concerned. Thus it is that there are so many theories and "isms" about industrial reconstruction in the West which can be covered by one term, "dogmatism." The soul of dogmatism is class sentiment. In the East decisions would be arrived at, not by a conflict of antagonistic groups or crushing of the minority by the majority, but by the collective consent of the whole community. And it is not class feeling or coercive authority of a particular group that would dominate, but knowledge and experience of social well-being.

In the East the industrial and social groups are based more on natural, primary and vital instincts and feelings, than on artificial relationships effected by contract. It is for this reason, as well as from the absence of external pressure from the state or from social groups not bound by naturalities that the disruptive and anti-social forces of industrialism would be duly subordinated to the well-being of the community. Thus voluntary co-operation as a method of social organisation would be a solvent not only of economic but also of political difficulties associated with modern social unrest and unsettlement.

Knowledge based on experience of social evils has led to the important truth being realised that social effort will be minimised when evils are attacked in their sources. The industrial conditions which give rise to evils should be altered, rather than efforts spent to cure those evils. The latter will take more time and energy. The East would work at the sources. The West patches up and tinkers the results which are caused by bad conditions and which cannot be avoided unless the conditions are themselves rectified.

The West has established private property in the instruments of production, but finding that in some cases this has led to grave evils, has proceeded to regulate combinations, particular-

ly railways and other corporations. By such control the West will prevent a large degree of concentration. In the case of certain things, where private ownership confers a monopoly, ownership was given, and when the evils have become incorrigible, public ownership is now being gradually declared. The private postal system on the Continent of Europe and the private railways in America have continued till recent times only. A movement in favour of public ownership of public utilities is now clearly discernible. The system of production is such that concentration and an enormous disparity of wealth are inevitable, but the West patches up these results. The regulation of trusts and the restriction of large fortunes by taxation, by direct prohibition or by limitation of bequest, are attempts to remedy such evils.

The West believes in the beneficence of free competition, but, when, competition has shown its evils, she has proceeded to correct the evils here and there. The whole range of factory legislation, the whole scheme of the poor law, the regulation of the liquor traffic, schemes for a scientific tariff, schemes for the compulsory levying of taxes for communal purposes, are all of them attempts to regulate the free play of competition. The East never supports free competition as such. She is devoted to an ethical standard by which she would direct competition and raise its level from the mere biological to a bio-sociological plane. She aspires after an elevated type of competition which would prevent the rise and cumulative growth of such evils as are experienced in the West in the course of a life struggle in society still carried on in the mere physical plane.

The West tries to put a stop to the outward symptoms of a disease. The East would work on the roots of the disease, and at her best prevent diseases altogether. A healthy and efficient body economic does not need any medicines like social legislation or a surgical operation that socialism aspires to execute.

The West has her saving institutions, old age pensions and insurances, her building societies, etc., which mitigate the discomfort suffered by the economically weak. In the East the scheme of communal industry, and economic life aims at preventing these evils.

The West is now gradually coming to learn that environmental improvement alone cannot cure certain evils. Universal education will not end crime, neither will the realisation of the highest hopes of the temperance and labour reformers, nor the general adoption of the Christian religion. Heredity creates certain evils, which can never be cured excepting by the improvement of stock. In the meanwhile the defective and criminal classes should be segregated in order that they may be eliminated and a better stock replace them. That has been the teaching of modern eugenics.



cept the rights and obligations of associated individuals. The individual must work for the good of the class, the community, and the diverse functional groups to which he belongs, and the social organization is such that social service and selfish service would be coordinated without detriment to either. The coordination of individualism and collectivism means the coordination of the vital principles of competition and social service. In each individual, true society gains as he himself also gains as he does his family and his functional group. Communal interests find a new self-interest of

the individual who puts his family before himself and his community before the family, because his share of what is done for him by the community is of far more value to him than what he does for himself. Communism stands for a new co-partnership, in which the surplus of production is returned to each individual to develop his individuality and at the same time communised for religious, social and educational ends to promote well-being both for the individual and for society—a co-partnership in all the complex values of life under the impulse not of an external authority but of an internally imposed social or moral code.

### PRIORS DEAN

IN an unfrequented corner of Hampshire is the little parish of Priors Dean. It consists of a small church, a minor house which is now a farm, and a barn. I first heard of it when reading W. H. Hudson's "Hampshire Days" and his description of its quality of remote and restful peace made me wish to find it for myself. For it needs to be discovered. There used to be a saying that to find Priors Dean Church you would have first to cut down the nettles which surround it.

I started out from Selborne where I had been visiting the scenes of White's close intimacy with Nature and bicycled towards Petersfield knowing that Priors Dean lay on one of the byways somewhere between these two places. But it certainly was difficult to find. The farmers of whom I enquired the way looked dazed as they tried to recover from some dusty corner of their brain the directions for reaching Priors Dean. But at last I got on to the right road by following the advice of an old road mender who told me as he talked that he was nearly ninety years old.

I came upon Priors Dean suddenly. I had been riding slowly along in the heat of the early afternoon through a valley green with sunlit fields when I turned a bend in the road and saw before me an old barn roofed with a thatch so aged that it was patched all over with moss. Beyond it was a gabled farm house with a bush of white lilac in full blossom in front of it. A row of beehives

bordered the small lawn which separated the house from the road. On the other side of the road was a well house also thatched and beyond that stood the church. It looked very small beside the ancient yew tree which rose almost to the height of the weather cock on its diminutive steeple. The grass of the churchyard was rank and there were some nettles near the gate. The tombstones were grey with lichen and green with moss. The humming of bees was the only sound that could be heard and that seemed merely to intensify the stillness. The whole scene was full of an ancient peace. But the most peaceful aspect of that wholly peaceful scene was the sight of a flock of sheep sheltering in the shadow of the yew from the glare of the sun. They were grazing on the grass border of the road which passed the church and beside them lay a boy asleep with his hat pulled over his eyes. He did not stir as I sat down and it was a long time before he awoke with astonishment on his face at seeing a stranger sitting there. He was a gipsy lad employed by the farmer to watch the sheep as they grazed. I envied him on that sultry day as he lay lazily dozing the time away while the sheep moved from place to place grazing on the rich pasturage of wayside grass. Later I passed the dirty caravan in which he lived and my envy abated.

The sheep moved on and I went to the Minor House I am and asked for the key of the old church. The open door of the farm house showed a cool stone flagged passage.

and I saw comb of honey and bowl of cream on a shelf in the dairy. The church itself was small but there was an interesting monument to some ancestors of the Tichborne family who had formerly occupied the Manor. It was a carved group in marble of the mother of a family of young children who stood around her in the quaintly stiff garb of long ago. Over the marble tablet of another tomb was the helmet of a knight dusty with age and rusty with the dampness of the unused church for only once a year is a service held there.

Leaving the church of Priors Dean I climbed up from the deep valley in which it lay through a steep and narrow lane. This led on to an open road and across the tops of the hills which lie north of Petersfield. A magnificent view spread out before me showing Butser Hill on the right and the Portsmouth road winding into the bare hills and on the left in the far distance the bold height of Hindhead and the wooded hills of Surrey. The smell of the dust laden air at the close of this hot day soon changed to the fresh fragrance

of rain-soaked earth for a heavy shower fell washing the dust off the wayside verdure and filling the air with crystal coolness.

As I left the top of the hills I turned down towards Petersfield passing through the magnificent beech woods on the hangers behind the village of Steep. The highway for nearly two miles is one of the most lovely in the south of England. At each fresh bend in the road the beauty of the green sunlit woods became more intense until as evening came the rays of the retreating sun lighted up a great red copper beech which stood at the foot of the Hill where the woods abruptly ended. This glowing miracle of foliage flamed as if ready for an evening sacrifice but quickly its fires faded and the faint crescent of moon grew gradually brighter. The tender serenity of the evening sky darkened to night. Quietly the stars appeared and the sleeping trees stood in silent contemplation at the edge of the fields.

W W PEARSON

## LETTERS FROM ABROAD

By RABENDRANATH TAGORE

a corner of the music saloon where space itself has not become impenetrable. Long before the sunrise, when it is dark, I sit on the deck and wish that I could have the great solitude of the sea and the sky safely packed in my trunk with a label on it, "Required on the deck." It is difficult for others to realise how greatly I need space and light to live my life, even as does my namesake in the sky.

I do not know where you are, what are your plans and how you are feeling. But I can guess that you are at Delhi just at this time, not only because 'Bara Sahib' is there, but also because the journey there is likely to be insufferable in this heat.

My mind is constantly soaring back to my own place in Santiniketan. I feel almost certain that my stay in Europe this time will be surprisingly short. But one's own wish is not the sole factor in these things, and I am told that the return passage is not easily obtainable. That means our voyage back to India will be as crowded as this. This sets me dreaming of impossibilities of Alladin's lamp, of wishing carpets or boots that take you a thousand miles in a second.

The sea is perfectly calm and I—am radiantly happy. I hope my MSS will reach me in England within a week of my landing. As those were already typed, it was a mistake to give them to the typist. Mistakes are considered to be good lessons, but most of them are learnt too late.

Red Sea.

May 24, 1920

We shall reach Suez this evening. It is already beginning to grow cold, and now I feel that we have reached a truly foreign part of the world and it is under the rule of different gods than ours. Our hearts are strangers in this region and even the atmosphere of this place looks askance at us. The people here want us to fight their battles and supply them with our raw materials, but they keep us standing outside their doors over which is written on the notice-board, "Trespassers from Asia will be prosecuted." When I

think of this all my thoughts shiver with cold and I feel home sick for the sunny corner in my Santiniketan Banglow.

Today is Monday, and on the next Sunday morning our steamer will reach Marseilles. But I am already counting the days for my return journey, and I know the sight of the bare rocks of Aden will give a thrill of delight to my heart while pointing with lifted fingers the way to India.

London.

June 17, 1920.

Time is scarce and sugar and butter and a quiet place where I can gather thoughts and recognise myself. Do not expect from me letters, or anything else. The fury of social engagements is on me. It is a thing on which you cannot compose an ode like that on the West Wind. I am willing to try, if it only would allow me some time to do it. The poet Hafiz was willing to exchange the wealth of Samarkand and Bokhara for a mole on the cheek of his beloved maiden.—I am willing to give London away for my corner in Uttarayan. But London is not mine to dispose of.—Neither was the wealth of Samarkand and Bokhara the Persian Poet's. So our extravagance does not cost us anything, nor does it bring us any help.

I am going to Oxford to-morrow. Then I shall be knocking about in different places. Just at this moment, I am going to a tea party given in my honour, from which I cannot absent myself on any pretext, unless I can manage to be run over by a motor car in the London street. It is a matter of eternal wonder to me why it does not happen to me four times a day. You won't believe my absence of time, if I run on to the end of this note paper. So I hastily bid you farewell.

London.

July 8, 1920.

Every day I have been wishing to write you a letter,—but the flesh is weak. My days have become solid like cannon balls, heavy with engagements. It is not true

that I have no leisure at all but unfortunately I cannot utilise interrupted leisure for any work whatever,—therefore those intervals are lost doing nothing I am sure you know it better than anybody else that doing nothing is a burden hard to bear. But if you look at my exterior you will find no trace of damage there — for my health is absurdly good. I hope Pearson is regularly furnishing you with all my news. He has been of very good help to me as you can well imagine and I find that the arduous responsibility of looking after a poet suits him wonderfully well. He is looking a picture of health and on the whole his dreams are felicitous. For instance last night he dreamt that he had been buying straw bernes as large as gourds. It proves the magnificent vitality of his dreams.

I know our vacation is over and the Ashram is resounding with laughter and songs and the advent of the rains is also contributing its portion to the rejoicing. How I wish I had wings! Give my love to the children and my blessings.

London  
July 13 1920

It gave me great joy and a feeling of relief when your sister came to see me yesterday and gave me reassuring news of your other sister. She repeatedly asked me to tell you that there was not the least cause for anxiety on account of them and that they were comfortably settled in their new home in Coventry. I gave her all your news but unfortunately could not assure her that you were careful of your health.

Invitations are pouring in from the Continental countries and I feel sure that a hearty welcome is awaiting me in these places. When I am weary and feel a longing to go back to my garden of the prickly shrubs it gives me strength to think that the migratory flock of my thoughts have found their nests in these shores and with genuine love and wonder these enormously busy people have listened to a voice from the distant East. This

is a constant source of surprise to me. However there is no question that you truly and fully live there where your thoughts and works find their medium of responsive life. When I am in the West I feel more strongly than ever, I am received in a living world of mind. I meet here my sky and light and leisure but I am in touch of those who feel and express their need of me and to whom I can offer myself. It is not unlikely that sometime hence my thoughts will no longer be necessary to them and my personality will lose its flavour but does it matter? The tree sheds its leaves but the fact is that so long as these were living they brought sunshine into the heart of the tree and their voice was the voice of the forest and my communication with the Western humanity has been a communication of life and even when it ceases the fact remains that it brought some rays of light there which have been transformed into the living stuff of their mind. Our span of life is short and opportunities are rare so let us sow our seeds of thought where the soul claims them where the harvest will ripen.

London  
July 22, 1920

The result of the Dyer debates in both Houses of Parliament makes painfully evident the attitude of mind of the ruling class of this country towards India. It shows that no outrage however monstrous committed against us by agents of their Government can arouse feeling of indignation in the hearts of those people from whom our governors are chosen. The shameful violation of 'brutality' expressed in their speeches and echoed in their organs is ugly in its frightfulness. The feeling of humiliation about our position under the Anglo Indian domination had been growing stronger every day for the last 50 years or more but the one consolation we had was our faith in the love of justice in your people whose soul had not been poisoned by that fatal dose of power which could only be available in a dependency where the manhood of the entire population had been crushed down.

into helplessness. But the poison has gone further than we expected, and it has attacked the vital organ of your nation and I feel that our appeal to its higher nature will meet with less and less response every day. I only hope that our countrymen will not lose heart at this, but employ all their energies in the service of their country in a spirit of indomitable courage and determination. The late events have conclusively proved that our true salvation lies in our own hands, that a nation's greatness can never find its foundation in half-hearted concessions of contemptuous niggardliness. It is the sign of feeble character to seek for a short cut to fulfilment through the favour of those whose interest it is to keep it barred; the one path to it is the difficult path of suffering and self-sacrifice. All great boons only come to us through the power of immortal spirit we have within us, and that spirit only proves itself by its defiance of danger and loss.

Every day I feel a great longing to go back to my own corner, but I feel at the same time that my destiny is deaf to my entreaties. Leave is not going to be granted till my mission, about which I am myself vaguely conscious, is fulfilled. It is a great good fortune to be able to realise that I have some mission in life, though I am deeply conscious of the inadequacy of my inner resources. I find it very difficult to write letters, my mind barricades itself against the pressure of the bustling world, and refuses to surrender itself to me when its help is needed, supplanting its revenge for being dragged away from its shelter.

London  
August 1, 1920.

We live on the topmost floor of this house far away from the surging life of the town. Only the crest of the swell of London street noise reaches me, gently undulating like those clustering tree tops of the Kensington garden, that I watch from my window. The long and persistent spell of bad weather seems to have exhausted its spite and the mellowed

light of the morning sun from behind the fleecy clouds is greeting me like the smile of a child whose eyes are still heavy with sleep. It is nearly seven o'clock and every one of our party, including Pearson, is fast asleep within shut doors and behind drawn blinds. Today is our last day in London and I am not sorry to leave it. I wish it were a day for me for sailing home, but that day looks heavily indistinct in the distance and my heart aches. I have determined to raise funds in America for my school, for I have found out, after repeated efforts, that there is no hope from my own countrymen. To be troubled by eternal worries of small needs, to be haunted by ghosts of projects starved to death in their infancy, is disconcerting.

I am sure you have heard from Pearson all about the performance of my plays and my lecture about the Dānis. I am a bad historian. I cannot remember facts, even the most recent, and most important. For this reason, as a letter writer, I am a failure as in many other vocations of life. Fortunately I can talk upon nothing when I wish, and this saves me, in my correspondence, from utter disaster.

London.  
August 1, 1920.

Owing to change of plans and other reasons we are still detained in London. We hope to leave it the day after tomorrow. Now that the people believe that we are away and also your weather has ceased to persecute us, these last two days have been very restful for me. I wonder if you know at the last moment we decided not to begin our tour from Norway though our tickets were bought. I am sure you are ready to ascribe this to the inconstancy of my mind! Our delay in starting from Europe has enabled us to receive your letters which give me deep joy mixed with a longing to go back to you. I wish we had been living in an ethereal realm of spiritual life, and I could be transmitted in a moment like a wireless message into the middle of your Greek class, or into the depth of an

at the corner of Dinu's tea party. But I must not grumble for our corporeal existence has its own joy because of its obstacles and pain and the devious process of the fulfilment of its hope.

P.S. I have just written this about Dr Patrick Geddes.

What so strongly attracted me in Dr Patrick Geddes when I came to know him in India was not his scientific achievements, but, on the contrary, the rare fact of the fulfils of his personality rising far

above his science. Whatever he has studied and mastered has become vitally one with his humanity. He has the precision of the scientist and at the same time the vision of the prophet. He has also the power of an artist to make his ideas visible through the language of symbol. His love of man has given him the insight to see the truth of man and imagination to realise in the world the infinite mystery of life, not merely its mechanical aspect.

## THE CALL OF TRUTH

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

**P**ARASITES have to pay for their ready-made victuals by losing the power of assimilating food in its natural form. In the history of man this same sin of laziness has always entailed degeneracy. Man becomes parasitical not only when he fattens on others' toil but also when he becomes rooted to a particular set of outside conditions and allows himself helplessly to drift along the stream of things as they are for the outside is alien to the inner self and if the former be made indispensable by sheer habit man acquires parasitical characteristics and becomes unable to perform his true function of converting the impossible into the possible.

In this sense all the lower animals are parasites. They are carried along by their environment; they live or die by natural selection; they progress or retrogress as nature may dictate. Their mind has lost the power of growth. The bees, for millions of years have been unable to get beyond the pattern of their hive. For that reason the form of their cell has attained a certain perfection but their mentality is confined to the age-long habits of their hive life and cannot soar out of its limitations. Nature has developed a cautious timidity in the case of her lower types of life; she keeps them tied to her apron strings and has stunted their minds, lest they should stray into dangerous experiments.

But Providence displayed a sudden accession of creative courage when it came to man for his inner nature has not been tied down though outwardly the poor human creature has been left naked, weak and defenceless. In spite of these disabilities man in the joy of his inward freedom has stood up and declared: I shall achieve the impossible. That is to say he has consistently refused to submit to the rule of things as they always have been but is determined to bring about happenings that have never been before. So when in the beginning of his history, man's lot was thrown in with monstrous creatures, tusked and taloned he did not like the deer, simply take refuge in hiding but set to work with flints to make even more efficient weapons. These moreover being, the creation of his own inner faculties were not dependent on natural selection as were those of the other animals, for their development. And so man's instruments progressed from flint to steel. This shows that man's mind has never been helplessly attached to his environment. What came to his hand was brought under his thumb. Not content with the flint on the surface he delved for the iron beneath. Not satisfied with the easier process of chipping flints he proceeded to melt iron ore and hammer it into shape. That which resisted more stubbornly was converted into a better alloy.

Man's inner nature not only finds success in its activity but there it also has its joy. He insists on penetrating further and further into the depths from the obvious to the hidden from the easy to the difficult from parasitism to self-determination from the slavery of his passions to the mastery of himself. That is how he has won.

But if any section of mankind should say 'The flint was the weapon of our revered forefathers by departing from it we destroy the spirit of the race then they may succeed in preserving what they call their race but they strike at the root of the glorious tradition of humanity which was theirs also. And we find that those who have steadfastly stuck to their flints may indeed have kept safe their pristine purity to their own satisfaction but they have been outcasted by the rest of mankind and so have to pass their lives slinking away in jungle and cave. They are as I say reduced to a parasitic dependence on outside nature driven along blindfold by the force of things as they are. They have not achieved Swaraj in their inner nature, and so are deprived of Swaraj in the outside world as well. They have ceased to be even aware that it is man's true function to make the impossible into the possible by dint of his own powers that it is not for him to be confined merely to what has happened before that he must progress towards what ought to be by rousing all his inner powers by means of the force of his soul.'

Thirty years ago I used to edit the *Sādhana* magazine and there I tried to say this same thing. Then English educated India was frightfully busy begging for its rights. And I repeatedly endeavoured to impress on my countrymen that man is not under any necessity to beg for rights from others but must create them for himself because man lives mainly by his inner nature and therefore is the master. By dependence on acquisition from the outside man's inner nature suffers loss. And it was my contention that man is not so hard oppressed by being deprived of his outward rights as he is by the constant bearing of the burden of prayers and petitions.

Then when the *Bangadarshan* magazine came into my hands, Benegal was beside himself at the sound of the sharpening of the knife for the partition. The boycott of Manchester which was the outcome of her distress had raised the profits of the Bombay mill owners to a superlative degree. And I had then to say 'It

will not do, either, for it is also of the outside. Your main motive is hatred of the foreigner, not love of country.' It was then really necessary for our countrymen to be made conscious of the distinction that the Englishman's presence is an external accident—mere *mayi*—but that the presence of our country is an internal fact which is also an eternal truth. *Maya* looms with an exaggerated importance only when we fix our attention exclusively upon it by reason of some infatuation—be it of love or of hate. Whether in our passion we rush to embrace it or attack it whether we yearn for it or spurn it it equally fills the whole field of our blood-shot vision.

*Maya* is like the darkness. No steed however swift can carry us beyond it, no amount of water can wash it away. Truth is like a lamp even as it is lit *mayā* vanishes. Our shastras tell us that Truth even when it is small can rescue us from the terror which is great. Fear is the atheism of the heart. It cannot be overcome from the side of negation. If one of its heads be struck off it breeds like the monster of the fable a hundred others. Truth is positive it is the affirmation of the soul. If even a little of it be roused it attacks negation at the very heart and overpowers it wholly.

Alien government in India is a veritable chameleon. Today it comes in the guise of the Englishman to-morrow perhaps as some other foreigner the next day without abating a jot of its virulence it may take the shape of our own countrymen. However determinedly we may try to hunt this monster of foreign dependence with outside lethal weapons it will always elude our pursuit by changing its skin or its colour. But if we can gain within us the truth called our country all outward *mayi* will vanish of itself. The declaration of faith that my country is there to be realised has to be attained by each one of us. The idea that our country is ours merely because we have been born in it can only be held by those who are fastened in a parasitic existence upon the outside world. But the true nature of man is his inner nature with its inherent powers. Therefore that only can be a man's true country, which he can help to create by his wisdom and will, his love and his actions. So in 1905 I called upon my countrymen to create their country by putting forth

own powers from within. For the act of creation itself is the realisation of truth.

The Creator gains Himself in His universe. To gain one's own country means to realise one's own soul more fully expanded within it. This can only be done when we are engaged in building it up with our service, our ideas and our activities. Man's country being the creation of his own inner nature when his soul thus expands within it it is more truly expressed more fully realised. In my paper called *Swadeshi Samaj* written in 1905 I discussed at length the ways and means by which we could make the country of our birth more fully our own. Whatever may have been the shortcomings of my words then uttered I did not fail to lay emphasis on the truth that we must win our country not from some foreigner but from our own inertia, our own indifference. Whatever be the nature of the boons we may be seeking for our country at the door of the foreign Government the result is always the same — it only makes our inertia more densely inert. Any public benefit done by the alien Government goes to their credit not to ours. So whatever outside advantage such public benefit might mean for us, our country will only get more and more completely lost to us thereby. That is to say, we shall have to pay out in soul value for what we purchase as material advantage. The *Rishi* has said:

The son is dear not because we desire a son, but because we desire to realise our own soul in him. It is the same with our country. It is dear to us because it is the expression of our own soul. When we realise this it will become impossible for us to allow our service of our country to wait on the pleasure of others.

These truths which I then tried to press on my countrymen were not particularly new, nor was there anything therein which need have grated on their ears, but whether any one else remembers it or not I at least am not likely to forget the storm of indignation which followed. I am not merely referring to the boogymen of journalism whom it pays to be scurrilous. But even men of credit and courtesy were unable to speak of me in restrained language.

There were two root causes of this. One was anger, the second was greed.

Giving free vent to angry feelings is a species of self-indulgence. In those days there was practically nothing to stand in the

way of the spirit of destructive revel which spread all over the country. We went about picketing, burning, placing thorns in the path of those whose way was not ours, acknowledging no restraints in language or behaviour — all in the frenzy of our wrath. Shortly after it was all over a Japanese friend asked me: How is it you people cannot carry on your work with calm and deep determination? This wasting of energy can hardly be of assistance to your object. I had no help but to reply: When we have the gaining of the object clearly before our minds, we can be restrained and concentrate our energies to serve it, but when it is a case of venting our anger, our excitement rises and rises till it drowns the object and then we are spendthrift to the point of bankruptcy. However that may be there were my countrymen encountering for the time being no check to the overflow of their outraged feelings. It was like a strange dream. Everything seemed possible. Then all of a sudden it was my misfortune to appear on the scene with my doubts and my attempts to divert the current into the path of self-determination. My only success was in diverting their wrath on to my own devoted head.

Then there was our greed. In history all people have won valuable things by pursuing difficult paths. We had hit upon the device of getting them cheap, not even through the painful indignity of supplication with folded hands, but by proudly conducting our beggary in threatening tones. The country was in ecstasy at the ingenuity of the trick. It felt like being at a reduced price sale. Every thing worth having in the political market was ticketed at half price. Shabby genteel mentality is so taken up with low prices that it has no attention to spare for quality and feels inclined to attack anybody who has the hardihood to express doubts in that regard. It is like the man of worldly piety who believes that the judicious expenditure of coin can secure by favour of the priest a direct passage to heaven. The false devil who ventures to suggest that not heaven but dreamland is likely to be his destination must beware of a violent end.

Anyhow, it was the outside *mayi* which was our dream and our ideal in those days. It was a favorite phrase of one of the leaders of the time that we must *slay*



Englishman—that is to say with no hand left free for the country! We have since perhaps got rid of this ambiguous attitude. Now we have one party that has both hands raised to the foreigner's throat, and another party which has both hands down at his feet but whichever attitude it may be these methods still appertain to the outside *may!* Our unfortunate minds keep revolving round and round the British Government now to the left now to the right our affirmations and denials alike are concerned with the foreigner.

In those days the stimulus from every side was directed towards the heart of Bengal. But emotion by itself like fire only consumes its fuel and reduces it to ashes, it has no creative power. The intellect of man must busy itself with patience with skill, with foresight in using this fire to melt that which is hard and difficult into the object of its desire. We neglected to rouse our intellectual forces and so were unable to make use of this surging emotion of ours to create any organisation of permanent value. The reason of our failure therefore was not in anything outside but rather within us. For a long time past we have been in the habit in our life and endeavour of setting apart one place for our emotions and another for our practices. Our intellect has all the time remained dormant because we have not dared to allow it scope. That is why when we have to rouse ourselves to action it is our emotion which has to be requisitioned and our intellect has to be kept from interfering by the hypnotism of some magical formula—that is to say we hasten to create a situation absolutely inimical to the free play of our intellect.

The loss which is incurred by this continual deadening of our mind cannot be made good by any other contrivance. In our desperate attempts to do so we have to invoke the magic of *mayā* and our impotence jumps for joy at the prospect of getting hold of Aladdin's lamp. Of course everyone has to admit that there is nothing to beat Aladdin's lamp its only inconvenience being that it beats one to get hold of. The unfortunate part of it is that the person whose greed is great but whose powers are feeble and who has lost all confidence in his own intellect simply will not allow himself to dwell on the difficulties of bespeaking the services of some owner of the lamp. He can only be brought

to exert himself at all by holding out the speedy prospect of getting at the wonderful lamp. If any one attempts to point out the futility of his hopes, he fills the air with walling and imprecation, as at a robber making away with his all.

In the heat of the enthusiasm of the partition days a band of youths attempted to bring about the millennium through political revolution. Their offer of themselves as the first sacrifice to the fire which they had lighted makes not only their own country but other countries as well, bare the head to them in reverence. Their physical failure shines forth as the effulgence of spiritual glory. In the midst of their supreme travail they realised at length that the way of bloody revolution is not the true way, that where there is no politics a political revolution is like taking a short cut to nothing, that the wrong way may appear shorter but it does not reach the goal and only grievously hurts the feet. The refusal to pay the full price for a thing leads to the loss of the price without the gain of the thing. These impetuous youths offered their lives as the price of their country's deliverance, to them it meant the loss of their all but alas! the price offered on behalf of the country was insufficient. I feel sure that those of them who still survive must have realised by now that the country must be the creation of all its people not of one section alone. It must be the expression of all their forces of heart mind and will.

This creation can only be the fruit of that *yoga* which gives outward form to the inner faculties. Mere political or economical *yoga* is not enough for that all the human powers must unite.

When we turn our gaze upon the history of other countries, the political steed comes prominently into view on it seems to depend wholly the progress of the carriage. We forget that the carriage also must be in a fit condition to move its wheels must be in agreement with one another and its parts well fitted together with which not only have fire and hammer and chisel been busy but much thought and skill and energy have also been spent in the process. We have seen some countries which are externally free and independent when however the political carriage is in motion the noise which it makes arouses the whole neighbourhood from slumber and the jolting produces aches and pains in the limbs of the helpless passengers. It comes to

in the middle of the road and it takes the whole day to put it together again with the help of ropes and strings. Yet however loose the screws and however crooked the wheels, still it is a vehicle of some sort after all. But for such a thing as is our country,—a mere collection of jointed logs that not only have no wholeness amongst themselves, but are contrary to one another,—for this to be dragged along a few paces by the temporary pull of some common greed or anger can never be called by the name of political progress. Therefore, is it not in our case, wiser to keep for the moment our horse in the stable and begin to manufacture a real carriage?

From the writings of the young men, who have come back out of the valley of the shadow of death I feel sure some such thoughts must have occurred to them. And so they must be realising the necessity of the practice of *satyagraha* of primary importance—that form which is the union in a common endeavour of all the human faculties. This cannot be attained by any outside blind obedience but only by the realisation of self in the light of intellect. That which fails to illumine the intellect and only keeps it in the obsession of some delusion is its greatest obstacle.

The call to make the country our own by dint of our own creative power is a great call. It is not merely inducing the people to take up some external mechanical exercise for man's life is not in making cells of uniform pattern like the bee nor in incessant weaving of webs like the spider. His greatest powers are within and on these are his chief reliance. If by offering some allurements we can induce men to cease from thinking so that he may go on and on with some mechanical piece of work, this will only result in prolonging the sway of *Majra*, under which our country has all along been languishing. So far we have been content with surrendering our greatest right—the right to reason and to judge for ourselves—to the blind forces of shastric injunctions and social conventions. We have refused to cross the seas because Manu has told us not to do so. We refuse to exit with the Mussulman because prescribed usage is against it. In other words, we have systematically pursued a course of blind routine and habit in which the mind of man has no place. We have thus been reduced to the helpless condition of the master who is altogether dependent on his servant. The

real master, as I have said, is the internal man and he gets into endless trouble, when he becomes his own servant's slave—a mere automaton manufactured in the factory of servitude. He can then only rescue himself from one master by surrendering himself to another. Similarly, he who glorifies inertia by attributing to it a fanciful purity becomes like it dependent on outside impulses, both for rest and motion. The inertness of mind, which is the basis of all slavery, cannot be got rid of by a docile submission to being hoodwinked nor by going through the motions of a wound up mechanical doll.

The movement, which has now succeeded the Swadeshi agitation, is ever so much greater and has moreover extended its influence all over India. Previously, the vision of our political leaders had never reached beyond the English knowing classes because the country meant for them only that bookish aspect of it which is to be found in the pages of the Englishman's history. Such a country was merely a mirage born of vapourings in the English language, in which flitted about thin shades of Burke and Gladstone, Mazzini and Garibaldi. Nothing resembling self sacrifice or true feeling for their countrymen was visible. At this juncture, Mahatma Gandhi came and stood at the cottage door of the destitute millions, clad as one of themselves, and talking to them in their own language. Here was the truth at last not a mere quotation out of a book. So the name of Mahatma, which was given to him, is his true name. Who else has felt so many men of India to be of his own flesh and blood? At the touch of Truth the pent up forces of the soul are set free. As soon as true love stood at India's door, it flew open. All hesitation and holding back vanished. Truth awakened truth.

Stratagem in politics is a barren policy,—this was a lesson of which we were sorely in need. All honour to the Mahatma who made visible to us the power of Truth. But reliance on tactics is so ingrained in the cowardly and the weak that, in order to eradicate it the very skin must be sloughed off. Even today, our worldly wise men cannot get rid of the idea of utilising the Mahatma as a secret and more ingenious move in their political gamble. With their minds corroded by untruth, they cannot understand what an important thing it is that the Mahatma's supreme love should have drawn forth the country's love. The thing that has happened is nothing less than

the birth of freedom. It is the gain by the country of itself. In it there is no room for any thought as to where the Englishman is, or is not. This love is self-expression. It is pure affirmation. It does not argue with negation. It has no need for argument.

Some notes of the music of this wonderful awakening of India by love floated over to me across the seas. It was a great joy to me to think that the call of this festivity of awakening would come to each one of us, and that the true *shakti* of India's spirit in all its multifarious variety, would at last find expression. This thought came to me because I have always believed that in such a way India would find its freedom. When Lord Buddha voiced forth the truth of compassion for all living creatures, which he had obtained as the fruit of his own self-discipline, the manhood of India was roused and poured itself forth in science and art and wealth of every kind. True, in the matter of political unification the repeated attempts that were then made as often failed; nevertheless India's mind had awakened into freedom from its submergence in sleep and its overwhelming force would brook no confinement within the petty limits of country. It overflowed across ocean and desert, scattering its wealth of the spirit over every land that it touched. No commercial or military exploiter, to day, has ever been able to do anything like it. Whatever land these exploiters have touched has been agonised with sorrow and insult and the fair face of the world has been scarred and disfigured. Why? Because not greed but love is true. When love gives freedom it does so at the very centre of our life. When greed seeks unfettered power, it is forcefully impatient. We saw this during the partition agitation. We then compelled the poor to make sacrifices not always out of the inwardness of love but often by outward pressure. That was because greed is always seeking for a particular result within a definite time. But the fruit which love seeks is not of to-day or tomorrow, nor for a time only. It is sufficient unto itself.

So, in the expectation of breathing the buoyant breezes of this new found freedom, I came home rejoicing. But what I found in Calcutta when I arrived depressed me. An oppressive atmosphere seemed to burden the land. Some outside compulsion seemed to be urging one and all to talk in the same strain, to work at the same mill. When

I wanted to inquire, to discuss, my well-wishers clapped their hands over my lips, saying: "Not now, not now. To day, in the atmosphere of the country, there is a spirit of persecution, which is not that of armed force, but something still more alarming, because it is invisible." I found, further, that those who had their doubts as to the present activities if they happened to whisper them out, however cautiously, however guardedly, felt some admonishing hand clutching them within. There was a newspaper which one day had the temerity to disapprove, in a feeble way, of the burning of cloth. The very next day the editor was shaken out of his balance by the agitation of his readers. How long would it take for the fire which was burning cloth to reduce his paper to ashes? The sight that met my eye was, on the one hand, people immensely busy, on the other, intensely afraid. What I heard on every side was that reason, and culture as well, must be closed. It was only necessary to cling to an unquestioning obedience. Obedience to whom? To some *mantra*, some unreasoned creed!

And why this obedience? Here again comes that same greed, our spiritual enemy. There dangles before the country the bait of getting a thing of inestimable value, dirt cheap and in double quick time. It is like the faquir with his goldmaking trick. With such a lure men cast so readily to the winds their independent judgment and wax so mightily wroth with those who will not do likewise. So easy is it to overpower, in the name of outside freedom, the inner freedom of man. The most deplorable part of it is that so many do not even honestly believe in the hope that they swear by. "It will serve to make our countrymen do what is necessary"—say they. Evidently, according to them, the India which once declared "In truth is Victory, not in untruth"—that India would not have been fit for *Swaraj*.

Another mischief is that the gain, with the promise of which obedience is claimed is indicated by name, but is not defined. Just as when fear is vague it becomes all the more strong, so the vagueness of the lure makes it all the more tempting, inasmuch as ample room is left for each one's imagination to shape it to his taste. Moreover there is no driving it into a corner because it can always shift from one shelter to another. In short, the object of the temptation has been

not any and every call to which the Country responds. It is because no one has yet been able to unite in *all* the forces of the country in the work of its creation that so much time has been lost over and over again. And we have been kept waiting and waiting for him who has the right and the power to make the call upon us. In the old forests of *India* our *Gurus* in the fulness of their vision of the Truth had sent forth such a call saying: As the rivers flow on their downward course so the months flow on to the year so let all seekers after truth come from all sides. The initiation into Truth of that day has borne fruit undying to this day and the voice of its message still rings in the ears of the world.

Why should not our Guru of to-day who would lead us on the paths of Karma send forth such a call? Why should he not say:

Come ye from all sides and be welcome. Let all the forces of the land be brought into action, for then alone shall the country awake. Freedom is in complete awakening in full self-expression. God has given the Mahatma the voice that can call, for in him there is the Truth. Why should this not be our long-awaited opportunity?

But his call came to one narrow field alone. To one and all he simply says: Spin and weave, spin and weave. Is this the call? Let all seekers after truth come from all sides? Is this the call of the New Age to new creation? When nature called to the Bee to take refuge in the narrow life of the hive millions of bees responded to it for the sake of efficiency and accepted the loss of sex in consequence. But this sacrifice by way of self-atrophy led to the opposite of freedom. Any country the people of which can agree to become neuter for the sake of some temptation or command carries within itself its own prison-house. To spin is easy therefore for all men it is an imposition hard to bear. The call to the ease of mere efficiency is well enough for the Bee. The wealth of power that is Man's can only become manifest when his utmost is claimed.

Sparta tried to gain strength by narrowing herself down to a particular purpose but she did not win. Athens sought to attain perfection by opening herself out in all her fullness—and she did win. Her flag of victory still flies at the masthead of man's civilization. It is admitted that European military

camp and factories are stunting man, that their greed is cutting man down to the measure of their own narrow purpose that for these reasons joylessness darkly lowers over the West. But if man be stunted by big machines the danger of his being stunted by small machines must not be lost sight of. The *charla* in its proper place can do no harm but will rather do much good. But where, by reason of failure to acknowledge the differences in man's temperament, it is in the wrong place there thread can only be spun at the cost of a great deal of the mind itself. Mind is no less valuable than cotton thread.

Some are objecting. We do not propose to curb our minds for ever but only for a time. But why should it be even for a time? Is it because within a short time spinning will give us Swaraj? But where is the argument for this? Swaraj is not concerned with our apparel only—it cannot be established on cheap clothing, its foundation is in the mind which with its diverse powers and its confidence in those powers goes on all the time creating Swaraj for itself. In no country in the world is the building up of Swaraj completed. In some part or other of every nation some lurking greed or illusion still perpetuates bondage. And the root of such bondage is always within the mind. Where then I ask again is the argument that in our country Swaraj can be brought about by everyone engaging for a time in spinning? A mere statement in lieu of argument will surely never do. If once we consent to receive fates' oracle from human lips that will add one more to the torments of our slavery and not the least one either. If nothing but oracles will serve to move us oracles will have to be manufactured morning noon and night for the sake of urgent needs and all other voices would be defeated. Those for whom authority is needed in place of reason will invariably accept despotism in place of freedom. It is like cutting at the root of a tree while pouring water on the top. This is not a new thing I know. We have enough of magic in the country,—magical revelation, magical healing and all kinds of divine intervention in mundane affairs. That is exactly why I am so anxious to re-instate reason on its throne. As I have said before God himself has given the mind's sovereignty in the material world. And I to-day that only these will be able to get

keep Swaraj in the material world who have realised the dignity of self reliance and self mastery in the spiritual world those whom no temptation no delusion can induce to surrender the dignity of intellect into the keeping of others

Consider the burning of cloth heaped up before the very eyes of our motherland shivering and ashamed in her nakedness. What is the nature of the call to do this? Is it not another instance of a magical formula? The question of using or refusing cloth of a particular manufacture belongs mainly to economic science. The discussion of the matter by our countrymen should have been in the language of economics. If the country has really come to such a habit of mind that precise thinking has become impossible for it then our very first fight should be against such a fatal habit to the temporary exclusion of all else if need be. Such a habit would clearly be the original sin from which all our ills are flowing. But far from this we take the course of confirming ourselves in it by relying on the magical formula that foreign cloth is 'impure'. Thus economics is bundled out and a fictitious moral dictum dragged into its place.

Untruth is impure in any circumstances not merely because it may cause us material loss but even when it does not, for it makes our inner nature unclean. This is a moral law and belongs to a higher plane. But if there be anything wrong in wearing a particular kind of cloth that would be an offence against economics or hygiene or æsthetics but certainly not against morality. Some urge that any mistake which brings sorrow to body or mind is a moral wrong. To which I reply that sorrow follows in the train of every mistake. A mistake in geometry may make a road too long or a foundation weak or a bridge dangerous. But mathematical mistakes cannot be cured by moral maxims. If a student makes a mistake in his geometry problem and his exercise book is torn up in consequence the problem will nevertheless remain unsolved until attacked by geometrical methods. But what if the schoolmaster comes to the conclusion that unless the exercise books are condemned and destroyed his boys will never realise the folly of their mistakes? If such conclusion be well founded then I can only repeat that the refutation of such moral weakness of these particular boys

should take precedence over all other lessons otherwise there is no hope of their becoming men in the future.

The command to burn our foreign clothes has been laid on us. I for one am unable to obey it. Firstly because I conceive it to be my very first duty to put up a valiant fight against this terrible habit of blindly obeying orders and this fight can never be carried on by our people being driven from one injunction to another. Secondly I feel that the clothes to be burnt are not mine, but belong to those who most sorely need them. If those who are going naked should have given us the mandate to burn it would, at least have been a case of self immolation and the crime of incendiarism would not lie at our door. But how can we expiate the sin of the forcible destruction of clothes which might have gone to women whose nakedness is actually keeping them prisoners unable to stir out of the privacy of their homes?

I have said repeatedly and must repeat once more that we cannot afford to lose our mind for the sake of any external gain. Where Mahatma Gandhi has declared war against the tyranny of the machine which is oppressing the whole world we are all enrolled under his banner. But we must refuse to accept as our ally the illusion haunted magic ridden slave mentality that is at the root of all the poverty and insult under which our country groans. Here is the enemy itself on whose defeat alone Swaraj within and without can come to us.

The time moreover has arrived when we must think of one thing more and that is this. The awakening of India is apart of the awakening of the world. The door of the New Age has been flung open at the trumpet blast of a great war. We have read in the Mahabharata how the day of self revelation had to be preceded by a year of retirement. The same has happened in the world today. Nations had attained nearness to each other without being aware of it that is to say the outside fact was there but it had not penetrated into the mind. At the shock of the war the truth of it stood revealed to mankind. The foundation of modern that is Western civilisation was shaken and it has become evident that the convulsion is neither local nor temporary but has traversed the whole earth and will last until the shocks between man and man, which have extended from continent to continent can be

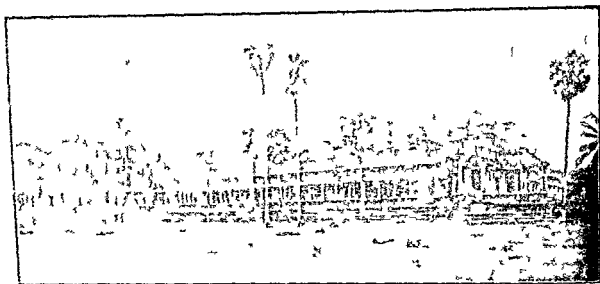
brought to it and a harmony be established

From now onward, any nation which takes an isolated view of its own country will run counter to the spirit of the New Age and know no peace. From now onward, the anxiety that each country has for its own safety must embrace the welfare of the world. For some time the working of the new spirit has occasionally shown itself even in the Government of India which has had to make attempts to deal with its own problems in the light of the world problem. The war has torn away a veil from before our minds. What is harmful to the world is harmful to each one of us. This was a maxim which we used to read in books. Now mankind has seen it at work and has understood that wherever there is injustice even if the external right of possession is there the true right is wanting. So that it is worth while even to sacrifice some outward right in order to gain the reality. This immense change which is coming over the spirit of man raising it from the petty to the great, is already at work even in Indian politics. There will doubtless be imperfections and obstacles without number. Self interest is sure to attack enlightened interest at every step. Nevertheless it would be wrong to come to the decision that the working of self interest alone is honest and the larger hearted striving is hypocritical.

After sixty years of self experience I have found that out and out hypocrisy is an almost impossible achievement so that the pure hypocrite is a rarity indeed. The fact is that the character of man has always more or less of duality in it. But our logical faculty, the trap door of our mind is unable to admit opposites together. So when we find the good with the bad the former is promptly rejected as spurious. In the universal movement as it becomes manifest in different parts of the world this duality of man's character cannot but show itself. And whenever it does, if we pass judgment from past experience we are sure to pronounce the selfish part of it to be the real thing for the spirit of division and exclusion did in fact belong to the past age. But if we come to our judgment in the light of future promise, then shall we understand the enlightened large heartedness to be the reality, and the counsel which will unite each to each to be the true wisdom.

I have condemned in unsparing terms, the present form and scope of the League of Nations and the Indian Reform Councils. I therefore feel certain that there will be no misunderstanding when I state that even in these I find signs of the Time Spirit, which is moving the heart of the West. Although the present form is unacceptable yet there is revealed an aspiration which is towards the truth, and this aspiration must not be condemned. In this morning of the world's awakening if in only our own national striving there is no response to its universal aspiration that will betoken the poverty of our spirit. I do not say for a moment that we should belittle the work immediately to hand. But when the bird is roused by the dawn all its awakening is not absorbed in its search for food. Its wings respond unweariedly to the call of the sky, its throat pours forth songs for joy of the new light. Universal humanity has sent us its call to day. Let our mind respond in its own language, for response is the only true sign of life. When of old we were immersed in the politics of dependence on others our chief business was the compilation of others' shortcomings. Now that we have decided to dissociate our politics from dependence are we still to establish and maintain it on the same recital of others' sins? The state of mind so engendered will only raise the dust of angry passion obscuring the greater world from our vision and urge us more and more to take futile short cuts for the satisfaction of our passions. It is a sorry picture of India which we shall display if we fail to realise for ourselves the greater India. This picture will have no light. It will have in the foreground only the business side of our aspiration. Mere business talent however has never created anything.

In the West a real anxiety and effort of their higher mind to rise superior to business considerations is beginning to be seen. I have come across many there whom this desire has imbued with the true spirit of the *Sannyasin* making them renounce their home world in order to achieve the unity of man, by destroying the bondage of nationalism, men who have within their own soul realised the *Advaita* of humanity. Many such have I seen in England who have accepted persecution and contumely from their fellow countrymen in their struggle to free other peoples from



Angkor Wat—General view from outside

or the Land of the Tree and the Siamese speak of their race as that of Thai.

Foreigners frequently refer to Siam as the Land of White Elephants. Indeed before I came to this country I was under the impression that I would see white elephants everywhere but now I know better. White elephants are very scarce. Moreover, they are not white at all. The only reason they seem to be called white is because they have on them a few blotches of lighter color near the extremities. These lighter tints are the results of eruptive affliction. A white elephant in Siam is an object of great respect. When such an animal is caught it is given to the king who provides for its every comfort in the royal stables at Bangkok. The following is a part of an address of welcome presented by the courtiers to a white elephant on its first appearance to the capital city.

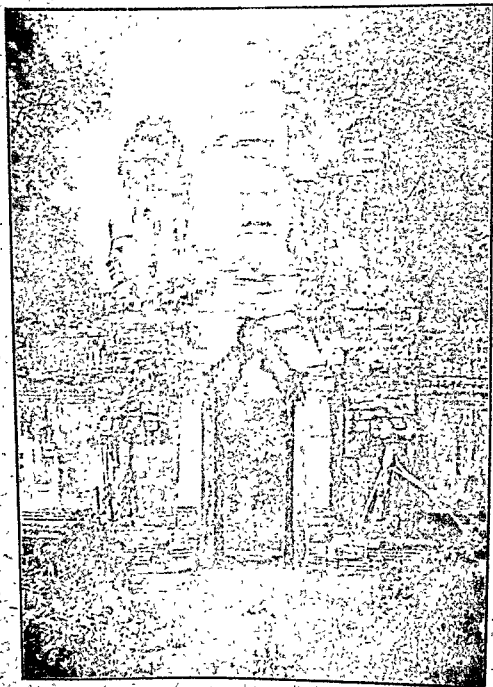
Most Royal Elephant! We beg that you will not think too much of your father and mother, your relatives and friends. We beg that you will not regret leaving your native mountains and forests because there are evil spirits there that are very dangerous and wild beasts are there that howl making fearful noise and there too is the big bird which hovers around and often picks up elephants and eats them and there are bands of cruel hunters who kill elephants for their ivory. We trust

that you will not return to the forest, for you would be in constant danger. And that is not all. In the forest you have no servants and it is very unpleasant to sleep with the dust and filth adhering to your body, and where the flies and mosquito toes are troublesome.

'Brave and noble elephant! We entreat you to banish every wish to stay in forest. Look at this delightful place, this heavenly city. It abounds in wealth and in every thing that your eyes could wish to see or your heart desire to possess. It is of your own merit that you have come to behold this beautiful city, to enjoy its wealth, and to be the favourite guest of His Most Exalted Majesty the king.'

Although the land of the free is not actually flowing with milk and honey, it is a land of plenty. The annual revenue of Siam is rapidly increasing, and its treasury reserves are ample. Siam has no national debt and its taxes are low. There is no record of any one dying of starvation. Perhaps no one in Siam takes less than two meals a day. And here in Bangkok there are twenty-four theatres and twelve cinema houses which are full every night.

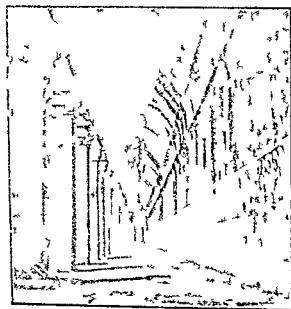
The Siamese are an attractive people, in many ways. They are the Parisians of the



Angkor-Thom—North gate surmounted with the four heads of Brahma.

It is to be noted that the heads have been constructed with tricks of different shapes and sizes deviously and judiciously put together.





Angkor Wat—Interior of a gallery

East they are easy going pleasure seeking light hearted people. They do not seem to know what it is to be sad. Indeed it is rare to find a Siamese whose face is lined with care and anxiety. The only fault I find with the Siamese is that they have little productive energy and personal initiative. They are pitifully short of the creative impulse which pushes a man forward in the race of life. The Siamese are incorrigibly slow. They have a natural genius for indolence. Sometimes I think they are among the laziest people on God's earth. Most of the hard labour in this country is done by the Chinese and Malays. And almost all the trades and industries are in the hands of the Europeans, Americans, Indians and Chinese. Very few of the Siamese natives are to be seen in the Siamese business world. All who have been to school would disdain to put their hands to any productive work. They have an unfortunate hankering after what they call office work. They are badly infected with the germ of 'clerkism', nearly everybody who passes out of a school fully expects to get employment as a secretary or clerk with visions of rapid promotion to follow.

Siamese have a very old and picturesque

civilization. The keynote of this civilization is severe simplicity. While the rich people have their fine houses made of brick or teak wood with tiled roofs, the poorer classes live in bamboo shafts thatched with dried grass or palm leaves. Most of these houses are built upon stilts or piles as a protection against floods and high tides.

The wats or temples of Siam are very interesting. And of this perhaps the most important one is Wat Phnom or Royal Temple at Bangkok. It is the king's own temple. It is here that high government functionaries take their oath of allegiance to the monarch. The wat consists of a number of buildings, the chief of which has an image of Buddha in emerald. In the same temple there are also several other images of Buddha in gold. The walls and ceilings are covered over with paintings done in Siamese style. In every wat there is a prachdee; sometimes there are several. These prachdees are brick monuments. They cover either a relic or an image of Buddha. The central prachdee in Wat Phnom is supposed to be spread over with plates of gold. At any rate the gilded prachdee looks brilliant in the dazzling sun. Siam has no public picture galleries, but their place is taken by the cloisters surrounding a wat. In the Royal Temple there are acres and acres of cloisters on the walls of which are painted pictures from Ramayana or from the life of Buddha. These pictures are in gorgeous colors, but they show lack of proper conception of form and perspective on the part of the artists.

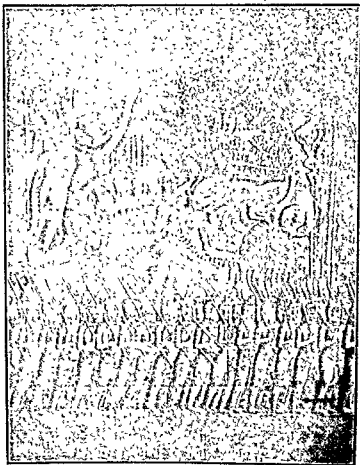
Close to Wat Phnom is the largest wat in Siam, Wat Phai. The chief feature of this temple is a huge image of sleeping Buddha. The Siamese say that he who has seen Wat Phai has seen every Buddhist temple in Siam.

Opposite to Wat Phai and across the River Chao Phraya stands Wat Chang. It is a gigantic monument, 250 feet high, resting on a square base. One can have a very fine view of the city of Bangkok and its environs from this monument.

That the Siamese architecture has been profoundly influenced by that of the Indian

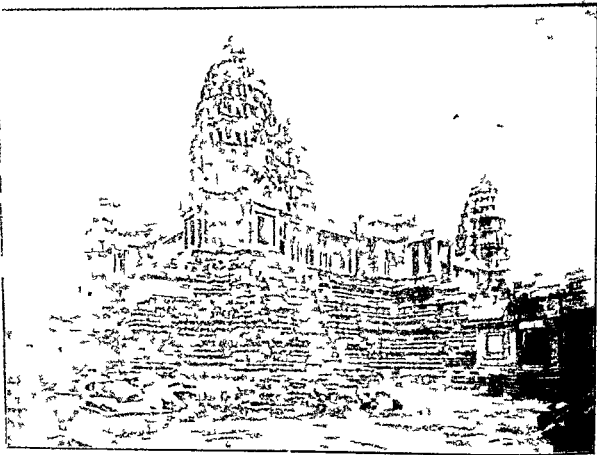
there is no room to doubt. Indeed, Mr. Graham in his book on *Siam* states that in early times two distinct types of Indian architecture were brought into Siam: the southern Dravidian type, and later on the northern Buddhist. The Dravidians of south India who reached Siam by way of the Malaya Peninsula and other coast districts of Further India introduced into this country the Dravidian form of architecture. Then again at a later date, the Buddhist conquerors and colonists and merchants brought from northern India their ideas of building. These Buddhist pioneers of Indian culture came to Siam through Burma and Assam. With the passage of centuries, the Siamese were able to assimilate the principles of Indian architecture, and evolve a style of their own. Nevertheless, the definite impress of Indian ideas is to be seen even to-day in the Siamese wats, their botes, phra prangs, and mound-like prachidees.

In speaking of the introduction of Indian culture in Siam, one is inevitably reminded of the ruins of Angkor Wat in the neighbouring country of Cambodia, which only a few years ago was a part of the kingdom of Siam. The grand temples cover over an area of fifteen miles. Their stones were put together without cement. These temples were built by the Hindus in the tenth century at Angkor, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Cambodia or Khmer. Monsieur Parmentier, in his learned researches on the art of Khmer,



Angkor-Wat Bas-relief of a King marching in battle array

says that Angkor Wat is to the art of Khmer what the Pantheon is to the Greek art. There is nowhere to be found an architectural conception, not even excluding the Hindu temples of Java or the colossal works of ancient Egypt, which can match the ruins at Angkor. What a magnificent proof of the might of the Hindu conquerors who had Cambodia under their sway for eight centuries! "Since the revelation of the buried cities of Assyria," said the English archaeologist, Fergusson in 1867, "the discovery of the ruined cities of Cambodia is the most important fact for the history of Eastern Art." In referring to Angkor Wat,



Angkor Wat—General view of the third storey

Mouhot a French naturalist entrusted with a mission to Indo China by London scientific societies in 1858 spoke of it as a rival to that of Solomon and erected by some ancient Michael Angelo and as grander than anything left us by Greece or Rome. This is not the place to describe the monuments of Angkor this *Arabian Nights* architecture. As one looks at these gigantic works with their colonnades and terraces towers and galleries immense bas-reliefs and countless Sanskrit inscriptions one becomes bewildered and imagination baffled. You admire in Mouhot's language and you become respectfully silent where can you find words indeed to praise a work of architecture perhaps unequalled all over the globe †

† Any one desiring to reach Angkor from India should come to Singapore on the Straits Settlements and from there proceed by steamer to Saigon on French

But let us now turn to Siam of to day

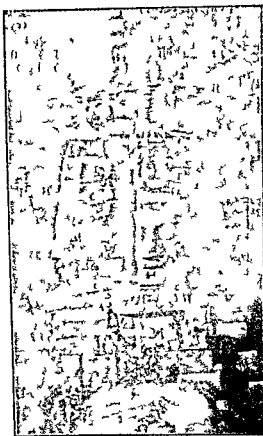
The Siamese are a music loving play going people. Once I attended a Siamese play at a Buddhist temple-yard. There was no stage setting there was no scenery. Almost everything was left to imagination. In front of the orchestra there was an oblong dais. And back of the raised platform was the dressing room where the performers could be seen changing their costumes. The principal actors had their faces so heavily powdered that one might think they were wearing white masks. Dancing was an important feature of the play. They skipped and jumped writhed and swayed their bodies

Indo China and thence by train and steamer to Angkor. The proper season for excursion to the Angkor temples is from July to February. For full particulars of the trip write to the President Syndicate, Dintage, 12 Boulevard N. Saigon, Indo China.

advanced and retired with a graceful snake like motion. I did not know what was the subject of the play but I was later informed that the theme of the Siamese drama is almost invariably taken from some episodes of the Indian *Ramayan*. There was a considerable amount of dialogue which the actors delivered with infinite gesture of hands. The Siamese actors express the emotions not with face but with the movements of hands which seem to have no joints. They bend their elbows the wrong way, they turn their fingers clear over the hand to touch the wrist. Each movement has a certain meaning and is indicative of certain emotions.

The orchestra played furiously during the dancing and singing. I detected among others the sound of drums, pipes, gongs and xylophone which the Siamese call *ranat*. It is a boat like body resting on a narrow pedestal. This particular *ranat* I believe had twenty flat bars of hard seasoned bamboo. They were strung on two parallel cords which were attached to the body. The artist by striking the bars with small wooden hammers produced liquid music. Then there was the *ken* or reed organ. This wind instrument usually consists of fourteen reeds, each of which has a small metal tongue by the vibrations of which the notes are produced. Mention should also be made of the *klong*. This particular instrument had fourteen circular brass gongs strung together horizontally. Skillful beating of the small gongs brought forth good music—at least for the Siamese ears.

As nearly as I can make out most of the people in Siam are dressed in Garden of Eden costumes. Their national garment however is called *panung*. It is a piece of cloth about a yard wide and three yards long. The Siamese of both sexes wear *panung* in much the same way as men in Bengal wear dhoties. Siamese men and women wrap *panung* round the waist and pass it between thighs. The two ends of the cloth are then hitched up at the waist, one in the back and the other in the front.



Angkor Thom—Ornament at heads of Brahmas.  
The heads have been constructed with bricks of different shapes and sizes judiciously put together.

Except men of the upper classes they use neither shoes nor stockings nor any kind of head gear. Women of the poorer classes wear no jackets at all but they wrap a green, yellow or pink cloth around the bust. It is also quite customary among these women to leave their bodies entirely uncovered above the waist after the birth of the first child. Everywhere the streets are full of children but they are clean only in innocence—that's all!

Flowers are in great demand. Our servant girls like to have small wreaths of flowers for their hair. Flower women go about from house to house peddling flowers.

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mutual consent. This sort of arrangement is particularly favored by the Europeans in Siam.

A revolting custom of the Siamese kings is to marry their own sisters royal. With the exception of the present ruler who is a forty year old bachelor and has seen much of gay life in Europe all the kings of Siam—so I have been informed—married their own blood sisters.

What do the Siamese think of their king Rama? Is he popular with his subjects? Is he a competent administrator? Opinions differ widely. The king when young was educated at one of the conservative English universities. He has now become a blind admirer of the English system with all its faults and shortcomings. For example in a series of articles he contributed a few years ago under the pseudonym of Asvabahan to a local paper he championed the cause of the English bureaucracy and opined that unrest in India is due to education. He also made another grand discovery that the Indian malcontents the advocates of reform are actually developed from the non-descript who have been disappointed in their hopes of entering the Indian civil service. Such is the mentality of the Siamese king!

There are however many loyal Siamese who are personally devoted to the king. They think that he is a just wise and sagacious reformer. To them he is a scholar a statesman and a diplomat. Others not so partisan in their loyalty take issue with such a statement. According to them the king is better versed in stagecraft than in statecraft. Recently the king took the leading roles in two dramatic plays—*The Secret I Out* and *The Heart of the Warrior*—given at Theatre Royal. In the course of the acting he hugged and kissed a girl and then fell on his knees and wooed her. This has shocked the conservative Siamese it has scandalized the whole nation. The king now worships a woman in public com-

mented to me an indignant Buddhist priest as we worship Buddha. What the world is coming to?

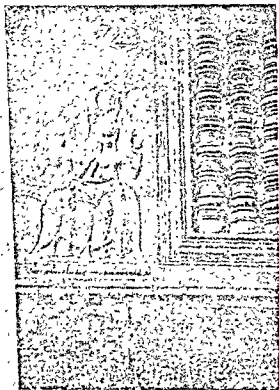


Angkor Wat—Fugure of Nrisimha or Man-lion

The ruler of Siam has also added to his unpopularity by annulling his betrothal to princess Vallabha Devi a former actress. He had been engaged to her for four months raised her to a higher rank and lived with her in closest intimacy. Now, he has suddenly broken the engagement, reduced her in rank and nobody seems to know what has happened to her. What really made the king call the engagement off will ever remain a mystery, but a recent issue of *The Government Gazette* says that the reason is the of temperament. It is further added the gullible public that the chronological position of Her Royal Highness nervous system leaves much to be desired is so much so that His Majesty is the apprehension lest in the event of royal marriage being place as formerly arranged, to

\* These articles are now reprinted by *The Siam Observer* of Bangkok in two books: *Clashes in Or* and *And a new life*.

consequences may follow in the future in regard to the succession to the Throne." The Siamese say that whatever the motive of the king may be for the action, this is the first time in their history that a king of Siam has broken his pledged word.



Angkor Wat—Bas-relief of Benevolent Divinities.

As yet, the people have no voice in the administration of the country. And a few of the better educated classes are beginning to question the wisdom of one man having absolute power of life and death over millions. It should be said, however, that if the Siamese king has autocratic powers, it is because his subjects let him have them. It is their own fault primarily. They have made no organized efforts to control the Government through their chosen representatives. They have no political party. They never hold a political meeting in this country.

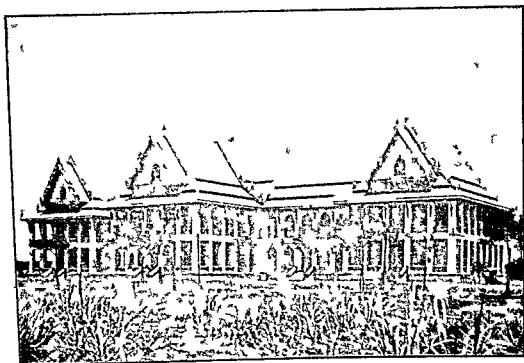
The greatest need of Siam, as I see it, is trained leaders, men of vision. I have met a dozen or more men placed high in

the councils of the nation; but they did not impress me as being statesmen of the front rank. Very few of them could hold their own against Gokhale, or even against Sankaran Nair, Surendranath Bannerjee, or Bhupendra Nath Basu.

One of the pressing problems of Siam is to break down the regime of extraterritoriality, which the foreign nations enjoy in this country. At the present time the great powers have the right to try their own subjects before their own consuls and diplomatic officers in Siam. This is a great barrier to the successful working of the Siamese governmental system, particularly the judicial branch. In the past the extraterritoriality enjoyed by foreigners has made it difficult, if not impossible, for the Siamese government to enforce highly desirable laws in respect of all persons in Siam. For example, I have been told by a high government official that although this country is a party to the Hague Convention for the suppression of the abuse of opium and other drugs, it has been unable to give effect to the provisions of the Convention through appropriate legislation, because it has no jurisdiction over foreigners in Siam.

I was pleased to learn that the United States Senate concluded a new treaty with Siam last month abolishing American extraterritorial rights in this country. Hereafter all citizens of the United States entitled to its protection in Siam will be subject to the jurisdiction of the Siamese courts. America by cancelling the jurisdictional rights she has enjoyed since 1850 has, in the minds of the Siamese, given a fresh proof of her desire to help the weaker nations of the East, whenever possible. The Siamese now confidently believe that with such a treaty with the American Republic, they will be in a better position to negotiate similar agreements with other powers having extraterritorial rights in this land.

Siam has no internal problems of the magnitude which confront the independent countries of the West. Yet it is not without one. The best energy of the country, with the co-operation of European and American advisers, is being devoted to the



Chulalongkornrajavidyalaya in Bangkok

spread of education the development of natural resources and the construction of the means of communication

Siam has a modern university. It has also a military and a naval college. Moreover practical education is imparted through such institutions as commercial school agricultural school arts and craft school. Mention should also be made in this connection of the excellent work being done by the Boy Scouts organizations. The government is now taking keen interest in sending young men to Western countries for their education. At present it is maintaining nineteen scholars in British six in American two in German and one in French universities.

Siam has considerable natural wealth. It can count upon the mines the forests and the agricultural resources of the country. All this is being steadily developed.

Progress has also been made in building railroads and constructing telegraphic lines. There are to-day over 2,400 kilometres of railroads in the country but

the highways of commerce and travel are still the rivers and canals.

Siam has made mistakes in the past. It has failed to make the most of all of its opportunities. The Siamese are however happy and contented with their government. One cannot help observing that if Siam were under a foreign rule and if by chance it achieved under alien governance as much—or half as much—orderly progress in education administration or the development of natural resources then the very fact of its achievements would have been an unanswerable argument for perpetual foreign domination. If we are to step out of Siam now would be the refrain of the exploiting foreign imperialists, 'there would be utter ruin and chaos. That is unthinkable.' Besides they would add with a cynical leer 'we have a perfect right to stay here.' This is not rhetoric. By no means. Consider, for instance much of the validity of the so-called claims of Japan in Korea France in Indo-China Holland in Java and England in India, Burma,



Siamese girls of Benchamarajalai Girls School at Bangkok enacting a drama.

and Egypt. If by the simple operation of the creed of "manifest destiny", Siam were placed under French or English control, the last remaining independent Buddhist country would disappear from the world. The land of Thai would exist no more. It

would be known only as a miserable, enslaved, unhappy French Siam or British Siam. And the net result would be a great loss to humanity, would it not?  
Bangkok, Siam.

### INDIAN MINERAL WATERS

By MAJOR B. D. BASU, I. M. S. (RETD.)

**A** WATER is said to be a mineral one when it contains some mineral ingredients in solution and is procured from a natural source. No water found in nature is known to be free from minerals, but those mineral waters only are utilised as therapeutic agents of which potency of the dissolved ingredients is great. The treatment of disease by mineral waters is called Balneology and the places where such

treatment is carried out are Spas.

Regarding the mineral waters of this country, I said in my written evidence before the Indian Industries Commission:

"India is rich in mineral and thermal springs. But the waters of most of these have not been chemically analysed. So mineral waters are imported in India from foreign countries. It is not difficult to create an industry in mineral



Waters if attention be directed to the analysis of the waters of the mineral and thermal springs of this country

When the journey to Europe was not so easy as since the construction of railways, steamers and, above all the Suez Canal, it was then found necessary to make India as far as possible self-contained. Everything was being then done to make India independent of foreign imports as far as practicable provided it did not clash with the vested interests of powerful merchants and traders of the British Isles. In those days attention was drawn to the mineral and thermal springs of this country. Foreign travellers and sojourners in India had written about some of them. But it was during the administration of the Marquess of Dalhousie that attempts were made to utilize these springs for therapeutical purposes. That Governor General had for his medical adviser Dr Alexander Grant. It was my privilege to have been in correspondence with him and to have published during his life-time his biographical sketch with portrait in one of the Indian medical journals. Dr Grant wrote to me that he had advised Lord Dalhousie to adopt measures in the medical department which greatly benefited both the medical men and suffering humanity of India. Acting on the advice of Dr Grant, Lord Dalhousie issued orders to the medical officers serving in India to report on the mineral springs of this country. Mr G F Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India in his letter dated Fort William, the 28th July 1834 wrote to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay that the Government of India were desirous that the waters of all the mineral springs throughout India and its dependencies should be simultaneously examined and reported upon. The waters were to be analysed by the Professor of Chemistry and Chemical Examiner and the reports were to be forwarded to the President, the Medical Board at Calcutta. The directions for the collection of mineral waters ran as follows —

1st The mineral water should be bottled in fine dry weather and for gaseous waters the morning is best

2nd Particulars should be sent of the quantity of water furnished by the spring — its temperature whether varying much at different times — the nature of the soil or of the rocks from which it issues the supposed elevation above the level of the sea — whether the spring contains bubbles of any gas whether any particular *conferræ* are found growing near it — and whether the spring deposits any sediment

3rd Four quart bottles of each water will be the quantity usually required

4th With sulphurous waters it is particularly necessary that the bottle be quite full. Acidulous or alkaline gaseous waters may be exposed to the air for an instant before corked and it is specially necessary to be careful in tying down the corks of each

5th Specimens of any *conferræ* about the wells or of any deposit from it as well as of the rocks in the neighbourhood, should also be sent

6th A notice should accompany stating whether the natives of the country believe in the medicinal powers of the water and in what diseases they count it useful

7th There should be no delay in transmitting the water

8th Where medical officers or others on the spot are able to afford any chemical information respecting the waters they should be requested to communicate it especially in cases of gaseous waters it is very desirable that they should endeavour to determine the quantity of gas present

The reports of Drs Giraud and Haines on the mineral waters in the Bombay Presidency were considered to be so good that the Right Honble the Secretary of State for India in paragraph 16 of Despatch No 63 of 16th June, 1839 observed

It is desirable that these reports should be made generally known to the medical officers throughout the Bombay Presidency in order that the efficacy of the springs in cases of disease may be tested as occasions occur

These reports were subsequently published in No V (New Series) for the year 1839 of the Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay

Dr Grant was also the founder and one of the editors of the *Indian Annals of Medical Science*. Interested in the Indian mineral waters he had some papers published in that periodical on the subject. The most important one was of Dr John Macpherson entitled, — *T of Mineral Springs in British India with few remarks*

For the first time all the

scattered on the subject in periodicals and books were collected together and published. This paper was of great use for the proper investigation on the subject.

In the *Indian Annals of Medical Science* were also published Reports on the Hot Mineral Salt Spring of Terah and on the Thermal Sulphurous Source of Lowsah by Mons Mreadieu.

Dr Charles R Francis also contributed to the above named periodical an important paper on a qualitative analysis of some of the Waters of Kumaun including those of Naini Tal and Almora.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal has always tried to walk on the lines chalked out for it by its gifted founder Sir William Jones. It was therefore natural for it not to neglect the subject of Indian Thermal Springs and Mineral Waters. In 1864 it published in its journal an important communication from Robert De Schlagin twit being an enumeration of the hot springs of India and High Asia. In the proceedings of that Society for 1887 there appeared a paper on the hot springs of the Namda forest in the Sibsagar District Upper Assam being the conjoint production of Messrs D Prain and J. W. Masters.

The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal published in 1890 a paper on the hot springs of South Behar written by Dr Waddell.

Bombay did not lag behind Bengal in the investigation of this important subject. Some of the earliest researches on the mineral springs were made in that presidency. Dr Buist communicated his observations on some of the mineral waters of that part of the country to the pages of the journal of the Bombay Geographical Society.

Reference has been made above to the instructions by Lord Dalhousie to medical officers to report on mineral waters to the Medical Board at Calcutta. It seems that the latest report on the subject was that prepared by Drs Giraud and Haines of Bombay.

The Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society which has for its prototype the Asiatic Society of Bengal has like that

institution published in the pages of its journal interesting papers on the subject of mineral springs of that presidency. Dr H Mann and Mr Paranjpe have contributed to Vol XXIV, nos 68 & 69 of that journal two valuable papers entitled 'Intermittent Springs at Rajapur in the Bombay Presidency and the Hot Springs of the Ratnagiri District'.

But it is the geological department which is specially concerned with the investigation of this subject. How well it has done so is evident from the publication of Dr Oldham's monograph on Thermal Springs of India as Vol XIX Part 2 of the *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*.

In the Bibliography of Indian Geology and Physical Geography compiled by Mr T H D La Touche and published by the Department of the Geological Survey of India are contained almost all the references to the literature of Indian Mineral Waters. This is a very valuable aid to the study of the subject.

Vichy, Carlsbad and other well known spas are mostly situated in countries which were lately at war with great Britain, France and Italy. It was this great war which showed the necessity of developing the mineral water resources of the British Empire. In an article on British Resorts in Peace and War published in the *British Medical Journal* of July 17th 1915 Mr Fortescue Fox referred to India in the following terms—

India alone is richly endowed with medicinal waters of every description. No scientific report has ever admittedly been made upon them. There and elsewhere much remains to be done to investigate make known and utilize these natural resources of the Empire.

But unfortunately no attempts have yet been made in the directions pointed out by Dr Fox. A detailed Survey of the Mineral and Thermal Springs of this country is still a desideratum. Chemical analysis of most of them has not been yet undertaken.

It has been mentioned above that Lord Dalhousie directed medical officers to analyse the mineral waters of this country and forward the results to the Medical

Board at Calcutta. Of course that Board does not now exist. The president of that Board is represented by the Director General of the Indian Medical Service. The manager of the Panini Office Allahabad wrote to him to enquire if the reports on mineral waters submitted to the Medical Board by medical officers during the administration of Lord Dillhousie were preserved in his office. That officer wrote that no such reports were forthcoming in his office and suggested that the chemical examiners of the different provinces should be communicated with for the same. This was done. But their reply was also in the negative.

This shows then that during the last sixty years and more nothing has been done by the state to investigate the properties of the mineral and thermal springs of this country.

The number of scientific men in India is not very large and unfortunately the few that exist have not with the exception of three or four individuals considered it worth their while to investigate the subject.

But a knowledge of the properties of the waters of the different mineral and thermal springs of this country is so important to the medical profession that it is a matter of surprise that it has been so far neglected by them.

Mineral waters have been classified according to their chemical composition and the beneficial effects attending their use were attributed to the mineral ingredients contained in them. But lately tests have shown that most of these mineral waters have various degrees of radio-activity which combined with mineral ingredients account for the physiological effects resulting from their administration. But although chemical analysis of some of the mineral waters of this country has been made yet it is a fact that a few only of these waters have so far been tested for radio activity.

Dr Harold Mann and Mr Paranjpe in the course of their valuable paper on the hot springs of the Ratnagiri district contributed to the Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1916 wrote

We should have liked to add to what we have ascertained an account of the radio activity of the springs but this will be done in the near future by the Revd Father Sierp who has proposed to undertake it.

Unfortunately the Revd gentleman has not examined the springs described by Dr Mann for radio activity. In the *Indian Medical Gazette* for December 1911 and December 1912 and in *Indian Industries and Power* Vol XI No 1 September 1913 the Revd Fathers A Steichen and H Sierp have published important papers on the radio activity of some thermal springs in the Bombay Presidency.

Revd Father A Steichen S.J. Ph.D. has also published in the *Philosophical Magazine* Vol XXXI April 1916 a paper on the Variation of the Radio activity of the hot springs at Tuwa a village in the Kaira District Bombay Presidency.

In the absence of chemical analysis and radio activity of the waters of the different springs it is not possible to properly classify them in the manner in which the various Spas of Europe have been done. So we are also unable to say anything about the specialisation of the springs their varied composition and therapeutical properties. In the West the Spas are resorted to for the treatment of a great variety of the chronic diseases such as rheumatism, gout, diabetes, kidney diseases, tuberculosis, bronchitis, asthma, hepatic troubles, nervous disorders.

There are not a few of course who do not see anything special or noteworthy in the Spa treatment of diseases. It is said that the reputation of many of the Spas is due to the ability of the local medical men to the skill and personality of the physicians and their beneficial effects are dependent on the pleasant accessories. Hence the Spa treatment is a complex therapeutic agent for it includes a rest cure, air cure and diet cure. Of course there is a good deal of truth in these assertions. Man is a gregarious animal and possesses æsthetic, moral and religious sentiments. A change of scene does him good. We should bear in mind the psychological effects of a change—the influence of mind upon body. The Hindun

understood it so well that they enjoined pilgrimages to sacred places on their votaries, the periodic visits to which are bound to benefit their health. Pilgrimages are generally made to places with beautiful surroundings. These include not only rest cure air cure, etc., but above all sin cure, pilgrims believing themselves purged of all sins look upon their lives as pure, and this condition of mind is sure to have beneficial effect on their health. Some of the mineral and thermal springs in this country are also well known places of pilgrimage of the Hindus. We have only to refer to Hinglaj in Beluchistan, Jwala mukti in Kangra and Sitakund in Behar.

Even before the outbreak of the Great War in Europe, attempts were made in Europe to make its Spas attractive to its inhabitants and dissuade them from visiting the foreign watering places. Thus the *British Medical Journal* in its issue of August 10th 1907, (page 357), in the course of a leading article on Health Resorts at Home' wrote as follows —

'The chemical value of the waters at Leamington closely approximates to that of the waters at Kissingen and Homburg and by those who are familiar with all three towns it will be admitted that from the points of view of beauty of surroundings historical interest equability of climate and comfort of accommodation it compares favorably with both. Where then is the explanation to be sought for the preference which the public so distinctly manifests for the Quellen and Sources of foreign lands ?

But before the outbreak of the war all these words fell on deaf ears. They were not taken any heed of by those to whom they were addressed.

In the supplementary volume to Forchheimer's *Therapeutics of Internal Diseases* published in 1917, which is an American publication, it is stated —

War has made European Spas inaccessible at present and the residual hatred among the belligerents will long deprive the German and Austrian Spas of much of their cosmopolitan charm. In the meantime the wealth of balneological resources which the United States possesses is slowly being realised by the Americans. The authorities have begun to conserve this wealth the patients to appreciate it. Foreign Spas offer no therapeutic facilities which cannot be equally obtained both more easily and certainly by Americans at home.

Every word of the above is equally and truly applicable to Indian Mineral Springs.

In India the wealthy and the educated classes have not done so much to develop the watering places of the country as they ought to do. Of course it is the duty of the State to take the lead in such matters. Thus Charles W Buckley writes in the *British Medical Journal* of April 26, 1919, in a paper on the Health Resorts and the State

It is to the interest of the State that the fullest facilities for maintaining and regaining health should be brought within the reach of every one and applying the principle it follows that some scheme must be evolved in our health resorts to bring their advantages within the reach of all. (Page 528)

While the State has done next to nothing in developing the mineral water resources of this country, the public has not been altogether neglectful in doing so. It is not only the places of pilgrimage which have been so developed but also springs with no traditional religious sanctity attached to them. In the Gurgaon district there are sulphur springs at Sonah. As far back as 1872 Dr C E Smith wrote a series of papers in the *Pioneer* describing the efficacy of these springs in the treatment of rheumatism. He detailed several cases where marked improvement had taken place from the external and internal use of the water of the springs. In their neighbourhood a town had sprung up, for the springs were in high repute among the people of Gurgaon District in the treatment of rheumatism and diseases of the skin. We know the injurious effects of pure water, for instance of distilled water upon the animal organism. Such water is not altogether an advantage owing to its solvent properties. But the addition of a very small amount of any salt shows the electric conductivity of such water depending upon the iron present in solution in it. Hence the superiority of mineral over pure distilled water, and the necessity and importance of investigating the subject of mineral springs will be thus evident. The large number of springs in this country shows the greatest variety of mineral waters. But as said before the classification and the special uses of

the mineral springs are in the present state of our knowledge of their chemical and physical composition almost impossible. The pharmacological effects of different mineral waters have to be investigated. It has been found that sulphur water in which sulphur probably exists in a colloidal condition and in a form not otherwise available in medicine activates increased oxidation and tissue change, total nitrogenous output as well as the excretion of phosphates being greatly increased. Saline water acts as gastro-intestinal douche.

In most of the Spas about six or eight pints of water are consumed during the morning hours when the stomach is empty. The water thus drunk acts as a douche restoring an infected intestinal mucous membrane to a normal condition thus removing the evil effects due to alimentary toxæmia. It also helps in the elimination of the toxic substances

circulating in the blood and prevents the growth of bacteria in the alimentary canal.

The eloquent words of Professor Albert Robin of the Paris Academy of Medicine in concluding an excellent lecture on the future of French Spas may be befittingly borrowed in concluding this paper on Indian Mineral Waters. He said —

New horizons are opened up by the mineral waters in the department of science. It is they which put us in communication with the mysterious depths of the globe. It is they which throw light on the composition of matter met with in these subterraneous depths and teach science many new physical laws. Remarkable factors in the treatment leaving far behind them in the treatment of nutritional disturbances common to so many diseases not to speak of local troubles, the uncertain agents contained in our pharmacopœia as they are destined to play an ever increasing part in the science of treatment. But all that can only be realised when industry takes it in hand for the greater benefit of suffering humanity.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Biraja Sankar Guha's Anthropological Thesis

Dear Sir

As the true facts relating to the above are not known except to a few persons I think you would perhaps like to know the whole story.

Mr. Biraja Sankar Guha was appointed by the Bengal Government as a Research Scholar in Ethnology in 1917. His investigations, carried on under the auspices of the same Government from 1917 to 1919 among the so-called Mon-Khmer races of Assam were embodied in a thesis and submitted for the Premchand Roychand Studentship of the Calcutta University first in 1918 and later on a more complete form in 1919. His first thesis was examined by Mr. B. C. Majumdar, lecturer in Ethnology in the Calcutta University and was strongly recommended by him for the P. R. Studentship. Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, however, who was the President of the Board of Examiners for the P. R. S., refused to grant Mr. Guha the scholarship on the ground that his application for the P. R. S. had omitted to mention the place where he would carry on his investigations. The scholarship was granted to him. His second thesis in 1919 was examined by Sir Asutosh himself, but as his report was kept confidential Mr.

Guha is still unaware why he was not granted the P. R. S. for the second thesis. While it is not for me to express any opinion on Mr. Guha's work, it would interest you in this connection to know that it was not only the Harvard University which considered his thesis to be of sufficient merit to offer him the Hemenway Research Fellowship in Anthropology, thereby breaking the usual custom of not allowing an outside student to hold any of the University Fellowships, but Dr. Brajendranath Seal also, than whom there is no greater authority on Anthropology in India, who examined Mr. Guha's annual reports for 1918 and 1919 as research scholar of the Bengal Government (which were subsequently incorporated in his two P. R. S. theses), expressed a high opinion of their merits. Dr. Seal's reports to the Bengal Government may be seen in the Bengal Director of Public Instruction's office. I do not know if Mr. B. C. Majumdar's report on Mr. Guha's first thesis for the P. R. S. would be available.

You may be glad to know that whatever may be the opinion of the authorities of the Calcutta University on Mr. Guha's work, the American Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, has selected him to carry on investigations among two of the American Indian tribes, namely the Utes and the Navahos in Colorado and New Mexico. After finishing his work in New Mexico, which will be published in the reports of the

Smithsonian Institution Washington Mr Guha will return to Harvard University in the next fall

Yours &c,

August 7, 1921

ONE WHO KNOWS

[Editor's Note—Should there be any incorrect statements in the above corrections coming from the person concerned will be ready to publish]

## Publication of Tagore Law Lectures

Dear Sir

In the Minutes of the Syndicate of the Calcutta University, dated December 13 1919 I find the following—

Read a letter from Mr K P Jayaswal Tagore Law Professor for 1917 enquiring whether the University would undertake the work of publishing his Tagore Law lectures on his transferring to it the cost of publication amounting to Rs 1200 to which he is entitled.

On this letter the Syndicate resolved—

That Mr K P Jayaswal be requested to return the manuscripts of his lectures and that he be informed that the University will arrange for the publication of his lectures.

This is followed by another resolution—

\*Resolved further—

That the Honble Dr A Subhawardy M A be requested to send the manuscripts of his Tagore Law Lectures to the Registrar and he be informed that the University will arrange for the publication of his lectures.

This resolution is similar to that recorded on Mr Jayaswal's letter, though the receipt of any similar letter from Dr Subhawardy is not recorded in the Minutes of December 13 1919 Will you, Mr Editor, be good enough to enlighten the public as to whether the latter made any proposal similar to that of the former? If so will you kindly tell me the date of the Minutes where I can find it? But if not why was it necessary for Mr Jayaswal to write a letter containing his reasonable proposal when it was not necessary for Dr Subhawardy to do so? And will you also kindly inform the public whether all the previous Tagore Law Lectures have been published? If not, why has not the University published them as it has published those of the

two persons named above? Finally, I should be obliged if you could tell me the dates of the Minutes where it is recorded that Dr Subhawardy and Mr Jayaswal have transferred Rs 1200 each to the University, which I am sure both of them did

Yours &c,

X

[Editor's Note—As the editor of this Review is not a lawyer he is unable to say whether all Tagore Law Lectures of past years have been published. And as he is not a Fellow of the Calcutta University, no regular receipt of all its Minutes, he is unable also to supply the dates of the Minutes asked for.]

## Hindu Algebra—a query.

It appears from the printed copies of Bhaskara charya's *Lilavati* and *Bijaganita* that he omitted to consider an important case of *Sanshishta Kuttaka* (संश्लिष्ट कुट्टक) in which both the multiplier and the divisor are different in different parts of the same example (e.g., in which, to use the language of modern algebra the coefficients of the unknown quantities are all different in a set of simultaneous equations of the first degree). This omission might be due to the texts of the printed books having been derived from some incomplete manuscripts. This view seems to be supported by the fact that in a manuscript copy of *Lilavati* the omitted case has recently been found by me in a passage beginning thus

हरे विभिन्ने गुणके च भिन्ने  
आदायराधेयं समस्तं साध ।

It is therefore necessary to ascertain if the passage is genuine or merely a modern interpolation. I shall be obliged if I am informed of any cases of *Sanshishta Kuttaka* (with the original rules for their solution or the opening lines thereof in Devanagari or Roman characters) that may be found in the sections on *Kuttaka* in the manuscript copies of Bhaskara charya's *Lilavati* and *Bijaganita* to which your readers may have access—(with the dates of transcription of these MSS.)

SARADAKANTA GANGULY  
Professor, Ravenshaw College  
Cuttack P O

## GLEANINGS

### What Makes Water "Taste"?

It is commonly supposed that various "fishy" and other disagreeable odors and tastes of water in a reservoir are due to the decomposition of fish or other animal or plant forms. As a rule this is not the case. The unpleasant flavors imparted to drinking waters are usually caused

by the presence of two groups of organisms, which develop quite naturally within the waters known as protozoa and algae. The former are minute one celled animal forms the latter microscopic plants. The aromatic odors of drinking water, together with the grassy or 'hay' odors are due to the algae forms. These are usually not sufficiently unpleasant to cause much

discomfort. But the more objectionable odors and strong tastes of fish or of some decaying substance is due to the protozoa.

These minute forms are composed of but a single cell made up of pure protoplasm and vary in size from two to eight hundred microns. For purposes of comparison it is convenient to note that the diameter of the average human hair is fifty microns. Practically all of the water polluting protozoa lie below the limits of fifty microns along the longest axis of the body. The noxious odors and tastes are imparted during either the growth or the disintegration of the protozoa. With the growth of some forms certain organic oils are liberated from the body giving to the water an odor or taste distinctly different from that imparted by the dead and disintegrating body of the same species.

Furthermore, the odors and tastes from any one form differ in *quality* as their intensity changes. Thus an odor of flavor that is innocuous or even pleasant in its aromatic or spicy quality when but faintly detectable often becomes disagreeable when present in larger amounts.

It is not desirable to resort to methods of killing those forms that have already invaded a reservoir since this may assist in the liberation of a large quantity of oil from the decomposing bodies at one time. Instead preventives of the growth of the noxious forms are more to be desired. The simplest of these is copper sulphate. Bags of copper sulphate crystals dragged behind a boat back and forth over the surface of a reservoir or lake quickly kill what few forms of noxious protozoa there may be present before they have a chance to multiply and pollute the water beyond all hope.

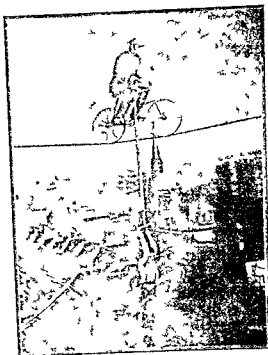
Experiments seem to indicate that the introduction into reservoirs of certain of the larger carnivorous forms of protozoa not in themselves harmful may serve to keep in check the undesirable species. The introduction of fish is entirely useless since not even the newly hatched fish of any species feed upon such minute forms as the water polluting protozoa.

### Dangling from the Bicycle She Lowers Center of Gravity

At first glance this looks like one of the most daring feats ever carried out in midair.

Harry Iell a European gymnast recently thrilled a great crowd of people with his tight rope bicycle trick. He rode across a street from one high building to another with a woman dangling from the end of an iron pipe attached to the bicycle.

Although the trick appears very hazardous it is not so dangerous as it looks. The woman hanging on the end of the iron acts like the lead



An Apparently Dangerous Trick

keel on a sailboat. She provides a low center point of gravity that makes it practically impossible for the bicycle to tip over. If the iron pipe were shorter there might be another story to tell.

### Six Fingers on Each Hand

Occasionally you hear of a man who has too many fingers or toes. Did you ever see one? If not you will be interested in the picture of the man given here. He has six perfectly formed fingers on each hand and they all are active members. When the photographer wished to take his pictures he obligingly rested all twelve fingers on his chest. The only time his extra fingers bother him is when he wishes to play the piano—they get in the way.

According to biologists if this twelve-fingered man should marry a twelve-fingered woman most of their children would have twelve fingers though the tendency might not appear until the next generation.



He has a finger on each of his hand

### In the City of the Lilliputians

Swift has made us acquainted with the city of the Lilliputians where people no larger than a man's thumb lived and did all their transactions. But that was the city of his imagination. Recently however we have heard of such a city. It is not an imaginary one. It exists not very far off from Berlin. Seventy six all people live in this small town where all things are small. They have their own shops postal departments police force and fire-departments too. Many curious people from the neighbouring towns

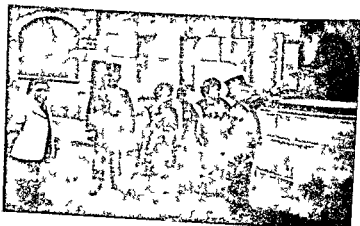
always come to see them and their doings. They are not a caste by themselves. Many of their relatives are full grown people and live in different parts of the country.

### Two Hundred Tons Added to the Earth Daily

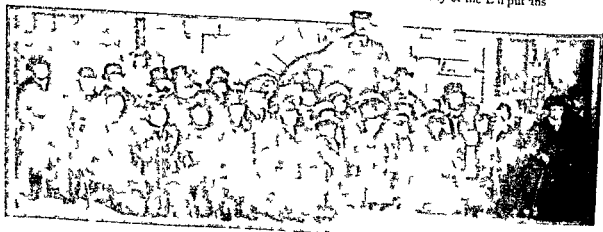
There is not a spot on this globe that has not yielded what the housewife calls dust. It is found settling alike upon the white polar snows and on the Sahara desert as well as on the decks of ocean going ships.

The earth is continually colliding with great swarms or clouds of dust and small particles ranging in size from a pin's head to a walnut.

In dashing into our atmosphere with a speed of from ten to forty five miles a second they are immediately rendered incandescent and reduced to powder through friction with our air. This process of dissolution produces the shooting star or meteor. Thus the debris or powder resulting from the continual destruction of these



The Post Office in the City of the Lilliputians



The Inhabitants of the City of the Lilliputians



two more) awarded him the first place, at the Board's meeting.

You take exception to two of the same examiners having been appointed subsequently to examine the Prathana Deb Prize essays in law for 1920, when one of the essays was identical or nearly identical with Banerji's P. R. S. thesis. I think your objection is well founded on the technical point you raise regarding rules. But of course that is a matter, again, entirely between you and your University's administration. Outsiders have nothing to do with it and when an outsider is requested to look into technical theses, especially when the work is honorary (as it was in both cases you mention), one has to co-operate out of respect to a great University, and lend one's time and energy in rendering the service requested for. But now, thanks to your general comments, one has to take the lesson that an outsider must refuse all help to the Calcutta University lest his name should be soiled by your home acrimony. I do not find that you complain of anyone being passed over in the Law Prize. This is proper, for the other essays were utterly worthless. I feel that in fairness to Banerji the candidate, I must write to you this letter. Your note is not just to him on merits.

Nor are your remarks (quoting from Jadu Babu) re shuffling of examiners just to me when you mix me up with the Omnibus Mr. Bhattacharya etc. I had nothing to do with any other P. R. S. examination. I am not a professional examiner, in fact I refuse so many University paid examinerships. Unfortunately for myself I had specialised in the subject on which Banerji happened to write. I do not know whether under the Calcutta rules he is entitled to use his thesis for two prizes, but in Europe I know friends who have had two degrees on the same work. I trust, knowing you as I do, you would not let your criticisms be unjust and unfair to all who have had even a casual, though unfortunate acquaintance with the university of your town. I wish in view of your note it were Jadu Babu or Rakhal Babu who examined this thesis on Hindu Law and not

Patna  
September 3, 1921

K. P. Jayaswal,

P. S.

I owe it to the memory of the dead Vidyabhushana to say that he never opened his lips in the meeting regarding the thesis of Acharya (who you say is his nephew). It was I who emphasised the striking points of his thesis. Needless to say that as I bear no relationship to Vidyabhushana or Banerji, our heading 'Examiners & examinees related to them' is not justifiable. Of course this is a sound rule that no one should examine his own relative, on behalf of a University. But we do not know that Vidyabhushana was on the Board to examine his own nephew's paper. To be on a Board is different from being the actual examiner. In any case he ought not to have voted on the matter of his relative, and Vidyabhushana in fact took no part in the meeting regarding Acharya's thesis (this I took at the time to have been due to his characteristic indifference).

I must say, in conclusion, Jadu Babu and Rakhal Babu are not the only honest products of the Calcutta University nor are these the only gentlemen with whom original research ended in Bengal. Pramatha Banerji's thesis will be held by one who knows the

subject to be of the same order as any of the writings of these two luminaries of the Calcutta University.

I must take this opportunity to thank you for the service you have rendered to Indian scholarship by exposing the plagiarisms of some of the present chairholders of the Calcutta University. Your charges regarding them are so well proved that if Sir Asutosh Mukherji, Vice-Chancellor, values public confidence, he must ask them to leave the University. But at the same time your Journal should not be a party to tarring people on mere suspicion, as in effect you do with regard to these two candidates—Acharya & Banerji.

K P J

### Editor's Note.

I thank Mr K P Jayaswal for the courteous tone of his letter, except where he unnecessarily and irrelevantly brings in the names of Professor Vidyabhushana, Sirkar and Mr Rakhal Das Banerji. He knows very well that these two gentlemen are not lawyers or students of international law and for that reason alone, if not for others, they could not possibly have been examiners of a thesis on international law. Moreover, they have nothing to do with the matter under discussion. Therefore I think, Mr Jayaswal should have been above this fling at them, which does not touch them at all. Mr Jayaswal insinuates that if they had been the examiners instead of him, the *Modern Review* would not have taken up the critical attitude it has done. I do not remember a single occasion when I have been wanting in courtesy, consideration and fairness to him, or gave him any cause to think that I valued his contributions less than those of any other historical writer. No doubt he has been criticised in the *MR*. But so, occasionally, have Prof Sirkar and Mr R D Banerji. The *Modern Review* has had occasionally to criticise even the greatest of its contributors, to whom it owes its reputation. It will be news to Mr Jayaswal that just as he seems to think Prof Sirkar and Mr R D Banerji are immune from criticism in the *MR*, so do some others consider him immune, and that his critics have charged me with shielding him, because I did not give them a fresh opportunity to criticise and answer him after he had already exercised his right of reply.

Mr Jayaswal is welcome to hold that Mr 'Pramathanath Banerji's thesis will be held by one who knows the subject to be of the same order as any of the writings of these two luminaries of the Calcutta University', viz., Prof Sirkar and Mr R D Banerji. But he does less than justice to himself when he calls them 'luminaries' ironically, and observes sarcastically, and that quite irrelevantly also, 'Jadu Babu and Rakhal Babu are not the only honest products of the Calcutta University nor are these the only gentlemen with whom original research ended in Bengal'. It is to be hoped they never tried to outshine him or trod on his corns. It would be quite easy to refer Mr Jayaswal to a considerable number of articles written by other graduates of the Calcutta University, embodying the results of original research, which the *MR* has gladly published and continues to publish. And this Review has also published favourable reviews of original works written by other Calcutta

graduate. But when people get irritated they are apt to forget patent facts.

Having commenced on the irrelevance of Mr Jayaswal's letter, let me turn now to what is relevant or comparatively relevant. He complains that my "Note is not just to him [i.e. Mr. Pramathanath Banerji] on merits. But Mr. Jayaswal ignores the fact that throughout my Note, not only is there nothing regarding the merits of Mr. Banerji's thesis, but I expressly say there is — 'Not having seen any of the theses and not possessing the qualification to judge of the merits of such learned productions, we neither say nor suggest anything regarding their merits.' Yet my critic says I am unjust to Mr. Banerji on merits." As to Mr. Acharyya's thesis also, I have said nothing more regarding its merits than what the examiners themselves have said.

Throughout his letter the critic practically ignores the point of my Note contained in the sentences: "We only bring to the knowledge of the public the bare facts as to how examinations are conducted in a hurried manner for a fee." He thinks it is a question between myself and my University. It has no public importance.

As the critic has raised the question of merits and holds that Mr. Banerji's thesis possesses great merit, I may be permitted to state subject to correction what opinions the three examiners of Mr. Banerji's (Pranath Deb Prize thesis (the same as the P. R. S. thesis) expressed on it. I am informed Mr. Jayaswal wrote: "I award the prize. The roots of the present lie deep in the past. [That was Mr. Banerji's motto.] The other essay is worthless. It is a cruelty to examiners to be made to read such stuff." The roots is a very good paper and fully deserves the prize. Here the examiner's language is rather too warm. And then how was the poor Registrar of the University to know what stuff—good, bad or indifferent—the sealed envelopes enclosing the theses contained? He had to be kind or cruel unintentionally and mechanically, you know! Mr. Bhandarkar wrote: "The roots is of exceptional merit and is vastly superior to *Thesis* [the other thesis]. The first of these obviously deserves the prize. These two examiners had previously examined 'The roots' thesis by Mr. Banerji for the P. R. S., and obviously could recognize it as the same. While such were the opinions of the two examiners who had previously examined the thesis for the P. R. S. and had come to know who was its writer, let us see what opinion was expressed by the third examiner, who had not previously examined the thesis for the P. R. S. and did not know who the writer was. This third examiner was Dr. S. C. Bagchi B.A., LL.B., LL.D., Principal of the Calcutta University Law College. He wrote: "The roots evinces some amount of research and is decidedly better than the other. But I must say none of them are of exceptional merit." The thesis was on a legal subject. As of the three examiners Mr. Bhandarkar is not a lawyer, one has to choose between the opinions of the other two who are lawyers. One of them thinks very highly of it, the other must say that it is not of exceptional merit, though it "evinces some amount of research." So Mr. Jayaswal's dictum that Pramathanath Banerji's thesis will be held by one who knows the subject to be of a high order, may be

open to question, if in appointing Dr. Bagchi an examiner the University chose one who knows the subject. But, of course, it may be that the Principal of the University Law College does not know the subject and therefore the University appointed one who was ignorant of the subject to examine a thesis on it! We suppose Mr. Bhandarkar also, not being a lawyer, must come under the same category, in spite of his pronouncing the thesis to be of exceptional merit! This is quite in keeping with the non-appointment of any anthropologist as an examiner, though there was an anthropological thesis to examine.

Mr. Jayaswal speaks of two degrees being won by "the same work in Europe. But in my September Note the point of my criticism was not that two rewards had been won by the same piece of work but that the severity enjoined by the rules had been violated by a thesis previously examined by two persons being submitted again for examination to the same two persons. Mr. Jayaswal cannot dispute, as he has not disputed the fact of this violation. He, in fact, admits the technical validity of my contention.

He seems to imply that I have been 'unjust and unfair' to him. But he has not been able to point out in my Note a single suppression, distortion or manipulation of facts. I have stated the bare facts with the natural inferences. If the narration of facts results in injustice to him, he should accuse not me but his evil destiny or some other occult factor.

He dwells much on the merits of two of the candidates who obtained the P. R. S. His heart is full of the milk of human kindness for them. I do not blame him for it, as that is what ought to be. But I wonder why he is blind to the fact that a quite possibly very meritorious rival of these two persons, was shut out from the competition altogether by the non-appointment of an examiner who knows anthropology. I wonder why it did not occur to him that the anthropological thesis might possibly have been found, on examination by an impartial and competent anthropologist to be superior or at least equal in merit to the theses for which the P. R. S. was awarded. I wonder why the jurist's mind (which loves justice) in Mr. Jayaswal has not felt indignation at the denial of justice to Braja Sankar Guha.

I have been accused of doing injustice to two of the successful candidates of tarring them. I repudiate the charge. I am not guilty of the least injustice to them not having pronounced any opinion of my own on the merits of the theses. The really guilty parties are their relatives, who by their place in the Board of Examiners have made people suspicious about the justness of the award. I take it for granted that their theses possess merit—great merit. But my I, on that assumption, ask, why their relatives could not have such confidence in the excellence of the theses as to keep aloof and leave them entirely in the hands of a properly constituted impartial and competent Board of Examiners of which not a single member was a relative of any examinee? Which is more valuable—money and academic "honours" won by an arrangement which arouses suspicion, or reputation for genuine scholarship without such "honours" and pecuniary gain?

ing fire being fanned into a flame?" These questions have to be answered.

For the word Ahimsa, that has been publicly uttered and asserted as the first principle of the struggle, is a great word with a great history behind it. When the teaching of Ahimsa was first given to mankind by Indian lips, it was the fruit of a supreme renunciation. The lives of Gautama and of Mahabir, the founder of the Buddhist and the Jain religions, tell the same story of *tapasya*. To the Lord Buddha, Ahimsa was a fundamental principle of human life that led to a harmony of the soul. It was an inward, not an outward thing—essentially of the heart, not merely of the physical body. Its purity could only be kept unstained by constant retirement from the world. For love, even of enemies, was intimately bound up with Ahimsa: and this higher love was to be manifested in thought as well as deed. The 'noble eighthold path' lays special emphasis on noble thoughts. In the Buddhist monuments, such as that at Borobudur, in Java, this principle of divine compassion, for all mankind and for all living creatures, is engraved in stone. Its truth is as unfading as the sculptures themselves, because it belongs to the inner spirit of man.

Now today this sacred name of Ahimsa, with all its religious implication, has been invoked upon the national movement. It is essential, therefore, that the movement itself should be one of purification from passion. It should be set free from bitter, rancorous controversy, and should win by love. Every word uttered should be a word of love. The old poisonous atmosphere of Himsa,—that atmosphere in which would exaggerations, and false rumours and bitter animosities flourish,—should be more and more eliminated, not merely from the outward deed and outward speech, but from the heart.

All the questionings, which troubled my mind in Calcutta, have met their partial answer amid the groves that fringe the banks of the Jamuna, at Brindaban. For

I have been witnessing there, during the last few days, a living example of Ahimsa, as it is practised today among the Vaishnava devotees who have come here to end their lives in peace by the side of the sacred waters. It has been of profound interest to me to trace how thus, in later popular Hindu teaching, the beautiful inspiration of the earlier Buddhist teaching has been kept fresh in India. I have been dwelling among these Vaishnavas, many of whom have come from Bengal, and I have been watching daily with my own eyes the very life of the Buddhist past carried forward into the modern age, transformed indeed in outward character, but not losing its inner spirit. Above all, there has been manifested, in a way that wins the heart, that tender and deep religious instinct which Buddhism shared with Jainism in the days of old,—the instinct Ahimsa. For I have seen and shared the reverence of these Vaishnava devotees, not only for their fellow human beings but for the whole animate creation. Even trees and shrubs, plants and flowers, are tenderly dear to them.

I had left Calcutta by the night mail, and during the following day, which was dark and clouded, the controversies which had filled the air in Calcutta had weighed heavily upon me. I had been pained and troubled and anxious at the burning of the foreign clothes, which had suddenly come to the very forefront of the national programme. It was impossible for my mind to reconcile itself to this act of destruction, while poor women and children, near at hand, were actually dying of cold and hunger and nakedness. It seemed out of all touch with the spirit of the Buddha.

The rain poured down in streams outside the carriage window, and the gloomy portrait of the villagers in Khulna, who were shivering in their shame and nakedness, came vividly before me. I could not get it out of my mind.

But the next morning, on my way to Brindaban from Muttra, the sun shone out over the fields, the river gleamed in the distance, and for a moment the burden of Calcutta and its politics was lifted. All the way to Brindaban past memories

sharing in social activities to serve his fellow men. We find, to take one example, how the life of the householder (in that Eastern ideal of the four *Āshramas*) is followed by that of the *śānaprasthā* and the *sannyāsin* both of which imply renunciation of the world. In the old Buddhist discipline also not only has the home life to be given up by those who would seek perfection but still further in the course of each year the period of the monsoon rains must be observed by the Buddhist monk or nun as a time of rest and retreat with no more journeyings to and fro throughout the land till the dry weather returns. Seated we read in one retired spot the days should be spent in meditation. Even if there should be a certain overbalance towards world abandonment and renunciation in this discipline still even that is to be preferred to the absorption in worldly activity which the Northern races hitherto have been so furiously cultivating. The individual men and women of the West of every country in Europe, are today rejecting their earlier feverish activities as a curse which has only brought misery and suffering on God's Earth. They are determined to be impious no longer.

But what a tragedy it would be—thus my thoughts ran rapidly forward—if this very restlessness of the European races this very fever of impatient greed for immediate success this absorption in political affairs at the expense of the soul were now to seize upon the peoples of the East! What a disaster to humanity if at this critical juncture when Europe in sincere self-diffidence has turned to the ancient wisdom of the East seeking to learn its age-long experience there should be no message to give to her except state political bickerings and insensate racial hates! What a final blow of a perverse destiny if the mad tumult of the past years in Europe should be reflected and even repeated in India!

There came back at this time to my mind one further and deeper thought which

had been haunting me for many years and had as yet received no clear and convincing answer. It is this: Is the ideal of a perfect human Society all that the Kingdom of God on Earth implies? Is there not also an infinite ideal for the individual as an individual apart from human society? To put this in other words—is human society an end in itself or is the individual an end in himself or are both ends in themselves—the human society and the human individual? It had all ways seemed to me absolutely clear, that Christ had set an infinite value upon the individual not merely in his relation to society but as an end in himself.

In modern Europe I had felt many currents running swiftly forward which seemed to obliterate these landmarks of the individual soul and to merge it into the social structure—as though if only the social structure were made complete the end of humanity would be accomplished. I had rejoiced on the other hand to find in Indian religious thought and practice something that was incorrigibly individual. Here the *Sannyās* ideal (in which every social tie is broken) seemed to be its crowning achievement. It spelt to me always of a stage beyond the social, in which the individual soul may reside alone with his God without any thought of desertion or of shunning the brittle of life. In this stage the soul steps out into the unknown away from society altogether—away from home away from wife and child away from friends and boon companions away even from the Body of Humanity itself in order to meet God in solitude face to face. Was not the long journey of these *Vaishnava* devotees which they had taken away from their own homes their kindred and their friends in far off Bengal to live and die at Brindāban—was not this one form of that *Sannyās* ideal?

This picture of utter loneliness with God had often impressed me in my reading of Christ's life in the Gospels—the solitary nights spent alone on the mount in tops in prayer the forty days retirement in the desert before his active ministry began—the shunning of the crowd just at the

bright of his own success in winning the hearts of the common people; the strange aloofness from the disciples themselves, and even from his own mother, in moments of spiritual isolation, I had always noticed the stress which Christ laid upon renunciation and self-denial, how he regarded this as something that his disciples might have to enter upon at a moment's notice—"Except a man be ready to give up father and mother and wife and child, yea, and all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple. .... The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the son of man hath not where to lay his head."

I had sometimes felt a certain reaction arising in me against this utter abandonment which Christ demanded. But was not this itself a symbol of the infinite dignity of man *in himself* stripped bare of all outward surroundings. Did not the Buddha also practice this aloofness, side by side, with his universal compassion for the children of men?

In India, as life had gone forward, I had experienced, for more than in Europe, this longing for aloofness. I had fought against it, and tried either to overcome it, or else to satisfy it with spaces of quiet in the daily routine of life; but it had often become irresistible in its demands, and at times my whole nature had been jarred for want of harmony. Here in Brindaban these longings for retirement had again been strangely stirred.

There is an illustration which may make clear what I mean by this going out into solitude, in order to meet God face to face. During the Antarctic Expedition, under Captain Scott, the tiny group of explorers had worked their way back almost to the last stage homewards, where they had left their provisions and comforts behind them, when they had pressed forward to reach the South Pole. They had come back, mile after mile, with incredible suffering, through a blinding blizzard of snow and sleet, and now only a few more miles remained in order to reach their abundant supplies. But the explorers had already become exhausted. It was very doubtful, if they could complete the

final stage. With one member of the tiny party it was impossible, unless he were carried; and the few survivors had no strength for such a task. Yet they were ready to try to undertake it. But he refused, and with stumbling steps went back into the storm, to meet his end. His last words, if I remember right, were these,—  
"I am going outside." He was lost in the blinding snow. He had gone, outside into the Unknown. There, in solitude, he had met God face to face.

The figure of that explorer, who went back into the driving storm, has often brought to my mind the thought I needed of the infinity and vastness of human personality. If there were not this region of aloofness and this atmosphere of solitude, would not the very conception of the infinite be lost to the human consciousness? That daring imagery of Mahadev, the ascetic, seated upon the Himalayan snows has given to me again and again, from another aspect, the poetic symbol that I needed for the infinite in God and man.

What I have been realising more in India than in Europe is this,—that all the Utopias and Republics, from that of Plato down to H. G. Wells, must have some place in them for the *Sannyasin*. The Kingdom of God on Earth must ever have its highways and avenues open towards the unexplored. Otherwise, human life, however perfect, must feel its finitude. And this solitary aspect of human personality must not be postponed to the period of old age, when life itself has become enfeebled and inactive. Rather it implies silent spaces at every stage, wherein the soul of man may come face to face with God alone.

At this point I left my manuscript unfinished. Now again, as I have read over what I have written, I can see already that an answer has been given to some at least of my many questionings. Here, in the peace of Brindaban, I can realise that life is not all one long tragic horror, against which we have to fight and battle until death brings release. It is, true, that

that there are tragedies every day but there is also joy, there is laughter, there are children's voices sunshine floods the world, and beauty is real Life is not all a repetition of struggles and fights of plagues and famines Life has its Brindaban The pastoral legends of these groves, the poetry of these river banks the devotion of these countless pilgrims, the memories of saintly lives that have been lived here, will keep the name of Brindaban still fresh in human history, age after age

It has been good for me, therefore to relieve the tension of these past months in which I have been face to face with tragic suffering, by drinking in the beauty and the peace of Brindaban It has been good to feel the religious spirit of these my brothers and sisters, who have come as pilgrims from distant Bengal and from the North of India from Rajputana and from the further South It has been good to learn the inner secret of their lives and the peace to which they have attained And it has been good indeed to dwell in the Prem Mahā Vidyalaya of Brindaban,—the school of loving teachers and students,—under the care of my host

Ananda Bhikshu the gentle guardian spirit of the institution, himself a devout worshipper, who delights in the Buddhist creed He has brought back to my heart the message of peace by his ministry of loving service

And therefore, as I depart from Brindaban in the evening light, while the sun is setting over the sacred river, and the shadows lengthen, it is with the words of the evening prayer of our own ashram, at Santiniketan, that I make my last salutation,—

To the Divine One, who is in the fire, who is in the water, who dwells penetrating the whole universe who is in the great trees and in the yearly harvest, I bow, I bow in worship

Let Peace be on earth and water and sky Let Peace dwell in the fields and forests and in all the powers of the Universe

With this peace, which is in the heart of all let me tranquilise all that is cruel and evil and iniquitous into the serene and the good Let all things be for our peace Peace Peace Peace

Brindaban

C I ANDRÉS

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[ Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese Bengali English Gurmukhi Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam Marathi Nepali Oriya Punjabi Sinhalese Tamil, Telugu and Urdu Newspapers periodicals school and college text books and their annotations pamphlets and leaflets reprints of magazine articles addresses etc., will not be noticed The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged nor any queries relating thereto answered The review of any book is not guaranteed Books should be sent to our office addressed to the Assamese Reviewer the Hindi Reviewer the Bengali Reviewer etc. as directed in the language of the books No criticism of book reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M R ]

### EX-LIST

THE ERIC OF INDIAN WOMANHOOD By K S Ramaswami Sastri, B A, I I, (The Imperial Trading Co., Madras Re 1)

The author of these tales in English blank verse embodying some of the highest ideals of Hindu womanhood is well known in Southern India as an able and respected member of the Judicial Service who has kept up his enthusiasm for letters unimpaired through years of official responsibility. Combining profound Sanskrit scholarship with a good knowledge of western

literature Mr K S Ramaswami Sastri has always made an admirable interpreter of the East to the West. It is not surprising that he should have felt it necessary to narrate the inspiring lives of Hindu heroines in English for the benefit of those unacquainted with Sanskrit, of whom, alas! there are so many even in this ancient home of the noble tongue. The author has dealt with four heroines—Sakuntala already immortalised in epic and romance the memory of whose beautiful life still lingers fondly on the imagination of India Smryukta of the Mudda Ages who inspired the devotion and chivalry of

*Heran faris Sarathi K. n. r. s. s. t. a. n. d. e*  
*Saraswati Hall Pettah Colombo Ceylon*

On two occasions before this we had much pleasure in not only the first four volumes of the series which is being edited with so much care and labour. This time too we are very glad to receive the next three volumes of it. The edition is based on several manuscripts as well as the books already printed in different countries if they are printed at all. Very

readings have been given choosing the best of them for the text. Indices of words explained and proper names have also been appended. The get-up is excellent. It is printed in a handsome character. The only defect of the edition which troubles the readers is that it does not mark with figure the paragraphs corresponding to the original. So it takes much of a time to find out the passage one wants to see.

V. D. JUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

## THE MAKING OF THE MOGHAL SCHOOL OF PAINTING

**T**he student of Indian art the study of the development of the Moghal school of painting presents a very interesting subject. For although in its inception it owed much to Persian art it ultimately became absolutely Indian in character and expression and contributed a magnificent part towards the contents of Indian pictorial art. Indian art was experiencing a low tide during the period immediately preceding the Moghals. The advent of the Moghal school brought fresh waters in the stream of Indian aesthetic culture and produced wonderful works of art of various kinds one of which was painting.

The want of substantive records of pre-Moghal Indian paintings makes the history of the inception and gradual development of the Moghal school rather obscure but it is possible to trace it more or less satisfactorily with the help of certain types of paintings which show the different stages of the mingling of the technique and mannerism of both the Persian and pre-Moghal Indian paintings which eventually produced the Moghal school.

The Buddhist frescoes which preceded the Moghal school by several centuries form a distinctly separate school by themselves and do not bear any direct influence over the Moghal school. The artistic traditions of this magnificent school lived for centuries and travelled far and wide even beyond the limits of India. The art of Nepal and Tibet which is a direct descendant of this school has retained even up to the present day all the characteristic peculiarities of the parent art. The natural isolation and the extremely esoteric and canonical requirements of these countries have been helpful to maintain this individuality. But in India conditions have

been different. Roughly speaking the middle of the seventh century saw the end of the Buddhist school. After this internecine wars and other political and religious changes brought to a close the execution of works of art dedicated to Buddhism. From the middle of the seventh century to the middle of the sixteenth century the history of Indian



A Persian Painting

painting presents a big blank. A few fragments most of which are Nepalese and relate directly to the Buddhist school, are all

The history of the Moghal school begins with the Indo Persian style. The Indo Persian school was very short lived and as a matter of fact it never reached such dimensions as to form a separate school. The traditions of the Persian school found their way to India with the Moghals and the early stage of the Moghal school, which may be called the Indo Persian school shows the adaptation of the Persian style for early Moghal pictures. Certain elements of Chinese art are occasionally traceable in some Indo-Persian works but this Chinese influence gradually diminished and by the end of the 16th century very little of it was accepted by the Moghal school except a few motifs such as the conventional treatment of clouds, fabulous animals and angels.

The wealth and weakness of India attracted the Moghal invader but when Baber laid the foundation of the Moghal house in India the stream of Persian art began to flow towards India. Baber was a soldier but he even seems to have been fond of paintings. Humayun had a very troublous time but his exile in Persian Court perhaps helped him considerably to appreciate Persian art. With Akbar the line of the Moghals was firmly established in India and the connection of the Moghals with India became real and firm. The Moghals retained their kinship with Persia but they became essentially Indians and did all they could to advance and imbibe Indian culture.

One of the things which appealed to Akbar, as his historian Abul Fazl has recorded, was painting. The emperor had great admiration for Indian painting and he



A Tibet Painting from Basohli

is said to have said that he thought that an artist was capable of realising the glory of God while trying to copy natural forms. It is interesting to note that like the Persian artists the prohibition of the Quran to represent animate forms in painting did not trouble the Moghal artists.

There are hardly any remains of the pre-Moghal Indian paintings which appealed so much to Akbar and which directly led to the foundation of the Moghal school. The want of such records is greatly to be regretted but it does not obscure the probable nature and condition of Indian paintings of this period. There are some paintings which although of post-Moghal date show little or no Persian or Moghal influence. These illustrate at least some of the types of paintings which must have existed prior to or at the time of the introduction of the Moghal school.

The Jaina paintings for instance,





Illustration from Blabu Dutt's 'Ragamana' (Basohli)

a pre-Moghal type and do not show 'except some of the later ones any Persian influence. The majority of these paintings are esoteric and dogmatic in form and motif but secular paintings of this school also have the same peculiarities. A very interesting illustration of the latter type is reproduced here\*. It probably belongs to the first half of the 17th century as the inscription on the back is in Persian character while the language is pure Hindi. In some secular paintings of this type of the Jaina school we come across certain ornamental motifs of the Persian school. This is because most of these paintings are of post Moghal date and

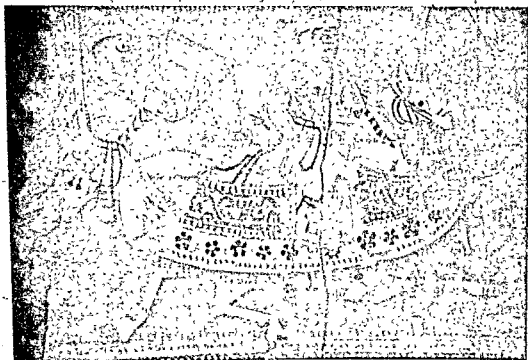
the artists could not help adopting unintentionally some of the patterns of exotic origin with which they were gradually becoming familiar through the art products of the early Moghal period.

Another type of paintings both esoteric and secular which clearly demonstrates a pre-Moghal existence may be found chiefly in Basohli in the Punjab. The peculiar interest attached to these paintings is that they relate very closely to the Nepalese school and indirectly suggests its descent from the art of Ajanta. The Basohli paintings are very curiously called *Tibeti* by the curio dealers in the Punjab and elsewhere but they have no direct con-

nection with Tibetan or Nepalese paintings beyond the fact that the peculiar colour scheme in both the types is very much the same.

The archaic mannerism of these types of paintings does not seem to have had any direct influence on the Moghal school but it is clear that it indirectly regulated the Persian influence on which the art of the Moghals was chiefly based. In the Persian school the value of lines superseded the value of colours. Its conventions created an atmosphere of charming freedom—a freedom which interpreted the spirit of nature in her essential truth and beauty. The canonical Indian schools presented a somewhat different treatment of lines but they were radiant with more picturesque and convincing colours. The Moghal artists who

\* By kind permission of the Curator Central Museum Lahore.



Part of a Secular Jaina Painting.

had for their guidance both the Persian and Indian elements adopted with certain limitations the conventions of the Persian school and mixed them with the colouring of the Indian schools. It was in this effort that

the Moghal school came into being and produced magnificent results full of new artistic expressions.

SAHARENDRA NATH GUPTA.

## SUBSIDISING BRITISH INDUSTRY AT INDIA'S EXPENSE

### REVELATIONS CONCERNING PURCHASE IN ENGLAND OF STORES FOR INDIA.

By ST. NIHAL SINGH.

**I**F the Legislative Assembly is worth anything it will insist upon finding out the exact extent to which the purchases of stores, made through the Stores Department, recently transferred to India's High Commissioner's Office, are being used to subsidise British industry and commerce.

Charges based upon information supplied

by the Director-General of Stores, and statements made by the High Commissioner (Sir William Meyer) to the Indian Railway Committee, have been published in the *Hindu* (Madras), which is the only newspaper in India possessing the enterprise to have gone to the expense of securing a report of the evidence publicly given in London before that Committee. In the

course of a telegram sent from London on June 30th, the special London correspondent of that newspaper asserted that

Though some orders were being given to foreign firms yet stores are almost wholly being purchased in Britain. In the light of figures recently given out by the High Commissioner there can be no doubt that India can purchase such stores much cheaper outside Britain. To have the purchase of stores means at present consideration of British industries from ten to thirty per cent at India's expense.

The Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, on July 2nd, told the Member for Industry and Commerce of the Governor General's Council (Sir Thomas Holland) that his Committee had received information that British materials were about 30 per cent higher in prices than Continental materials. That statement implied that India has to pay 30 per cent more for any stores bought in Britain than if purchases in behalf of her, were to be made abroad.

The only reply that the member for Commerce and Industry gave, if the report sent out by the Associated Press of India is accurate, was that the Secretary of State for India (Mr E S Montagu) and the High Commissioner were not the sort of men to permit India to be exploited by British industrialists and commercialists. To quote the report

'I should not assume for instance from what we know of Mr Montagu that he is likely to flout Indian public opinion or attempt to saddle India with additional enormous cost simply because it is in the interests of the British manufacturers to do so or that he has shown local patriotism by indiscriminately placing all his orders with British manufacturers. There are however some assumptions that can safely be made. One is that the Secretary of State does not place orders at all on behalf of the Indian Government Departments. It is rather unusual to decorate in torrid language the motives of a man for an act which he has never committed at all. The function of purchasing stores has been handed over to the High Commissioner an official directly subordinate to the Government of India and those of you who know Sir William Meyer will support me when I say that Indian interests can have no more able or rigidly conscientious supporter. Sir William Meyer will certainly consider the financial interests of India to be more important than giving support to British manufacturers.

After trying to turn off the indignation

justly felt by Indians at the favouritism shown to British firms at India's expense by men in her pay, the member for Industry and Commerce challenged the President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau to produce

'The exact figures for example, with regard to the type of locomotives required for Indian State Railways.'

so that he could refer the matter to the High Commissioner and ask his explanation of any instance which shows that Indian financial interests are being sacrificed for the sake of British manufacturers.

I do not know whether or not the President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau cited any specific instances. As one who personally heard the evidence publicly given by India's High Commissioner before the Indian Railway Committee and as one who for many years, has sought to study and to safeguard India's interests, I propose to furnish the Indian public with facts and figures, which conclusively show

(1) that the Stores Department of the High Commissioner's Office is favouring British firms and

(2) that such favouritism is occasioning financial loss and is prejudicial to India's general interests

## II

Quite early in the course of the examination in-chief, Sir William Acworth, the Chairman of the Indian Railway Committee told the High Commissioner that one of the complaints that was made in India was that in the matter of the purchase of stores English companies gave preference to England, although stores might be bought cheaper and equally well in the United States or in Germany, and that thereby the Indian tax payer suffered.

Sir William Meyer very properly refused to go into the procedure adopted by the Companies but stated that so far as the Stores Department of his office, which bought stores for the Indian railways directly managed by the State was concerned he (the High Commissioner) found himself rather between Scylla and Charybdis in these matters. On the one-

Indians demand,—and demand, from their point of view, quite reasonably—that the stores shall be purchased absolutely in the cheapest market. On the other hand a good deal of pressure is brought to bear upon him from various sides in England to deal with British firms and companies. He is told that what is the good of having a dependency if its trade is allowed to flow into foreign channels. The British industrialists and commercialists also say that it is very hard that they should be penalised by the abnormal advantage obtained through Germany through the rate of exchange. They claim that they have served India well in times past and that if they have to shut up shop things will be worse for the British in the future.

Sir William added that he had always taken up the position that it is not the business of the Indian tax payer to subsidise British industries or British labour but that *within certain limits one might give a bit of a preference* especially to firms with whom the Department has formerly dealt. The italics are mine.

In regard to the procedure the High Commissioner stated the Director General of Stores dealt with the mass of contracts but at present cases in which it is proposed to deal with a foreign firm go to him. The general policy is that *if the lowest British tender is within 10 per cent say of the German or Belgian tender it is given to the British firm*. That rule however is subject to specific and possibly different application in particular cases (The italics are mine).

The High Commissioner deemed it advisable to point out to the Committee that the Secretary of State is subject to various questions in Parliament about the matters pertaining to the stores. Though the High Commissioner is subordinate to the Government of India and not to the India Office, he has to explain his policy to that Office. The Secretary of State so much approved of it that he told him that he thought of asking the Companies to follow it also. That would mean that the Companies working certain lines of railways were to be asked to give preference to the British firms up to 10 per cent,

and that they probably are thus favouring them.

Thereupon the Chairman remarked that the High Commissioner had raised an important point and asked him if he was an officer of the Government of India.

Sir William replied that he was subordinate to the Government of India.

A less capable Chairman would have let the matter rest there. Sir William Acworth however, asked if the only manner in which the Secretary of State could deal with the High Commissioner was through the Government of India.

After replying to that question in the affirmative Sir William Meyer went on to say that if he were doing things that were considered objectionable the Secretary of State might instruct the Government of India to direct him to abate his actions. No such case however, had arisen theretofore.

After reading so luminous a statement I am sure no one in India or elsewhere would have the hardihood to suggest that the High Commissioner for India is independent of the Secretary of State for India. To continue the evidence however.

Sir William Acworth took the trouble to say that he fully understood Sir William Meyer's attitude that he gave certain preference to those English firms that had supplied materials and had served him well and asked him if he regarded that as a businesslike and proper thing to do.

Sir William replied Exactly. To make it doubly sure the Chairman asked the witness if he did not think it was contrary to the interests of India in the long run if he sacrificed five hundred or five thousand pounds on an individual contract. The High Commissioner insisted that such procedure was entirely to the interest of India in the long run. He called pointed attention to the fact that a guarantee had been given by the India Office on behalf of the Government of India that all the proceeds of the loan of 7½ millions that was floated in London a little time ago would be applied to the purchase of railway material in Britain.

The purchase of material, and in any case, at least 7½ millions—probably very much more—will come from British undertakings.

If these words have any meaning at all, they imply that not only are the British people given the opportunity to derive interest, at a handsome rate, from India, but they also make money off us by selling us goods at rates in excess of those at which we can buy them from foreign countries. It is legitimate to interpret them as meaning that if the High Commissioner is not to buy stores from Britain, because they can be bought more economically elsewhere, then the Government of India and the India Office have no business to float a loan in the London market upon the express condition that the proceeds of that loan are to be spent upon railway material purchased in this country.

### III

How much does the "bit of preference" given to British firms really amount to?

As already noted, the President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau stated to Sir Thomas Holland that his Committee had definitely ascertained that British materials are about 30 per cent higher in price than Continental materials. In his reply the Member for Industry and Commerce blandly remarked that he should like to know the exact figures, for example, in regard to the type of locomotives required for Indian State Railways for reference to the High Commissioner.

I cannot oblige Sir Thomas Holland with information about the locomotives. It is, however, in my power to give him specific instance relating to rails and wheels and axles, in which to my positive knowledge preference has been shown to British firms, to India's detriment.

Before citing those instances, I had better say how they were obtained. From questions asked and replies given at the India Railway Committee, when Sir William Meyer gave evidence, it appeared that Mr. Purshottamdas Thakurdas had taken the opportunity to go into the question of purchase of stores as thoroughly as he could. Either he, or, perhaps, the Secretary of the Committee, had

written to the Director-General of the Stores Department to enquire about the procedure relating to the purchase of stores followed by that Department, and these efforts, supplemented by questions asked in Committee, resulted in unearthing facts which conclusively proves that India is being made to suffer financially through the extension of patronage to British firms, even when they are economically incapable of competing with foreign (including Dominion and Allied) firms.

While examining Sir William Meyer, Mr. Purshottamdas said that he desired to ask him for information regarding the replies received from the Director-General of Stores to some questions put to him. The questions he had put were not of a technical character. In one of them (Question No. 3), for instance, the Director-General of Stores was asked if tenders for supplies from foreign countries are freely invited and received, and if so, will he give particulars.

The reply, as read out in the Committee, was to the effect that the usual method of inviting foreign tenders from foreign countries was by advertising the requirements, whenever they are considered to be of a nature to attract foreign competition. During 1919-20 thirty-nine foreign tenders were received. Figures for 1912-13 and 1913-14 were not available.

The answer does not state whether the advertisements appear in British or foreign press. I should like to know why the Stores Department cannot give figures for 1912-13 and 1913-14.

After reading out this question and answer, Mr. Purshottamdas asked the High Commissioner as to who exercises the discretion as to whether or not "the requirements are of a nature as to attract foreign competition."

"The Director-General of Stores," the High Commissioner replied.

Mr. Purshottamdas asked if he would be guided by the consideration whether stores of that nature can be obtained in foreign countries or not.

The High Commissioner pointed out that he would take into account the fact that either they cannot be obtained in

foreign countries or that for a series of years a particular country Canada for instance had not sent in any tenders. In such a case it was reasonable to conclude that it was not any particular use advertising the requirements in that country. Another point that had to be borne in mind was that very often he was asked to get stores urgently. To advertise in foreign papers necessarily means a little delay.

Thereupon Mr. Purshottamdas read out the following answer given by the Director General of Stores to Question No 5.

In a few instances foreign tenders from 30 per cent to 50 per cent lower than English tenders have been received and have been dealt with in accordance with the policy indicated in the answer to Question 4. One or two recent examples are given below—

Rails Foreign price £10 10s

Rails British price £17 subsequently reduced to £11 10s

Wheels and Axles—Foreign price £45

Wheels and Axles—British price £83 15s subsequently reduced to £67

After reading these questions and answers Mr. Purshottamdas asked if it was possible that what happened in those two cases might have happened in the case of other materials in regard to which the Director General of Stores exercises his discretion. He asked the High Commissioner to realise that the difference between British and foreign tenders was enormous.

The High Commissioner did not say that those were isolated instances. He merely called Mr. Purshottamdas's attention to the fact that at the outset of the evidence he stated to the Chairman the policy which he had laid down in respect to foreign tenders.

Sir William had personal knowledge about the wheels and axles. A German firm had quoted £45 while the original British tender was nearly £84. He communicated the German price to the British Company and asked them if they could reduce it. They expressed their willingness to reduce it to £67. He took

the view that it was not low enough. He however expressed his willingness to give the contract to them if they would tender at £55 because in the past they had done very good work for the Stores Department and later they might supply waggon for debentures instead of for cash. He had given them time to consider it, and they were still thinking over the offer. (I believe that the British firm in question has since agreed to supply the wheels and axles at £55 and the German firm which tendered at £45 has not been given the contract.)

Mr. Purshottamdas must have been so amazed at the procedure adopted that he could not help hinting to the High Commissioner that he did not approve of it. He suggested that it was not only wrong in principle but also likely to discourage the foreign (lowest) tenderer from tendering again.

The High Commissioner fenced off by saying that Mr. Purshottamdas's criticism would be absolutely just in normal times. He would not think of adopting that system in normal times. At present however they had to face a very abnormal situation in which the Germans thanks to the exchange position and to their necessity of having to pay a huge amount of reparations were putting up what might be called an artificial price. The Stores Department did not wish to see the British firms ruined by German artificial prices because that would probably result in the establishment of German monopoly. On the other hand as he said to the Chairman it would not be legitimate to use the Indian tax payer to any material extent to subsidise British firms. He had therefore adopted a medium position—a moderate amount of preference to British firms which will only last while the present abnormal economic situation continues. (The italics are mine.)

A shrewd business man Mr. Purshottamdas asked the High Commissioner if he may take it that that policy did not prevail before the war and that it will stop in the near future and so soon as the abnormal circumstances adjust themselves

The High Commissioner again fenced

\* It did not transpire what this particular question on the reply given to it was.

off by saying that he was not responsible for the administration of the Stores Department before the War. He understood however, that before the War they went on the *general principle* of going to the cheapest market and when conditions again become normal they will do the same (The italics are mine)

#### IV

I have taken great pains to reproduce, as well as I could the questions pertaining to the purchase of stores asked from Sir William Meyer, and the answers given by him when he appeared before the Railway Committee, because I wish that he should have the benefit of every circumstance which could extenuate the procedure which is being followed by the Stores Department to favour British industry and commerce at India's expense. Now I propose to analyse the excuses and extenuations.

The excuses offered by the High Commissioner may be grouped under heads namely

(a) The British industrialists and commercialists feel that it is no good having a dependency if it is not to serve as a market for British goods

(b) 'The bit of a preference' given to British firms is necessitated by the abnormal post war conditions

(c) The British firms favoured have done exceedingly useful work in the past

(d) These firms will sell us goods, in future, on credit

(e) If British firms go under, we shall be exposed to the mercy of German monopolists

(f) Orders have to be placed in Britain even at a higher cost, because time is of the essence of the matter

I entirely ignore (a). The plea based upon conquest," which, as Sir William Meyer told the Committee, is urged upon him by manufacturers and sellers of British products in order to make him buy those products although they are more costly than foreign materials is unworthy of the British though I do not forget that the *Morning Post* and similar British news papers, do not take the trouble to disguise the fact that the British went to India

and are there for purposes of political and commercial exploitation

As regards (b), I say that I am not at all satisfied that the practice of favouring British firms is a recent practice, expressly designed for the purpose of enabling those firms to tide over the difficult post war period. No Indian worthy of the name will be disposed to believe a mere assertion that the Stores Department is favouring British firms only because times are abnormal or that such favouritism was not going on before the war.

I have already called prominent attention to the fact that the Director General of Stores refuses to give the figures for foreign tenders received in 1912-13 and 1913-14, so that we could have them for purposes of comparison. Why are those figures not available? What sort of office does the Director General run which is unable to supply such information? Besides what good are mere numbers, we must have full particulars.

For one thing, we must know what facilities the Stores Department give to the foreign firms to know of the stores required for India. It is not sufficient to say that foreign firms have their offices in Britain and that advertisements in British papers are, therefore quite sufficient to inform them that certain stores are required. What of those foreign firms which do not have their offices here?

Suppose, for the sake of argument, that the practice of favouring British firms has only recently originated why should India be made to suffer financially because the post war conditions make it imperative for British industry to receive a subsidy. That argument may be good enough for an Englishman but it is not good enough for India. Since he himself admitted that it is not necessary for me to labour the point. If it is necessary to subsidise British firms, why should not the British Government find the money. At least, why not ask India's leave before she is exploited? Would it not be more honest to tell her frankly how far she is being exploited, and not let her find it out through a newspaper correspondent?

As to the argument advanced that the

British firms which are being favoured have done good work for India in the past, I assume that they have been duly recompensed. Personally I believe that they have done very well for themselves and if anyone owes gratitude on this score it is they and not India.

No commercial firm in Britain or else where is likely to sell to India unless India's credit is good nor is it going to sell unless India gives favourable terms. I refuse to believe that our country has fallen so low that she has to coax British firms to sell her on credit by paying 10 per cent to 30 per cent more for the stores she has to purchase in the post war period.

No one in India is likely to be impressed with the argument that if British firms are not patronized to day by us and therefore, go under India shall be exposed to the greed of German monopolists. The German is not the only market in which India can buy. It has moreover to be remembered that the British firms are being favoured not merely at the expense of ex enemy but also allied firms.

Persons who know of the dislocation of British industry and of British labour troubles are likely to smile at the argument that orders are given to British firms because time is of the essence of the

matter in their execution. If the Stores Department would make a clean breast of it, we would I am sure find that there have been and are great delays in the delivery of stores ordered in this country, and in many cases India would have done better even in respect of time if the orders had been placed abroad.

While I am dealing with the question of time I should mention again and again foreign firms are handicapped in competing with British firms for Indian orders because the tenders call for particulars specifications plans etc to reach the India Office at a time which while sufficient for British firms is insufficient for Canadian or American firms.

I make bold to assert that if any Committee upon which all sections of Indians were adequately represented were to go through the records of the Stores Department it would find that from the very moment that that Department was created to the present time, a systematic attempt has been made to prevent as far as possible orders for stores going abroad. It will be found that in order to accomplish that purpose the Department did not give to foreign firms facilities for tendering equal to those given to British firms.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Spitting in Railway Carriages.

That the dirty and insanitary habits of smoking and of spitting in railway carriages is not confined to India does not make them less disgusting and harmful than they are. In the diary of an Indian Tourist published in the September *Bulletin of the International Sanitary Society* we find the following.

The French third class compartments are good but the lower middle class in France have the dirty habit of spitting and throwing ashes from the pipes which they everlastingly smoke into the compartment. They like their own class in England disregard the notice which forbids spitting for hygienic reasons. The Germans

traveling in the third class observe the rules of hygiene and civilization. It must be said to the credit of the women that they do not indulge in this barbarous practice even in France. It is the men who are the greatest offenders. Apropos there is a story related of an eminent Bishop. He was once travelling from Oxford to London and had to catch the train at Oxford to return to London. He arrived late at the station just when the train was moving. Not to miss the train he got into a third class compartment which was occupied by labourers. The passengers said that every seat was occupied and a second class centre holding fast to the edge of the rack. One of the workmen recognizing the high position of the new comer offered him a seat. It was a smoking compartment and one of them after pulling at his pipe spat on the floor and in doing so



exercised himself by saying to the Bishop, 'we call a 'pride' a 'pride sir.' The Bishop answered him in his own vernacular 'you can call it 'singularity' if you please.' In the East it is not merely the labouring class, but all classes, that yield to this foul unclean habit.

### Hard Life of German Professors

The same writer, speaking of a visit paid to Prof. Fickstedt at Berlin, writes—

Mrs. Fickstedt is a highly cultivated lady and speaks many languages. They made me feel quite at home. This is the highest civilisation. She and her husband told me of the hard life of the University men and the scholar. They related to me the slow, struggling steps by which the University men rise to the teachership and professorship under the Universities; what little money picked up from different quarters these Doctors of Philosophy and Science have to eke out the lives. It is remarkable how they bear up against the struggles for years with cheerfulness. They have knowledge for its own sake. That is how they are trained up from their infancy. That is why they are superior in knowledge to the English, the French, and other European nations. My kind and affable host and hostess both work and earn their livelihood. I wish it were a common thing in the world. There would then be less anxiety and poverty, and more illumination and cheerfulness in life.

Here in Calcutta some young hopefuls become full-fledged teachers of the highest post-graduate classes after passing their M.A. examination! The writer continues:

A few minutes after this discussion, Dr. Kummel, Professor Kutschmann, Professor Sarre and another professor whose name I regret I could not catch, came into the room. I told them of the hard, seedy condition of the learned young men of the country of which I learnt from Dr. and Mrs. Fickstedt. I reproached the Government of the country of the heartless neglect of such young men. All of them in a body flared at me, and said with emphasis and a glow of pride in their faces that the Germans are saturated with the spirit of acquiring knowledge for its own sake and the learned and intellectual men are proud of their poverty as they set an example to the world. The people are so thirsty of knowledge that in the midst of the war they have established two new Universities. That it would be calumnious for the intellectuality of the race if the educated youths of the University turned their thoughts to money making. I told them with equal assurance and pride that the ancient learned Brahmins and the Mehemetan Pundits of India were the ancestors in the intellectual and cultural lines. They too lived in humble condition with loftiness of spirit. What a marked contrast between the intellectuals of Germany and those of England and France! I have never heard such sentiments expressed by the English or the French educated men. These earthly mediocrities regard education and acquisition of knowledge as the best means which lead to fortune. Can we wonder at Germany's supreme authority over not merely the minds of the European world but over the whole human kind? It was a relief to me to have come across such fresh and brilliant and self-denying ideas which swept

from my mind the sordid thoughts of English and French Universities.

### Folklore Society.

In the second number of *Man in India*, which contains a good deal of very interesting reading—interesting, we mean, even to the general reader—in concluding an article on "Folklore and the Folklore Society," Mr. D. H. Moutray and the Editor observe—

It cannot fail to be of great assistance to Indian students of folklore if they bring themselves in closer touch with such a society as the Folklore Society of London through a more active co-operation with its aims and ambitions and by enlisting themselves as members of the Society. The contents of the Society's journal have, as we have seen, sometimes a direct interest for Indian folklorists, and whether dealing with Indian or foreign folklore, the articles of that journal, as we have said may in most instances serve as models of method for Indian workers.

In addition to doing what is suggested above, those interested in folklore should help to establish a Folklore Society in Northern India, as suggested by Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra in the *Hindustan Review*. Says he—

Its name should be 'The Folklore Society of India.' It should be located in Calcutta.

1. Its object should be the collection and study of folklore in its undermentioned branches—(a) Folktales, (b) Legends and Traditions, (c) Folk songs and Folk ballads, (d) Social and Religious Ceremonies, (e) Customs connected with Pregnancy, Births, Marriages and Deaths, (f) Customs connected with the Worship of Deities and with Festivals, (g) Superstitious Beliefs, (h) Omens, (i) Witchcraft and Sorcery, (j) Folk Medicine, Charms and Amulets and Nostrums, (k) Astrology, (l) Oaths, Curses and Imprecations, (m) Ordeals for the Detection of Thieves, Other Culprits, and Witches, (n) Games and Pastimes, (o) Riddles, (p) Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings, (q) Lullabies, Nursery Rhymes and Jingles, (r) Names of Persons, (s) Names of Places, (t) Tattooing and (u) Totemism.

II. It should hold meetings at stated intervals where objects of folklore interest shall be exhibited, and papers and notes bearing upon folklore and cognate subjects shall be read and discussed.

III. It should publish a Journal wherein the notes and dissertations on the foregoing subjects, which have been read at its meetings or which have been contributed by outsiders, shall be published.

IV. It should form a library of books and pamphlets bearing on folklore and cognate subjects.

V. It should form a museum wherein it should collect, preserve and exhibit charms, amulets and talismans and other objects illustrative of folklore and cognate subjects.

regional character. But of these the second type, the multi-central one to which this University belongs tends inevitably to break up into a number of mini-central Universities colleges or smaller Universities of the first type and the center may come to be welded into a federal University. If the third type in other words a federation of small Universities. For the era of the small University is come and come to stay in India. We see a number of them springing up to day.

After thus explaining the synthesis in constitution he proceeds to observe —

More important still would be a synthesis of function as represented in modern culture by co-ordinated courses and correlated teaching. Humanistic and Naturalistic studies can no longer be taken apart. The Indian mentality, in its strength as well as in its weakness requires their synthesis and co-ordination. The social organization in fact the plan and pattern of modern civilization requires it. We must supplement Arts with Science and Science with Arts general and liberal studies with special vocational and technological and above all secondary and intermediate with University education. This synthesis of teaching this co-ordination of courses is even more important to the citizen ship the manhood the social values of to day than the constitutional synthesis of which I have spoken at the outset. Firstly there is a greater synthesis still which is the end and goal of all this University development the synthesis of the University and its environs with the city and with the rural and industrial population with the masses through University extensions and welfare movements and missions to the people in one word with the region and all its resources and capabilities material as well as moral physical as well as social. The University must be adapted to the vital needs as well as the living instinct of the people it must have a soul, a regional soul of its own. And a regional University not only adapts its studies to the utilization of the manpower as well as the natural resources of the region it also explores and exploits the social tradition and the inherited cultures of all the component masses of the population with a view to sketch and map out the future lines of advance.

Applying his views to Mysore Dr Seal writes —

Mysore fortunately stands for a region of exceptional resources (and richness) in nature power and in culture inheritance and this University must take its proper place as an instrument for the exploitation of all these resources. Indeed India in general and Mysore in particular possesses the richest mines for the prospector. The rich and virgin fields such as those of Comparative Zoology and Comparative Ethnology and Anthropology of Comparative Law and Custom of Comparative Art and Aesthetics of Comparative Literature Comparative Religion and Comparative Philosophy and Equivally of Social Psychology Race Psychology and Total Psychology. I have mentioned only a few of the salient features of the region from the human side point of view. This list must be extended by a regional survey of its natural resources and possibilities. And the University must be a pioneer in this work.

## Vivekananda on Non-injury in Ceylonese Buddhism.

We find the following passages in an epistle on Buddhism and Hinduism in Ceylon, addressed by Swami Vivekananda to a brother disciple, published in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

Soon the Ceylonese grew very staunch Buddhists, and built a great city in the centre of the island and called it Anuradhapuram. The sight of the remains of the city strikes one dumb even to-day—huge stupas and dilapidated stone-buildings extending for miles and miles are standing to this day, and a great part of it is overgrown with jungles which have not yet been cleared. Shaven-headed monks and nuns with the begging bowl in hand clothed in yellow robe spread all over Ceylon. At places colossal temples were reared containing huge figures of Buddha in meditation of Buddha preaching the Law, and of Buddha in a reclining posture—entering into Nirvana. And the Ceylonese, out of mischief painted on the walls of the temples the supposed state of things in the Purgatory,—some are being thrashed by ghosts some are being sawed, some burnt some fried in hot oil and some being flayed—altogether a hideous spectacle! Who could know that in this religion which preached 'non-injury as the highest virtue'—there would be room for such things! Such is the case in China too so also in Japan. While preaching non-killing so much in theory they provide for such an array of punishments as curdles up one's blood to see!

Once a thief broke into the house of a man of this non-killing type. The boys of the house caught hold of the thief and were giving him a sound beating. The master hearing a great row came out on the upper balcony and after making enquiries shouted out 'Cease from beating my boys. Don't beat him. Non-injury is the highest virtue.' The fraternity of junior non-killers stopped beating and asked the master what they were to do with the thief. The master ordered 'Put him in a bag, and throw him into water.' The thief much obliged at this humane dispensation with folded hands said 'Oh! How great is the master's compassion! Only I had heard that the Buddhists were very quiet people and equally tolerant of all religions. Buddhist preachers come to Calcutta and abuse us with choice epithets although we offer them enough respect. Once I was preaching at Anuradhapuram among the Hindus—not the Buddhists—and that in an open market not in any disguise properly—when a whole host of Buddhist monks and laymen men and women came out beating drums and cymbals and set up such an awful uproar! The lecture had to stop of course and there was the imminent risk of bloodshed. With great difficulty I had to persuade the Hindus that we at any rate might practise a bit of non-injury, if they did not. Then the matter ended peacefully.

## A Plea for Perfecting the Mysore Constitution.

*The Indian Review of Reviews*, which we

## The Postal Department.

The August number of *Labour* is devoted almost entirely to the grievances of the employees of the Postal Department in the lower rungs of the ladder. That they are overworked and underpaid and sometimes unjustly treated in other ways too, is not unknown to the public. It is also well known that barring a few posts filled by Indians just to make a show of, the fat berths are generally the monopoly of Anglo Indians and Europeans. It is also said that post offices where the European public transact business are better manned than the offices in North Calcutta where Indians transact business. Here there is a regular scramble every day before the Money order and other windows. What is not generally known is the tyranny of red tape which prevails in the Department. There is always much delay in the payment of V P money orders, and every year we lose hundreds of rupees which our subscribers have paid but which the Post Office does not pay us. Every month we have to supply dozens of duplicate copies of our periodicals "lost in transit." The Post Office has recently been guilty of another kind of tyranny which will be found described among our Notes. *Labour* is right in advocating the cause of postal employees. It would be better able to enlist public sympathy if it shows how the public will be better served by a just treatment of the employees of the Postal Department.

## Mrs Parvatibai Athavale.

*The Collegian writes:—*

AMERICAN WOMEN'S INTEREST IN HINDU WOMANHOOD

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THE INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY IN  
EUROPE AND AMERICA

Parvatibai has lectured about the Indian Women's University before influential societies in New York. She was the guest of honour at Sorosis Club under whose auspices she addressed a group of about 500 people assembled for lunch at Hotel Waldorf Astoria (January 1) one of the premier hotels of the world. At Gramet Club she spoke before an assembly of dramatists, musicians and actresses. She had an occasion to address the teachers who come from the different provinces of the United States to avail themselves of the summer courses in the Teachers College of New York. The Bryn Mawr Club, the Civic Club, Labor Temple and the Women's International Labour Conference have likewise received her message.

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In order to look after the conveniences of women

visitors from India Miss Natorji has been elected the women secretary of the *Association des Hindous de Paris* 26 rue Lamartine. A Hindu lady has made a gift of Rs 75.

#### PARVATIBAI'S INVESTIGATIONS

Parvatibai is going back enriched with unusual experience. In the course of her investigations she has had occasion to visit the General Electric Works of Schneclady (N. Y.) the World Printing Office at New York, the Trade School of Brooklyn the New York Public Library, the museums and art galleries of London and Paris, French primary schools like Ecole Edgar Quinet Municipale Le Groupe Scolaire etc. and the Cercle Concordia, a girls' boarding institution in Paris.

It will be recalled that when Parvatibai reached the United States from Japan her material resources were very insufficient. And although nearing her fiftieth year this Brahmin widow, mother of six of a professor of physics gladly served for fifteen months as chamber maid waitress, and governess of children in ten American families.

Undoubtedly Parvatibai today is master of enough material in regard to modern civilisation for which the leading cities of India are likely to vie with one another in offering her the first invitation to come and narrate her experiences to them.

### India and Indians Abroad

The following items are taken from the same journal —

#### THE INDIA NUMBER OF AN AMERICAN MONTHLY

The *Mentor* New York of May is devoted exclusively to Indian topics. It begins with a poem on woman by Tagore and contains an article on woman from the same pen. Two essays deal with Gandhi and Tagore. Several beautiful pictures of Indian scenes are described with captions by Basanta Koomar Roy.

#### STRASBOURG TO BOLPUR

Alsace, the province which has been repatriated to France is proposing to make a gift of all French class books from Descartes to Bergson (*édition de luxe*) to the library at Bolpur. At 2.15 in the morning one night the students of the University of Strasbourg perpetrated a raid on the railway train which was carrying Tagore from the French frontier to Paris. The poet was 'held up' by the young dacoits and compelled to get off and stop over. The incidents did not however, result in anything serious except an address the next evening on the "Call of Youth".

#### MORE FRENCH BOOKS FOR INDIA

Tagore is going to get from the French Ministry of Education the catalogues publications etc. of the Louvre, Bibliothèque Nationale and other institutions. The *Académie des Inscriptions et des belles lettres* which is one of the five Academies of the *Institut de France* is also interesting itself in the scheme of a suitable gift for Bolpur. Epigraphists will appreciate the news that M. F. Malet Serret who is a member of this Academy will not forget to have India presented with the set of Kamboja inscriptions.

#### THE ABOLITION OF WAGEDOM

The latest contribution of Charles Gide to current economic problems is a series of twelve lectures on the abolition of wage slavery. These lectures, given before the American students at Paris in 1919 are available as *Des Institutions en vue de la transformation*. Here is a little volume worth translating in Indian languages. Communications may be addressed to the author 2 rue Decamps, Paris.

#### JADU NATH SARKAR IN THE *Journal Asiatique*

In the course of an appreciative notice of Jadu Nath Sarkar's *Shivaji and His Times* in the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris (April June) G. Ferrand remarks: 'M. J. S. has done the work of a historian in every sense of the term. It should be neither decent nor just to be astonished at this because India is not wanting in men eminent in all fields and we have pleasure in asserting that 'the (critical) history of India as told by its own historians,' employing with a different significance the title given by Sir H. M. Elliot to his work is tending to become a concrete reality. Young India need not be reminded that the statement embodies a new note in modern Europe's attitude towards Asia.'

#### AN INDIAN NEWSPAPER IN FRENCH

The *Bulletin d'Information Indienne* of Paris (9 rue du Sommerard) is becoming popular among French publicists. Readers of this newspaper, which appears in French about once a month, says the editor Amitabha Ghose in one issue, make it a point to pass the paper on from friend to friend in the city and in the Provinces. Some of the mofussil dailies have made ample use of the material furnished by the Bulletin during the last few months of its existence.

### Women and Law-making.

Woman's duties and rights is a subject which Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins has made her own. Writing on one aspect of the subject in *Tomorrow*, she tells us —

When the Great War took millions of men away to the battle-fields from their homes the men saw that the women were well able to do men's work that they were just as courageous, clever, capable, patriotic and serviceable to the country as the men themselves, and so they have changed the old law, and are now allowing women to take a full share in making the laws which have to be obeyed by women as much as by men. This same change is coming about in India too. Indian women know that they are just as well able and as anxious to serve the country as western women are, and so they want the Indian Government to treat them with the same respect as has been shown to their western sisters.

But it is not only because of their feelings of individual and international self respect that Indian women want to be voters and councillors but because they know well in their hearts that men will get on better with their help. They know that many a time they are wiser than their husbands.

Men are always thinking of things—fields, figures, buildings, materials, women are always thinking of

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people—the children, the old people, the sick, the hus-  
band. So because of their circumstances women will  
be more keen than men in getting laws passed which  
will prevent sickness which will prevent adulteration  
of food which will make it impossible for small numbers  
of people to get very rich by the great profits they make  
through forcing large numbers of people to pay far too  
high prices for necessary articles. Women would cer-  
tainly be against the very heavy salt tax they would  
say. Get money by taxing anything else but food and  
clothing. Women will have their own way of looking  
at the subject of education. They are anxious that  
their daughters shall be educated but they may have  
to influence the law makers to change entirely the  
hours of school for older girls because the mothers can  
not do without the help of these girls at home just at  
the hours when the present laws command them to be  
at school.

Through the power of the vote, women in Australia  
and other countries have been able to save the lives  
of hundreds of thousands of infants and young children  
because they persuaded the law makers to spend much  
more money than they had ever before done on provid-  
ing visiting district nurses, many more doctors and  
all kinds of means for looking after the mothers and  
babies. They have also appointed women magistrates  
to try juvenile offenders and they have brought about  
many other reforms dealing with the interests of women  
and children.

Then also women's way of looking at the problems  
of good government will help men and help their country  
because women are such great upholders of purity and  
religion. In elections they will vote for the person who  
has the best moral character. Women's qualities of  
endurance and self-sacrifice will also strengthen men in  
the struggle of the whole people for full self government  
with a free press.

Mrs. Gandhi was not one step behind her husband  
in being ready to suffer imprisonment in South Africa  
in order that the cruel laws there against Indians might  
be changed and we can well guess how often her hus-  
band is helped by her suggestions and advice.

### Srimati Ramabai Ranade

In the same journal there is, by the same  
writer, an inspiring character-sketch of Sri-  
mati Ramabai Ranade, President of the  
Seva Sadan, widow of the late Justice M. G.  
Ranade. We will make a few extracts from  
it, but the whole of it should be read.

The late Mr. Justice Ranade has many claims on  
the gratitude of Indians for the great works he initiated  
and accomplished but the more I see and know of the  
life of Bombay and Poona the more do I think that  
Mr. Ranade's greatest achievement was his wife.

Under her care the famous institution known as  
the Seva Sadan has developed from being a Hindu  
Ladies' Social Club, with above twenty members in  
1909 into the finest educational institution for married  
women in India, with a daily attendance this year of  
over 600 married women in Poona and 450 in Bombay.

She is a typical daughter of her land—Maharashtra  
—simple, hard-working, hard-headed, soft-hearted,  
practical, idealistic, patriotic, parochial, shy, brave,  
conservative, pioneering, a paradox of good qualities,

but supremely a servant of her sisters with life dedi-  
cated to their advancement.

'Readiness' seems to me to be her fundamental  
characteristic. It is illustrated by her method of re-  
plying to my request that she would spare me some  
of her valuable time at the close of a meeting which we  
were both attending, and then grant me an interview.  
'Come into my office now,' she said, 'We can have  
some time while the ladies are gathering, and I  
will tell you about my life.' Similarly has she been  
ready and willing to seize every opportunity for help-  
fulness.

She dislikes having to come before the public. She  
inspires from within. And yet she does not shrink  
from leadership. She is well aware of her own valu-  
able amount of experience and has no false modesty  
about gripping some new big work which has to be  
done. She was the leader of the agitation for Com-  
pulsory Primary Education for Girls that was an  
object lesson to the public of women's earnestness and  
splendid power of public organisation, and yet she  
would not walk in their procession or sit in the group  
photograph. She is just now equally keen on woman  
suffrage and yet the thought of interviewing a Coun-  
cillor, whom she has not before met through private  
friends causes her the utmost shrinking. One feels  
in her presence the psychology of the transition period  
of Indian womanhood from the cloistered, intensive  
idealism of the past to the expansive public mothering  
spirit of the future.

It touched me deeply to learn that every Sunday  
she goes to the prison in Poona and there speaks words  
of spiritual comfort to her sisters—who are often more  
sinned against (by society) than sinning. Thus even  
her day of rest she devotes to freeing souls in bondage.

Though plain of face, figure and dress, at first  
glance hardly distinguishable from hundreds of similar  
dull-sared Marathi women, there is a sense of alertness  
and awareness, aliveness about her that marks her out from  
her sisters and shines from her clear, free eyes despite  
the spectacles which tell of limitations of sight. Similarly  
though she is small of physical stature, she is head  
and shoulders over all of us in her spirit of self-renuncia-  
tion and in the success of her persevering work. She  
evokes admiration, respect and love from all who come  
in contact with her.

I asked her, What do you think of the future of  
women in India? 'It is full of hope and promise',  
she replied and in doing so spontaneously took my  
hand and pressed it. It touches the heart of a westerner  
when her eastern sister does that. It bridges gulfs and  
knits the human sisterhood together. Like Mirabai of  
the poet's intuition on she

wears little hands

Such is God's mark to hold big destinies.  
Her hands revealed her soul for in the touch was a  
soft sweetness and a strong vitality which still inspire  
me and which promise the blessing of her remarkable  
powers of service to humanity for many years to  
come.

### What Will Indian Women Do with the Vote?

*Stri-Dharma*, official organ of the  
Women's Indian Association, answers the  
above question thus:—

It may be taken for certain that the efforts will be primarily directed towards obtaining more money and more facilities for educating the girls of the country. Thoughtful women who love their Motherland are ashamed when they remember the appallingly low percentage of woman's education that exists here. They want India to stand high among the nations but how can it when the statistics show that the rate of literacy among Indian women is 2 per cent, whereas that of every Western country is over 90 per cent! Of course, the education of boys is also disgracefully inadequate but that of girls is literally ten times worse. So the allocation of Grants for all kinds of Girl-Schools, Training Schools and Colleges, including a special Medical College for each Presidency will be in the forefront of Women's Political Programmes and the men who promise to vote for these things will be the men who will get women's votes.

Women love babies, and there is no mother whose heart is not wrung with grief when her baby falls sick within its first or second year of life and suddenly passes out of her care. In India one out of every three babies dies before it is a year old. This is a heart-breaking proportion when compared with the low proportion in other lands such as Australia which has only 51 infant deaths in every 1000 to contrast with the 355 per thousand of India. More of the money and attention of the Government will be directed by women voters to laying better physical foundation for the nation. Ill health is preventable by wise legislation to a far greater extent than is realised. England used to be ravaged by infectious diseases such as small pox and plague when her people were ignorant, but the rapid spread of education among the masses and the laws imposed in connection with Registration, Notification and Segregation have got rid of these scourges. For instance deaths from infectious diseases in England now are only two per cent, in Madras they are 30 per cent. Ruskin says that a country's first concern should be its people. "There is no Wealth but Life. That country is richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble, healthy and happy human beings."

The poverty of India at the present time has become as proverbial as its wealth was in the past. With the causes relating to this women voters also will be specially interested. Patriotic women taxpayers will welcome the spending of their money on the encouragement of Indian industries. Every woman who spends her money on Swadeshi goods is directly helping her country to win back its lost prosperity.

India's three I's—Ignorance, Illness and Indigence will be turned by the help of Women into the three W's—Wisdom, Wellness and Wealth.

### "Some Common Indian Birds"

Quite accidentally the reader has been told the Indian name of a common Indian bird in the September number of the Agricultural Journal of India.

The Indian name of *Sialia Buteo* also presumably indicates that this bird is by no means devoid of song. This bird does however at times (generally when on the wing) utter a decidedly harsh note.

All Flycatchers are insectivorous as a general rule, although some species take fruits, berries and seeds occasionally. The Paradise Flycatcher feeds on small beetles, flies, bugs, ants and spiders, as recorded by Messrs. Mason and Abreu from examination of actual stomach contents. It is, therefore, together with the other species of this group a useful bird to the agriculturist and its utility and beauty fully deserve the protection accorded to it by the Law in Bengal, Bombay and Burma (but not in other Provinces, apparently). In Mysore also it is presumably protected as being a bird of bright coloured plumage.

### Papaya.

Mr. Phani Bhusan Sanyal contributes an interesting and useful paper to the *Agricultural Journal* of September. Says he—

From an examination of the details obtainable of the papaya cultivation in America, the Philippines and Ceylon it seems that it should prove to be a profitable concern in India especially if the papain industry and the various commercial products therefrom are systematically developed.

The following interesting account of the numerous uses of the papaya chiefly by the natives of Central and South America is taken from an article by F. B. Kilmer which appeared in *The American Journal of Pharmacy*.

Quite universal is the knowledge of the unique property that has given to the papaya its world wide fame as the power of its milky juice to soften and dissolve tough meat. The native uses of the papaya are numerous and varied. The bark is used in the manufacture of ropes. The fruit is edible and, according to the local conditions, may be sweet, refreshing and agreeable or in other localities it is sickly sweet and insipid. The fruit finds a large consumption among the natives and is considered to be nutritious.

The ripe fruits are eaten as melons and excellent preserves are made of them by boiling them with sugar (like citron).

Green fruit is made into plain and spiced pickles which are highly esteemed.

"The seeds are reported as anthelmintic and emmenagogue; they are also used as a thirst quencher and form component part of a drink used in fevers and also used as a carminative."

"Syrups, wines, elixirs made from ripe fruit are expectorant, sedative and tonic."

"Pimples are cleaned by the milk of the ripe fruit. By its power of dissolving stains papaya has acquired the name melon bleach. The leaves or a portion of the fruit are steeped in water and the treated water is used in washing coloured clothing, especially black, the colours are cleaned up and held fast."

"The seeds, are eaten as a delicacy. The strange and beautiful faces of the Antilles astonish the eyes of the travellers who see them for the first time. If they are to be believed their clear, clean complexions and exquisite pulp-like flesh arise from the use of the papaya fruit as a cosmetic. A slice of the ripe fruit is rubbed over the skin and is said to dissolve spare flesh and remove every blemish."

The medicinal properties of papaya are numerous and well known to the Indians. Most of these properties are due to the presence of papain in the

In preparing the crude papain, the following points should be specially observed —

- (1) The juice should be dried as soon as possible.
- (2) In drying, the temperature should not rise above 50°C. Both these ends are obtained in some places by drying on hot plates.

(3) The final drying should be done, if possible, *in vacuo*.

(4) Lastly, the product should be ground to powder and at once bottled up using air tight stopper or packed in lead lined wooden boxes.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Disarmament.

The greatest problem in world politics today is disarmament. The trend of European opinion on the conference which President Harding has called for the solution of this problem, has been thus summarised in the *Living Age* —

President Harding's invitation to the principal powers to meet in Washington next November, to discuss disarmament, is naturally a leading topic of discussion in the European press. In a general way, it may be said that public opinion in Great Britain is unreservedly friendly, the only dispute in the matter being as to the personnel of the British commission. The *Times* opposes the suggestion that Lloyd George serve as one of the British representatives. It says 'Of all statesmen in Europe, he is probably the most distrusted. It is notorious that no government and no statesman who has had dealings with him puts the smallest confidence in him.' It was this attack which caused the *Times* to be deprived of certain Foreign Office privileges. That journal, however, regards immediate acceptance of President Harding's invitation as 'of high urgency for the Empire and the world.'

army, otherwise there would be a change of equilibrium.

*La Démocratique Nouvelle*—a clamorous paper, with a small but energetic following—improves the opportunity to belabor both England and America which are described as the 'great profiteers of the war.' 'Possessing monster factories, gigantic fleets, unequaled superiority in production, they seek first of all to restore normal relations between governments. Is this idealism? By no means. They want peace in order to sell their goods.' The situation of our country is entirely different. It cannot accept a *status quo* which ensures its ruin. Three years after its victory, after sacrificing everything to save the liberty of the world, it is abandoned by its Allies. In other words, France will not receive its dues from Germany. 'By an apparent paradox just when France is preoccupied with the disarmament of Germany, the main object of our Allies is to disarm France.'

However, such outbursts apparently do not represent the solid opinion of the country. *Le Temps* says in another issue that during the period from now until the conference is held, it will act like a magnet upon all the political problems of the universe.

Some of the Italian papers are distrustful and even hostile, recalling the disappointments of the Paris conference. However, even here the burden of



he imagine that it is possible to limit or abolish armaments without lessening the independence of governments, and impairing the sovereignty?

**Current Opinion** has the following on what the Japanese papers say on it.—

Japanese newspaper sentiment on the subject of disarmament cannot be summed up in a sentence. Those organs which reflect the views of the clans, speak a good word for disarmament on principle but they always find an object on to the immediate application of the principle. The organs of the purely political parties and those newspapers which are edited by politicians seem to agree that disarmament cannot come too soon, and they do not risk who shall begin first. They want the government at Tokyo to lighten the burdens of the people, and they urge reduction of both army and navy as a good way to reduce the taxes. The papers that appeal to the masses complain that the people's representatives are not allowed even a voice in the matter. The great decisions are made by the clansmen and the military and naval magnates. If we were to take the point of view of the popular Japanese press, we would have to infer that even if the Diet or the Parliament voted to reduce armaments the clansmen and the Elder Statesmen would pay no attention. They would go right on with their programs for a bigger fleet and a bigger army.

**The Asian Review** of Japan writes—

#### THE PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT

The most important question that is at the present time occupying a large share in the public mind in every country is the question of disarmament. Except the military whose interests obviously lie in the expansion of man-killing instruments the whole world is firmly convinced of the fact that a lasting peace and consequently the happiness of mankind largely depend upon a satisfactorily permanent solution of this question. The sufferings and horrors which the people were subjected to during the last war have made them realise the unmitigated evil that arises out of reckless expansion of armaments.

Although not a day passes without the public being catered with the news of the vigorous attempts on the part of the United States senators and public men for bringing about a general disarmament the feverish activities in the naval yards of America have not abated a bit. How can one reconcile the latter with the former? If the United States were really solicitous, she should have set an example before the other powers by stopping or at least postponing her colossal naval programme, argue the cynics. They point out that by following this course America will not court any danger, because, as matters stand at present no power in the world is in a position to menace the United States whose existing military and economic resources far surpass those of any other nation in the world. And again if she desires to retain the moral leadership of the world which has fallen on her shoulders because of her entry into the world war without any selfish motive she must be prepared to undergo some sacrifice for leading the way best calculated to advance the cause of world peace. If a power like America with more than sufficient potential force of every kind contends that she cannot suspend her naval construction programme so long as an inter-

national agreement is not brought into existence, the less powerful nations can certainly not be blamed if they refused to take the risk which the postponement of their programme would involve because of their imperfect and far less efficient means of defence, not to speak of their geographically disadvantageous strategic position. The other power who is also in an advantageous position to take the lead in the matter is Great Britain. Although her statesmen and politicians are never found wanting in giving free expression to their earnest desire for disarmament, she has already launched a new programme of gigantic battle-ships, which, when completed, will excel in gun power, size, speed and fighting capacity any ship afloat. Thus England and America the two most powerful and wealthiest nations on earth are pursuing a policy which cannot but make other nations question the value of their attitude for disarmament. Unless these two powers can show the way to a curtailment of armaments by the practical application of the principle to their case there is little possibility of the problem being solved satisfactorily.

#### Irreligion and Immorality in England.

The Bishop of London comments in the *Morning Post* upon the serious religious and moral reaction through which England is passing.

He describes the crowded state of the divorce court, the growing number of divorces by mutual consent and also the appalling growth of intoxication, convictions for drunkenness naturally increased somewhat after the relaxation of war restrictions. However, more recently between the middle of August 1919 and the end of January, 1920 they rose 230 per cent and the convictions of women alone for this offense rose 124 per cent. Between the end of January and the first of August, 1920, the increase over pre-armistice figures was 249 per cent for the whole population, and 154 per cent for women alone. There has been a slight decline ascribed to hard times since last January. Few university men are applying for ordination as clergymen partly because their parents discourage them from joining a poor profession, and partly because they are attracted by financially more interesting careers.

Bishop Henry Hensen, of Durham, is quoted thus on the same subject in the *Daily Telegraph*—

"I am disposed to think that we are living in an age which consciously and unconsciously rejects religion itself. The seed has fallen upon stony ground. It is an age which is not friendly to Christian character. I think we must be quite honest and acknowledge that the tendencies which are at present prevailing are largely anti-Christian. The works of pity and philanthropy which characterized so great a part of the last century are threatened with failure. The resources of religion personal and material are dwindling. And the only movements which attract public sympathy are those which aim at mass-betterment."

Materialism has for the moment triumphed, and

its triumph can only work out in destruction. It must always be so. When man rejects his spirit, he perishes.

James Douglas writes in the *Daily Express* —

Over all the land the old gray towers and spires of the churches still bear witness to the faith that has grown cold but they are empty churches and their bells no longer summon the good people to tender meditation and to gentle prayer. *England has no time for God.*

There are, it is true, some churches which are not empty and some which are full. But the empty church is the rule rather than the exception. So is the empty chapel. Never in my lifetime has religion ebbed so low. Never has the spiritual pulse of the nation beat so feebly. I set no value upon the rite of churchgoing as a sign and symbol of moral vitality. Even if all our churches and chapels were closed we might save our souls alive. But it is the soul of the nation that is empty. *England has no time for God.*

### The Centre of World Influence.

Dr Frank Crane writes in *Current Opinion* —

There is no doubt that the English speaking people constitute the strongest group in the world to day, financially, economically, morally and from a military standpoint.

Great Britain and her colonies including her ex colonies the United States of America are the most powerful homogeneous mass of people on earth.

The centre of this group, and its directing head, used to be London.

But that day is passing, perhaps has passed.

The scepter of world dominion is passing from London, as in the pages of history it passed from Paris from Spain from Venice from Constantinople from Rome, and so on back.

The centre of world influence is shifting to America. M. Stapline Laurance says: America exerts the greatest moral influence in the world.

### Teachers and Teaching.

The same writer writes in the same journal —

Mr Wells declares to the large audience of the *Saturday Evening Post* that teachers are born not made. He further says that the supply of born teachers is so small that there is only one for 300 children and only one possible teacher for 100 children.

To get at the truth that underlies Mr Wells's statement we need to realize what teaching is. Briefly it is lighting a lamp and not filling a bucket.

That is to say, the real teacher is one who in presence of the pupil with the love of learning or of craftsmanship.

### The Aim of the World War.

The *Asian Review* delivers itself thus on the aim of the world war —

President Harding of the United States is reported to have said in his Memorial Day address at Arlington Cemetery on May 30 that during the last great war, free peoples fought the autocracies and thereby rendered noblest service to the cause of the world. How we wish that it were so. We cannot, however, blink at facts which unfortunately, prove the contrary. Has there been an end of autocracies in the world? Have the victors kept the numerous pledges and promises which they so freely made during the progress of the war? Has the world really been made a better place to live in? In place of vanquished autocracies there have come into being many more powerful and aggressive autocracies with conscience completely deadened as a consequence of continuous indulgence in humanity staggering acts during the last conflagration. Solemn pledges and promises which were made to the war have been broken to the heart without the least compunction. Arrogance vanity and selfish and narrow nationalism have replaced the higher and nobler feelings. The worship of Mammon has been substituted for that of God. The frame of mind of the allied peoples is such that if Christ were to reappear today before them and preach the gospel He would be taken for a maniac and immediately put into a lunatic asylum.

The European nations fought among themselves not for any high ideals as President Harding would have the world believe but for domination and self aggrandizement, as every line of the Peace treaties bears out. While the centrals were more frank in the declaration of their war aims, the allies put forth their utmost efforts to conceal their real intentions and indulged in any amount of camouflage in order to beguile the world into the belief that they were fighting for a just cause. Had the allies not been victorious and their real designs not been exposed by the Peace treaties which are a standing monument to their spirit of aggression the world would have continued to believe in the sincerity of the professions made by them during the war. By proving false to the ideals preached by themselves the allies have recklessly squandered a rich moral heritage in the pursuit of material gains and rendered themselves completely unfit for carrying forward any further the torch of western civilization.

### Political Reform in China and India.

Hsu Shih Chang, President of China, has written a book from which Georges Souhe de Morant publishes the following extract in *La Revue Mondiale* —

In China we are trying to modernize our government. There is the same effort in India where ambitious and eager young men want to adopt Western methods, our gift, without studying with sufficient care the differences of race and the fact that Occidental government is the product of an exclusively Occidental civilization. Our political reforms ought to be based so far as possible upon our own experiences, precedents and culture.

## How Can Mankind Be Happy?

The same Chinese writer observes —

The West has not yet begun to teach what we have always taught in China—that the welfare of the nations and the happiness of mankind do not depend primarily on science, intelligence, glory, or a government powerful abroad but that they depend on labour, thrift, concord, ration for our neighbors and mutual helpfulness. The latter are non-material objects, while the most important for which we can strive, tolerance, prodigality, covetousness, and tyranny—these we must root out of our hearts. Confucius says: "You do not keep in your house a thing that is poisonous and spoiled. Why then do you keep in your heart a sentiment that envenoms human happiness?" His doctrine is based on three principles: self-perfection, respect of justice and resistance to tyranny. These are the principles upon which all social life is based.

Europe is already old enough for us to discern from its history the common origin of all its wars and revolutions and to base on them a doctrine and a method of instruction that will protect us from deceiving ourselves and others. During China's fifteen hundred years of history, practically every doctrine and theory of life and society has been examined and tested. Even Communism, which is now running Russia, was tried for twenty years in the fifteenth century of the Christ era throughout the whole Celestial Empire. The results were precisely what they have been in Russia: a misery, a despair, a violent revolution, and a bloody repression. The land was re-allotted each year according to the number of persons in a family; the government distributed in the spring the seed which must be returned to it in the autumn. Cattle and other live stock were loaned to farmers by the government. But the principles of private property and of personal liberty are too deeply rooted in the hearts of men. China had to give up this unnatural theory. Ought such lessons bought with so much suffering to be of no service whatever to the world? Is humanity to continue thus blindly mutilating itself, plunging headlong through ever bloodier disasters toward an unknown goal?

## Government Aid in Foreign Trade

W. L. Miller writes in the *Political Science Quarterly* —

Twenty years ago business men would have ridiculed any suggestion that the government send trade scouts abroad for the purpose of developing foreign commerce. Powerful merchants who conducted foreign business had their own representatives in the countries in which they were interested. Other business concerns caring primarily for the rich domestic trade were slow to enter the foreign field mainly because of the extra trouble involved and the large initial costs.

Indeed not until several years prior to the outbreak of the European War did any government establish an organization for the specific purpose of collecting economic data in foreign countries. The immediate results were such as to justify the new system.

The writer gives brief analysis of the British, French, Italian, Brazilian, American, German, Japanese, Chinese, Venezuelan, Mexican, Finn, Latvian, Rumanian, Belgian, and Norwegian systems, to indicate the serious efforts which several important commercial nations are making to develop foreign markets in an endeavor to maintain home industries and lessen unemployment. What and where is the Indian system?

## "Four Immoralities of the Church"

Dr. Frank Crane prefaces his article in the *Century Magazine* on "The Four Immoralities of the Church" partly thus:

This is not an attack on the church. I am a member of the church, believe in it and love it. I hope I have sense enough not to condemn the church for those mistakes that are easily traceable to human frailty and I thoroughly believe that in the principles and spirit of Jesus of Nazareth and nowhere else so well is contained the seed of vital energy which makes for the wholesome ripening of the human race.

The purpose of what I am about to say is to estimate the church, not to denounce it.

After thirty years of activity as a Christian minister I record what in my judgment are the four fundamental immoralities of the church. I say immoralities because I believe these things to be deeper than errors; they are radical departures from the norm of Jesus. These are: first that it is exclusive, second that it is respectable, third that it is free, and fourth, that it is militant.

Then he formulates and explains the 'four immoralities.' We will not quote the explanations in full.

First that it is exclusive. That is to recognize a non-membership. It excommunicates. It acknowledges there are heretics, infidels, what not, who are not of its body and communion. Thus it has boundaries. It is not the world; it is another one of the many sections into which the world is divided. I say this is immoral because the distinguishing characteristic of Christianity is that it is the first great nonethnic religion. Before it all religions had been national or racial expressions. Now the inclusiveness of Jesus' program is its very essence, so that when we make it exclusive we destroy its very nature. We pierce its heart. That is why it is immoral. The churches, as we find them to-day are organizations. As far as their form is concerned, they are in the same category as political parties, lodge clubs and orders. The com-

Idea seems to be that Jesus organized a group which He called a church. But He not only had no such thing in mind but such a thing is utterly heathenish a stone blindness to His intention and directly opposite to His mind. The idea was a gospel of contagious friendship but it fell into a world obsessed with the triumphant fallacy of the Roman Empire and sold its soul for a mess of organization pottage. Christianity is essentially unorganizable. When you organize it you destroy its chief charm. You change a living spirit into a dead steam roller.

The second immorality is that the church is respectable. The error here is that ancient and common one of mistaking station in life for life itself. To belong to the church gives one a certain social position it is an asset toward getting on toward acquiring a reputation even toward getting rich. This immorality flows out of the preceding one for to be exclusive means to be respectable. The church cannot thus reprove the class feeling which is the curse of the world. It stands mute and helpless before the swarming millions because itself is a class and thus Socialism, Bolshevism and all the cults of bitterness rage unstopped among the proletariat. If Jesus is in the church at all to day He stands at the door and extending His hand toward the vast crowd in the street exclaims:

Behold my mother and my brethren!

The church has always been greedy for money. Its excuse of course is that it needs money with which to do good. But its error lies in assuming that mankind is morally helped by the giving or spending of money while the truth is that almost the entire ethical value connected with money lies in the making of it. Money making touches the whole life of the people their daily concerns their every activity money giving is too frequently only an attempt to heal the injustice of our methods of money getting. Forty billion dollars poured into the coffers of the church tomorrow would not advance the cause of Christ one inch any more than building a gold fence around a sapling would make it grow faster. Which of you by taking thought can add an cubit to his stature?

It is brings me to the third immorality, that it is free. There are only two ways to get any thing at all in heaven or in earth. One is to pay for it, the other is—any other way. The first is honest the second is not. Every proposal to give something for nothing is directly or by implication and consequence immoral. All giving is suspicious. It promotes vanity in the giver and subservency in the recipient.

To many the proposal that the church sell and not give away what it has to offer will sound little short of blasphemous. And it would be so if the church made a merchandise of religion. But it is not religion not the spirit of God or the gospel of Jesus which the church has either

to give away or to sell. *It is service.* Like the broker or the advertising man or the lawyer, it truthfully should say, 'We sell nothing but service.' The lawyer does not sell justice he sells his time and talent to you to assist you to get justice for yourself which is the only way it can be got. So the clergyman and his church are bringing a service to the community which the people of the community want, and would be eager to get if they could pay for it like honest folk, and not have it thrust upon them as if they were mendicants. When you offer a man something for which he is expected to give nothing to you in return you depreciate the value of your goods, you pose as his benefactor and superior, and you insult his manhood.

The fourth immorality I want to discuss is that is militant. This needs to be defined. I mean that the church aggressively proposes to do people good to uplift them to convert them. This is spiritual snobbery, which is the worst kind. When I essay to convert you I imply that I am better than you, and that you need to be made like me. When I approach you to uplift you and improve your character, it implies that I am as a teacher you are as a pupil I am as a papa, and you as a child. This has always been a matter of mirth to healthy minded observers. Going back to the founder of our faith we find none of this. Jesus held no monster revival meetings. In fact, He did not work. He loafed. And you cannot see the point to that until you get the right notion of what religion is. It is nothing in its essence but personal influence. *Religion is the personal influence of God.*

### Can Man be Over-civilised?

The Scientific American answers this question partly thus—

If we ask whether a man can be over civilized, the answer depends no doubt largely upon the bias of the individual passing judgment. Still more however, it depends on circumstance. Over-civilized—over-civilized for what? A book keeper in a New York office is a very useful member of society. He is probably the last man against whom any of us would bring the accusation which we are discussing. But let chance—a shipwreck for example—completely isolate him from his fellows and in most cases he will be quite unable to meet the new situation which to a savage in the jungle might present no particularly difficult problems.

This is the paradox of civilization that the more perfect, the more refined the methods employed by man to wage the struggle for existence, the more helpless does the isolated individual become. Think only how embarrassed you would be especially on the advent of winter, if

you should be unable to procure so simple a thing as a match

Can man be over-civilized ?

In the recent past the evolution of our race has been not so much the development of the individual as that of society, of the organization of men and machines which work in unison to maintain our complex modern industrial life. The individual, today, is probably little different, anatomically and physiologically from what he was five thousand years ago. But the social organism is radically changed. Evolution has proceeded in this respect at a speed which mocks all comparison with any of her previous performances.

But let man beware ! The time of his prosperity is his hour of danger. Take stock and count the cost ! We have been living on our capital. A few hundred or at most a few thousand years and our dwindling coal supply will be wholly spent. When that day comes the barbarian the savage (if such there be) innocent, and therefore independent of our 'modern improvements' may lead in the death race with the ebbing tide.

Unless—unless man proves the exception to the biological rule as he may. For what species in all the world's long history foresaw the danger a thousand years before its onset ?

### What Prolongs Life ?

"Vitamines" are a factor in prolonging life says the *Scientific American* —

Only in the rarest instances has human life endured beyond the century mark and the hope that we shall ever be able appreciably to lengthen the maximum span of existence seems somewhat chimerical. But a series of recent experiments holds the rather definite promise that such a thing is not impossible and that we may be enabled to wage such a successful fight against old age that a man will still be "young" and virile at a hundred. The agency which promises this miracle is the mysterious food element which scientists have named vitamins.

### The Russian Famine

According to the *New Republic*,

The Russian famine approaches in vastness the greatest historical calamities which have fallen upon the human race. The extent of the area involved, the multitude struck by death, the attendant phenomena of whole populations fleeing from hunger and plague and harrying themselves blindly and desperately against the barrier of bayonets which the misère of self-preservation forces other populations to set up against them—all this gives a certain majesty of horror, such as forms the inspiration of De Quincey's flight of a Tartar Tribe.

The causes of this great calamity are two —

First there is the unparalleled heat and drought in which the crops of the whole Volga region have been burned up. But famine is not a new phenomenon in Russia. Almost every year there is a local shortage somewhere and perhaps once in a decade this extends to several provinces but surplus in other portions of the country circumscribes the famine and relieves it. This time there is no surplus anywhere. The peasants discouraged by the policy of the Soviet government in commandeering their crops for the cities have limited their planting to what is necessary for their own subsistence. Once more it appears that Lenin's theory is ahead of practice and that public service as an economic impulse cannot take the place of private gain. His change of policy permitting free trade in food has come too late. In this situation however it is peculiarly heartless to fall back on causes. To blame Lenin is as much beside the immediate point as to blame God. The one instant and immediate question is relief. There is one chief source of help—America.

### The Purpose of the Universe is Play.

According to the *Playground*, the purpose of the universe is play. Has it rediscovered the teaching of the Hindu *Bhakti Sastras* regarding the *Lila* of God ? This American journal writes —

The purpose of the Universe is play. The artists know that and they know that Play and Art and Creation are different names for the same thing—a thing that is sweats and agonies and ecstasies.

All the troubles and travails the human race has experienced in making itself human and all the trouble it is having in making itself into something better than humanity now is look towards the production of a being who shall devote himself more and more to conscious creation to play.

That is the next destination towards which the pageant of life is moving. That is the present purpose in the universe.

The artists who know more than anyone else about Play, which is Art which is Creation, must be the leaders and the guides. The worlds exist for the purpose of producing art in order that artists may produce new worlds.

Art includes poetry

Outdoors the Best Educational Background

We read in the *Playground* —

Professor Dallas Lore Sharp, called by John Burroughs "the greatest nature writer in America," recently declared outdoor life and training along the lines of Indian life make children alert and resourceful and fit them for the problems of life. Professor Sharp has trained his own four sons in this way on a Massachusetts farm.

"Two of my four boys were born here, and the four of them have had experiences with everything that lives and grows on the farm and in the woods hereabouts. They have gone bare-foot, trapped and fished summer and winter. They have traveled these hills, making acquaintance with all forms of animal life.

"That's the kind of back-ground, it seems to me, that every child has a right to, and that's what is behind our educational theory. A second reason for our coming here was to give the boys an experience that would make them self-sufficient, introspective, capable of doing things on their own initiative. Nothing emphasizes a boy's personality more than to find himself frequently alone and forced to depend upon his own resources."

### Dramatics in Schools.

The same journal informs its readers that,

"The Recreation Training School of Chicago, successor to the Recreation Department of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, of which Miss Nera L. Boyd is director, will have a new department next year starting October first. Mrs. Charlotte B. Chorpennig will have charge of this new department, which will be known as the Department of Dramatic Art and Pageantry. As a part of their field work all students will be given opportunity to direct, costume and stage plays with children and adults in schools, settlements, community centers and with other groups.

### White and "Coloured" Soldiers' Morals.

According to the *Living Age*,

A careful inquiry has lately been conducted in the occupied districts of the Rhine by a commission appointed by the Swedish Christian Society. It supports in the main the views of those who maintain that the general level of conduct of the colored troops compares favorably with that of other units. At the time of the investigation, there were said to be 21,000 colored troops in the Rhine Province. The number has since been increased to 45,000. These forces are drawn from Northern Africa, Madagascar, and Indo-China, the number of full blooded negroes being 'only a few hundred.'

### Education in Japan.

A correspondent, lately in Japan, publishes his general impression of education in Japan on the front page of *The Times Educational Supplement* in these words:—

The first thing that strikes the visitor is the universality of education in Japan. Everyone can read and write, and at every turn we come across school boys and girls. Even if education were not compulsory, so great is the popular demand that it would have to be supplied by the State. More important still is the interest taken in educational matters after student days are done. When travelling with Japanese young men one finds them reading the most learned works—often in French or German. They study most patiently such subjects as the latest reference works on the resources of Europe or India. In a crowded tramcar in Tokyo I saw one reading Maurice Maeterlinck's "Blue Bird." What struck me most perhaps was a visit to the Imperial University at Tokyo one summer afternoon at 5. About 150 students were reading there in silence, with the greatest possible concentration. And side by side with this memory I like to think of "judo"—ju-jitsu, Japanese wrestling—which the students practise with marvelous patience, skill and adherence to etiquette. In England we like to think of individuality as the keynote of our education. In Japan everything is systematized, and each of the nine million students seems to have a place marked out for him. Possibly the greatest achievement in the history of education has been the external transformation of Japan in some 50 years.

There are no short cuts to education in Japan. The Japanese student will have 14 years of study behind him before he can enter a university, and the doors to this are carefully guarded. Thus, whilst education is provided for all, only those likely to profit from it are admitted to the higher branches, ability being the test. Equally remarkable is the system of special schools. These include technical, agricultural, commercial, and nautical schools, as well as technical continuation schools—over 10,000 in all. To repeat the list would be like writing a catalogue, suffice it to say that the Japanese youth has abundance of opportunity, whether he desires an ordinary education or one of a specialized type, and arrangements are made that he can have the latter at the period of life when he is most fitted to benefit therefrom.

The difficulty of insufficient accommodation is met thus:—

As in England, there are often difficulties in the way of supplying sufficient institutions to meet the demand. This difficulty is met partly by having sometimes more pupils than

strictly the Department would like and occasionally by having different sets in the same buildings at different times in the day. The buildings are mostly of wood and built on a common plan. The class rooms are uniformly bright lofty and airy. The equipment is ample without being too elaborate or too costly. The students in Japan look very cheerful and happy.

Great attention is paid to the physical culture of both boys and girls.

A pleasant feature is the attention paid to physical culture. I have already mentioned the jiu jitsu, but drill and fencing also are admirably done. Of Western games baseball seems the favourite. As far as an outsider can judge the schoolboys of the rising generation are many of them much bigger physically than their predecessors—and possibly this is in part a result of their admirable training at school. It is good too to see the skill of girls at out-of-door games and drill. During the recess it is no uncommon sight to see them passing about a football. I noticed one excellent practice in an elementary common school. After the day's work is done, girls and boys tidy up the class rooms, washing the floors and cleaning the windows. This is surely far better than any amount of essays on the dignity of labour. In a common school boys and girls learn in the same building, they sit in different class rooms.

School gardens, hostels, etc. are next referred to.

Interesting too is the attention paid to the school garden. After school a whole class may be hard at work under the supervision of a master. Hostels are maintained on Japanese lines. Boys sleep on the matting and have often little tables set aside for use when they sit on the floor. Everything is kept spotlessly clean and according to Japanese custom shoes are removed before anyone enters a building. The insistence on courtesy and the observance of etiquette is very marked. The Japanese are naturally a polite people and it is good that whilst borrowing what fits them from the West they still keep to their old standards.

Statistics relating to the careers chosen by graduates are very instructive and interesting.

Of graduates from the Imperial University about 3,000 have become teachers and 4,000

entered business careers. Seven hundred became lawyers, 4,000 entered Government service. The point for us to note is that so many of the best brains deliberately take up business or school teaching as their profession.

About school hygiene, art, etc., we read—

Elaborate efforts seem made in connexion with school hygiene—looking after eyes, teeth and the like. There is an annual physical examination for each student. In these days schools have their own physicians. Records are carefully kept as to the physical progress of each pupil. A constant sight is excursions of school boys and girls accompanied by teachers to places of interest—museums, temples, fairs and the like. Pupils are constantly taught to map out the country. Each school boasts its museum. Japanese art as taught in the schools is very pleasing and efforts are made to encourage the teaching of music.

The education of women is well attended to.

Remarkable too is the interest taken in the education of women. Of the Women's University at Tokyo I carry three main pictures: about 100 women listening to a lecture on physiology, all bright and keen; a large school of cookery with the most suitable appliances for Japanese and Western cookery and a biological laboratory where experimental work was being steadily performed.

What specially strikes the visitor is the great field of opportunity that the Japanese student has.

If he wishes to specialize in any particular line, he has every facility in his own country, whether he goes to the university or not. A number of students are sent abroad annually by the State—for specific purposes and under strict conditions. These purposes would include such subjects as otology, electro-mechanical engineering, naval architecture, leather industry, applied chemistry and teaching. These students on their return to Japan will place what they have learned at the disposal of the State.

Perhaps the most striking testimony to the value of education is given by the position of agriculture in the country. Almost every acre seems utilized. The latest methods suited to the condition of the country are employed.

representatives of commerce who have contributed to this widening of India's horizon.

What has this Greater India done for mankind? And what does this Greater India seek to achieve for the world?

Greater India is a unit of enlarged experiences and thought compelling discoveries. The first discovery of India abroad is that not every man among the independent nations is every day discovering the laws of gravitation, radio-activity or relativity. Its second discovery is that not every woman among the free peoples is a Madame Curie, a Helen Keller or an Ellen Key.

Not the least noteworthy among Greater India's discoveries in the course of its diversified development are the facts that the governments of the great powers are run in responsible positions by persons whose capacity for administration, intellectual and moral, is entirely mediocre, not less so than is that of thousands of present-day Indians who might be invited to occupy the same offices and that consequently the kind of men who organize the cabinets or manipulate the war machines or are sent out to take charge of the embassy in foreign lands or to rule subject nations are even now plentiful in each and every province of India.

Greater India has also discovered through its intimate camaraderie and social intercourse among foreign races that the intrigues, jealousies, meannesses and animosities which form the daily routine of public life in the independent world—not only as between country and country but also as between denomination and denomination, party and party, and individual and individual—are nowhere less deep and less dehumanizing than are any such conflicts as prevail in India to-day or may have prevailed in the past.

In other words, Greater India has accomplished only one thing. Its experiences and discoveries in the realm of human values have established the equality of Indian men and women with the men and women of the leading races. The life processes and self-realizations of Greater India have demonstrated that India's sons and daughters are capable of solving the same problems in industry, in arts, in science, and in politics as are the men and women of Europe, America and Japan.

The moral of this self-consciousness is obvious. Declare yourself to be a power, says Greater India to India at home, 'and you are already a power. Force yourself into

the notice of mankind and mankind will take note of you. Seek the recognition of the world powers as one of their peers, and they will tend to meet you half way.' The one thing that India needs to-day is the final great dose of dehypnotization.

As long as there was no Greater India the world was deprived of the free message of one-fifth of the human race. It was the interest of the chauvinists to keep India a closed question in interparliamentary discussions. But India's forced isolation was abruptly broken and her teeming millions opened up to the world when in 1905 Young India announced itself born.

Since then the greatest achievement of Young India has consisted in the creation of an Indian problem in the civilization of every nation that is worth anything. Every great power has now an 'Indian portfolio' as an important section of its foreign affairs. All these Indian questions and Indian interests of the different peoples are but different phases of one vast conquering self-conscious Greater India. And this interpenetration between the world and India bids fair to be the most far-reaching dynamic *shakti* in the science and life of the coming decades.

### 3 THE WORLD-TEST

Equality between the East and the West—this then is the message of Greater India.

From a certain standpoint it might be pronounced that international trade is at present perhaps the most important line of work in which India can demonstrate the equality of its methods, merits and achievements with the rest of the world. Every Indian who is successfully maintaining an office in foreign trade centres—in Petrograd, in Berlin, in Rome, in Rio de Janeiro, in New York, in Tokyo, in Paris—is thus automatically rendering one of the greatest services to our motherland.

The world is being taught by the sheer logic of facts by the very fact of success that the brains and morals of Indians are made up of the same stuff as are those of the nations who have the privilege of being represented by their armies, navies, air fleets and flags. Each and every Indian merchant abroad is the standing advertisement of India's spirit of adventure, of India's ability to compete with foreigners in the race for life's expansion, of India's will to conquer.

The standard of measuring life's values



where and when they are needed the most *A year or two ago the atrocities of the British Embassy in Washington D C in the two instances of the released Hindu political prisoners and of the Hindu working men were exposed and condemned by the entire American public opinion and served to awaken American conscience to the danger to which India is normally exposed owing to the absence of her own ambassadorial authorities* The recent death ( June 14 1921 ) of Pand t Hariharnath Thulal ( of the United Provinces ) by suicide at Tokyo where he had been professor of Hindi at the Foreign Language School since 1916 owing to the cumulative persecution, it is alleged of the British Embassy in Japan should arouse the moral sentiment of Young India up to the adequate constructive programme

Wherever there is a British embassy or consulate there must have to be posted an authoritative Indian delegation to counteract all anti Indian measures and to look after the development of actual or potential Indian interests There is nothing in international law or practice to prohibit the establishment of such embassies or consulates as Young India may choose to locate in the different countries of the world

Delegations commissions and travellers of all sorts permanent as well as occasional are deputed to foreign peoples as much by the Japanese the Italians and the Americans as by the Germans the French and the Chileans —of course by each nation to watch its own chances and promote its own interests openly or secretly And naturally the country which sends out its agents and representatives as experts to investigate foreign movements on the spot or to interpret its own problems and achievements to the foreigners has also to look after their maintenance

No foreign nation can then be expected to bear the expenses of the emissaries from India India's representatives abroad will have to be maintained by Indian funds The financial idealists of India must have to pay an adequate price for her expansion in the world

The statesmen of Young India are thus called upon to determine a percentage of their national funds which may reasonably be earmarked for keeping the foreign services at the proper level of efficiency

Paris  
July 30 1921

BENOV KUMAR SARKAR

## NOTES

### Our Political Goal

We do not know when and by what means we shall be able to reach our political goal But there can be so far as the Indian nation is concerned only one satisfactory political goal and that is democratic freedom and independence for the people and the state All other goals are provisional and may or may not serve as stepping stones to the final one Even the most moderate of Moderates will admit to himself in the secrecy of his heart that if freedom and independence could be attained and maintained he would not care to set before himself any other goal It is the difficulties that confront one who sets independence as the goal before himself

which lead to the declaration of various other goals But difficulties exist only to be conquered If we cannot overcome them we do not deserve any kind of swaraj define it how we may

Why do we or should we desire to remain within the British Empire ? One reason given is that otherwise India would fall a prey to some other strong foreign power than Britain That means that we who are about eight times as many as the British people are so timid cowardly weak disunited ignorant and unorganised that we must for all time require the protection of a numerically smaller nation But in warfare it has been found repeatedly that Indian soldiers fight and face death as

## 6. THE FOREIGN SERVICES OF YOUNG INDIA.

The time has now come for planning out a conscious programme of India's foreign services. The need is all the greater, after seven months of intensive struggle for *swaraja*, to finally break the barriers of isolation which have been imposed upon us by self-seekers. Our deliberate aim must be henceforth to invite on India and on Indian enterprise the unrestricted competition of the open market.

We have need to submit to this world-test in scientific discoveries, in mechanical inventions, in political idealism, in the creations of painting, sculpture, and music, in athletics, in commercial activity, in short, in every function of life. The fields, factories, markets, and schools of India must no longer be dominated by any one system of theories and practices. No more of hegemony or monopoly,—no more of "closed doors"—in India's industry, science, politics, and culture. The very declaration of such an aim will forthwith enlist the moral support of the leading industrial and cultural powers in behalf of India's *siddhant*. The question of a continuous and systematic foreign policy thus assumes a most considerable importance in Young India's activities. India's intimate personal intercourse with the outside world must have to be provided for in a secure and permanent manner. And the reasons are not merely those of *swaraja* propaganda but also those of essentially vital interests which affect India's very existence as a unit in modern civilization.

In the first place, mankind is moving very rapidly in industrial technique, cultural synthesis, social engineering, political ideals as well as administrative methods. India can hardly keep pace with the march of world-progress except under certain specially-created favourable conditions. These conditions may be fulfilled only if well-trained Indian men and women are furnished with facilities for studying the latest developments in Europe, America, and Japan. Further, there must have to be organized the instrumentalities by which these Indian experts can regularly communicate the results of their investigation to the responsible persons and institutions at home.

In the second place, the activities of India during recent years in diverse fields are

already quite momentous. As events of contemporary politics and culture they are significant enough to call forth the appointment of specially qualified persons to interpret them to the world. Our new experiences in public life and our attainments in the arts and sciences will thereby automatically come to be placed in the international balance. Naturally this publicity will have to be conducted in the different languages of the great powers and through the medium of their institutions.

It must be understood that the problem here set forth is not merely one of sending out Indian students, post-graduate scholars and professors to the chief culture-centres for higher education and research. India has arrived at a stage when bankers, engineers, medical men, labour leaders, museumists, newspapermen, lawyers, and publicists' all these of creative experience have to be on the move from country to country and watch the varying conditions in the barometer of human progress.

## 7. INDIAN EMBASSIES AND CONSULATES.

Nay, more. If *swaraja* is not far from being a question of practical politics, the fathers of the Indian Federation of *Swarajas* should betimes make it a point to station their official representatives in every capital city and in every important port of the world. The ambassadors, ministers, envoys, consuls and delegates of India's *Swaraja* must be counted as no less valuable office-bearers than are the members employed in the rural, sanitary, industrial, teaching, and other home services. A staff of not less than one hundred persons,—to be recruited from among lawyers, journalists, bankers, engineers, chemists etc.,—should have to be mobilized immediately to form the nucleus of Young India's accredited diplomatic corps.

The importance of India's having her own embassies and consulates can hardly be overstated. The question has been put off too long. It must be seriously taken up right now.

In foreign countries our merchants, travellers, and students have long been submitting to untold inconveniences, discomforts and losses, not to speak of demoralizing indignities and humiliations, for no other reason but the simple fact that India's own trusted representatives are not to be found exactly

where and when they are needed the most. A year or two ago the atrocities of the British Embassy in Washington D C in the two instances of the released Hindu political prisoners and of the Hindu working men were exposed and condemned by the entire American public opinion and served to awaken American conscience to the danger to which India is normally exposed owing to the absence of her own ambassadorial authorities. The recent death (June 14 1921) of Pandit Harilal Nath Thulal (of the United Provinces) by suicide at Tokyo where he had been professor of Hindi at the Foreign Language School since 1916 owing to the cumulative persecution, it is alleged of the British Embassy in Japan should arouse the moral sentiment of Young India up to the adequate constructive programme.

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Delegations commissions and travellers of all sorts permanent as well as occasional are deputed to foreign peoples as much by the Japanese the Italians and the Americans as by the Germans the French and the Chileans — of course by each nation to watch its own chances and promote its own interests openly or secretly. And naturally the country which sends out its agents and representatives as experts to investigate foreign movements on the spot or to interpret its own problems and achievements to the foreigners has also to look after their maintenance.

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which lead to the declaration of various other goals. But difficulties exist only to be conquered. If we cannot overcome them we do not deserve any kind of swamy define it how we may.

Why do we or should we desire to remain within the British Empire? One reason given is that otherwise India would fall a prey to some other strong foreign power than Britain. That means that we, who are about eight times as many as the British people are so timid, cowardly, weak, disunited ignorant and unorganised that we must for all time require the protection of a numerically smaller nation. But in warfare it has been found repeatedly that Indian soldiers fight and face death as

bravely as any other soldiers. In the pre-British period of Indian history and even during the earlier period of British rule, India produced great military leaders. That the people of India would be united and organised in future is not an unthinkable proposition, it is quite probable. In the course of the last few years they have become more united than before. Therefore, it is not improbable that an independent and free India would have soldiers and generals able to defend it against aggressors. The undeveloped resources of India are such that it would not be difficult for her in future to build and maintain a sufficiently strong navy and air fleet. We write all this on the supposition that it would always be necessary for nations to be in a state of potential warfare and therefore to be equipped for the same. We do not know what may happen in the distant future, but for years to come nations would most probably stand in need of armies, navies and air fleets of their own for the purpose of self-defence. In any case, the Indian nation must not think of a future in which it would owe the continuance of its freedom to the forbearance and generosity of the strong peoples of the earth. No; we must ourselves be strong with the strength of character, unity, body, and knowledge of science and mechanics. And we must use our strength for defensive purposes only. At present in civilised countries householders do not keep armed retainers for defending their hearths and homes,—that is done by the state police, and a time may come when even such policing may be unnecessary. So a time may come when individual nations will keep forces sufficient only for internal policing, and an international force will keep peace among the nations. Then a strong India like other strong nations would disarm. At a still more distant future this international force and the national forces for internal policing may be unnecessary. We subscribe to the doctrine of ahimsā or, not doing or thinking of doing injury to others. But we do not think that the use of physical force under any and all circumstances, especially for self-defence or defence of the weak and

helpless is wicked and forbidden. So, God would not have given man physical force. It is the use of physical force for aggressive injury prompted by greed and hatred which is wicked and unrighteous.

We are not concerned here with the attainment of freedom and independence as a problem in practical politics. We know that we cannot be independent to-day or to-morrow, or in the near future. We are concerned with the ideal of our aspirations.

With reference to the preservation of the liberty of a future independent India by her own strength, it may be objected that in the late war no nation was found sufficiently strong by itself to dispense with the aid of others. That is true. But those who helped one another did so as independent units. France did not become a dependency of Britain or of America for self-protection; Britain did not become a dependency of America for self-protection; Australia was not placed under the suzerainty of Japan for purposes of defence. Similarly, the independent India of the future may enter into defensive alliances with other free nations.

But it would be objected that we are taking the independence of India for granted. That is apparently true. And we cannot in fact foresee and point out the means whereby India can be liberated. We think her liberation can be achieved peacefully, without any violence on our part. But the non-violent means would not involve less suffering and sacrifice and less readiness for suffering and sacrifice than actual warfare. And the history of India, past and present, shows that Indians are capable of such sacrifice and suffering.

We have mentioned and examined one reason why it is thought we should remain within the British Empire. It is self-protection. Those who think India requires to remain for ever under the aegis of the British Empire for that purpose, do not stop to consider that such a motive is calculated to keep India for ever weak,—it works against the development of the strength of India; for one who the protection of others does not feel

need of self protection and is weakened thereby. It is true a dependent country cannot become independent without developing its strength to an adequate extent and such strength is not merely or mainly physical, but it is no less true that a dependent country cannot develop its strength to the extent that an independent country can. For, those whose dependency it is, must in self interest prevent its becoming strong. This is self evident. But still let us point out as an indisputable fact that indigenous India is weaker than she was when she had not passed under the British yoke. To prove that it is true a single question will suffice. If Britishers left India to day with all their military equipments and armaments would India be able to offer even the ineffectual resistance to Afghan aggression which she did under the later Mughals? Or is there any indigenous power like the Sikhs under Hari Singh Nalwa able to raid Afghanistan? The very fact that Indians are afraid not only to speak and write of independence but even to think or dream of a future when India may be independent, shows what a weakening influence subjection exercises on us. Indians were not so diffident and timid always.

Whether as a dependent people or as a free nation, the development of our full strength spiritual and physical is essential for our continued existence as human beings not as two-legged cattle.

India is richer in natural resources than Japan and Indians are not less intelligent or capable of labour than the Japanese. The range of climate in India is so great that the state can always find suitable spots for any kind of work desired. We have also a long sea board able to provide a large number of harbours. India has been under Western influence for three as long a period as that which has elapsed since Japan began to modernise herself under the impact of Western civilisation. But Japan has forged ahead and India lags far behind not only in naval and military strength, but in manufacturing capacity and enterprise in material prosperity in education and in the arts of civil

ised life generally. That Japan is a first class power, and India has no separate entity, and if she had would not, in her present condition be considered equal to a third rate power, is a well known fact. It is known to many, too that the Japanese men and women, boys and girls are almost all literate, but that only about 7 per cent of the Indian people are literate. But it is not so well known that Japan has to her credit much more original work in science and philosophy and scholarship in general than India that the Japanese can in their own country obtain a competent knowledge and training in any subject they require that for special knowledge more Japanese than Indians go abroad and that many distinguished graduates of Japanese universities think it superfluous to try to obtain the doctorates of European universities. Would an independent India have been content with this position of inferiority to Japan?

Another reason why it is thought that India should remain within the British Empire is that thereby she would have economic and intellectual advantages. But as shown above, Japan has within half a century made greater economic educational intellectual and cultural progress than India in more than a century and a half. British rule has resulted in the economic exploitation of India and the ruin of many of her industries. And whilst it is true that under British rule there are some highly educated and cultured persons there are facts to show that British rule at first led more to the contraction of the field of elementary education than to its expansion.

Another advantage of remaining within the British Empire is said to be the greater possibility of social reform and of religious nonconformity under it than otherwise. No one denies that under British rule suttee female infanticide and self torture and suicide from religious motives have been stopped and a widow-remarriage act passed. But the opponents of the idea of independence should prove the impossibility of social reform in independent India or in an India ruled by Hindus or by Musalmans. Did not Akbar stop "suttee"? Are not caste rules less rigorous in

hearts—who have been thrown up on the surface by the recent political upheaval, have practically lost the fear of imprisonment and have not only refused to plead in self-defence, but have actually dared to defy the British tribunals by denying their competency to try them and by openly declaring their conviction, in the face of the trying magistrates, that they did not expect any justice at the latter's hands. They refuse to give a nominal bail or even their personal recognisance, and walk into jail with a smiling face. The people, instead of mourning over the incarcerations, illuminate their houses and pass resolutions at their meetings congratulating the political prisoners for doing their duty. Even the ladies join the felicitations. The boys wear coarse cloth, discard fineries, and are proud of it. We remember our youth, when we were students ourselves. British courts were then looked upon with awe, and Government officials even of the secondary rank were superior beings, invested as they were with the trappings of authority, and represented in their own person, to however small an extent, the divinity that hedges a king. The remotest vision of jail would send shivers through most of the stoutest hearts among our contemporaries and the greater the fop, the more was he looked up to among his class-fellows. But all this is now in the process of transformation. The nation is being licked into shape by hard knocks. The spirit which was kindled in the days of the Anti-Partition agitation had partially gone to sleep, but recent events have invested Milton's language which we read in our college days without understanding its full significance, with a peculiar appropriateness: "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks." The spectacle is seen to-day of the Bengali, whose physical organization, according to a celebrated passage in Macaulay, was feeble even to effeminacy and who lived in a constant vapour bath, actually following Browning's advice:

"Then welcome, each  
cart"

as rough,

Each sting that bites, nor sit, stand, but go!

Be our joys three-part pain!

Strive, and hold cheap the strain;

Learn, nor account the pang; dare,  
Never grudge the throe."

Coleridge in his time found that the Asiatic nations acknowledged no other bond but that of a common slavery, and to-day, the one alleged to be the most slavish of those nations, has begun to believe with all its heart, though not always in a literal sense, the inspiring message of James Russell Lowell:

"Right for ever on the scaffold, wrong for ever  
on the throne,  
Lo! the scaffold sways the future, and behind  
the dim unknown  
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch  
above his own!"

The pure and strenuous life, the life-long sufferings and self-sacrifice, the fearless advocacy of truth in utter scorn of consequence, the patriotism too deep and sincere to tolerate shams of any kind, by whatever high-sounding name called, and withal the deep love of humanity irrespective of race or clime of Mahatma Gandhi, has brought about this marvellous change of spirit. When we look back to the past and think of the immense distance we have travelled since youth, the seed-time of life, left us cold, calculating and servile, without any inspiring ideal or noble message to lift us up from the humdrum of daily existence, without any large vision or glorious hope to make us dare greatly and suffer bravely, and when we recall our mental orbs and focus them on the keen youthful faces who now-a-days court every persecution for the motherland, when we find public sentiment passionately supporting them and remote country journals fearlessly uttering truths which even in the spring-time of our life, in exalted moods or in our moments of generous enthusiasm, we could only whisper to each other with bated breath, when we find the prestige of the British courts and the moral sanction behind the foreign bureaucracy lost beyond recall, when we find that anything less than absolute and unqualified justice in public dealings fails to satisfy even the common mind whereas even a mere show of justice was enough to appease our

wounded self respect in the old days, when the policeman's baton and the Gurkha's bayonet have equally failed to inspire terror or turn back the masses from their coveted goal of Swaraj which they are determined to win by suffering and not by violence, we forget for the nonce the depression that is apt to arise in the thinking mind at the reactionary activities of religious revivalists who were not so prominent in our rationalistic youth, at the general opposition to legislative measures intended to mitigate the rigours of caste and promote racial solidarity, at the pitiable condition of the fifty millions of our submerged brethren, at the dumb misery of countless women, at the deeply ingrained social cleavage between Hindus and Mahomedans, at the sickening glorification of our ancestors side by side with an unreasoning deprecation of other nations—our rulers included at the failure to recognise the *Jeeway* we have to make up in a hundred different directions before we are fit, not to be free, for that is our birthright but to lead in the van of civilisation—we forget, we say, all these depressing symptoms and gloomy thoughts and refuse to be discouraged by them, and feel in the mood to cry out with Wordsworth among the French in the glorious days of the Revolution—

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive  
But to be young was very Heaven!

### Education of Indian Children

According to the *Indian Witness* twenty-eight millions out of a total of thirty-nine millions of Indian children receive no education

### Our Logic Assailed.

*The Independent* of Allahabad writes—

There are certain things which one country exclusively produces and which it is impossible—physically impossible—for another country to produce. It would be perfectly legitimate for the latter to use the former. Smyrna may therefore use cloth produced by Japan and England and which India may not

It is assumed in the above passage that Asia Minor, of which Smyrna is the chief town cannot and does not grow and manufacture cotton and that it is physi-

cally impossible for it to do so. This, however, is not a fact. In the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* vol II, p 759, we find the following mentioned as the articles of commerce grown and manufactured in Asia Minor—

The principal manufactures are—Carpet, rugs, cotton, tobacco, mohair and silk stuffs, soap, wine and leather. The exports are—cereals, cotton, cottonseed, dried fruits, drugs, fruit, gall nuts, cotton yarn &c

We are not against helping the people of Smyrna or of any other place in distress. We want only to expose a false assumption.

*The Independent* says further—

Foreign cloth says Ramanand Babi never injured anybody's skin or muscles or bone. It has not only injured it, has destroyed our countrymen's skin and muscles and bones and we must discard it just as we should instinctively discard articles made out of the bones of slaughtered countrymen of ours.

Here the writer has not quoted the whole of our argument and has therefore, been able to misrepresent us. We reproduce the whole passage from our last issue.

It has been said that when drunkards and drinkers become tottallers they do not give away their stock of wine to other people—they simply destroy it and therefore when one abjures the use of foreign cloth one should destroy the stock of such cloth in one's possession. But this is false analogy. The point is: is foreign cloth harmful in itself like intoxicating liquors? Intoxicating liquors are bad for people of all countries. But has foreign cloth ever injured anybody's skin or muscles or bones?

Again—

It has been said that just as we do not give rotten or unwholesome food to poor people so should we not give discarded foreign clothing to them. But rotten or unwholesome food-stuffs, whether dshi or foreign are injurious in themselves; they do not nourish the body, which is the object of taking food. But old (foreign) clothing in a clean condition (and it is only such clothing which should be given) is not injurious to the wearers [such] old clothes do cover the body, preserving decency and health which is the object of clothing.

It will be seen from the above that we were speaking of the physical, physiological and anatomical effects of rotten food, intoxicating liquors and foreign clothing,

India, where Islamic influence was in the ascendant, than in Southern India where such influence was not in the ascendant? Has not the remarriage of widows been customary among various Hindu castes throughout historical times in India? And what is the attitude of English officials towards the enfranchisement of women, towards female education, without which no social reform or national uplift is possible and towards any legislation to legalise inter caste and "intercreedal" marriage? It is certainly not one of friendliness.

As regards religious nonconformity, it is a fact that more religions have been founded and tolerated in India and that in Hindu Buddhist and Musalman times than in any other country. Jainism and Buddhism took root in India when the ancestors of the British people were savages unknown to fame, and Buddhism does not favour caste. Christianity took root and spread in India in the Hindu states of southern India more than a thousand years before British merchants came to India. Musalman traders came to and settled on the West coast of India before the Muhamadan conquest. The Persian followers of Zoroaster were befriended by an independent Hindu monarch before the Norman conquest of Britain. Sikhism arose took root and spread in India in spite of the persecution of some Mughal monarchs. And it was and is a reforming and very iconoclastic and purely theistic faith. There have been other religious reformers and sects in Hindu Buddhist and Musalman India too numerous to mention here. Asola preached and practised religious toleration long before it was heard of in any other country. Even in medieval India it was far more prevalent than in the Europe of that age. Take the period from A D 629 to A D 1605 the period dealt with in Dr J Estlin Carpenter's Hibbert Lectures for 1919 on *'Theism in Medieval India'* (Williams and Norgate London price 2s net). *The Inquirer* of London reviewing the book writes of this period

It is true that the period extensive as it is did not witness the rise of a great religion unless we are willing to accord the designation

to Sikkism. To our author it is but one of the phases of theism which he has set out to consider. We have only to cast our glance upon the religious state of our own country within the same period from the time when Odin and Thor were struggling with the Cross introduced by St Augustine to the time when the Cross triumphant was passing Acts of Uniformity and legalising intolerance and persecution and compare the fundamental practice of good will among Buddhists and the fine example given by Akbar in the establishment of a League of Religions to wonder how our countrymen can ever go to India except in the humble attitude of learners.

It has been usual for many Christian scholars to ascribe many good things in Hinduism to Christian influence. On such a tendency the reviewer observes —

The Western temperament is incapable of the humility required for accepting the fact that another people had attained lofty ideas of God and man while our forbears were still savages. And if there is only one true religion and all others are false it is expedient to post date a great revelation to a time when its worth can be ascribed to Christian influence.

Non Christian scholars will feel indebted to Dr Carpenter for his stand against this unbecomable effort to exploit in the interest of one religion the great treasures of another. He definitely avows himself unconvinced that the higher thought of medieval India owed any thing to Christian influence.

Every phase of religious experience from Eusebius to the authors of God the Invisible King and Back to Methusalem every kind of rite and custom associated with sacred places even the miraculous healings at Lourdes the play at Oberammergau the cult of the child seem to have been anticipated in the vast Emporium of Religion in India before it arose in the West.

There is the story of Hanumat kicking a loathsome beggar and later finding a wound on the God's breast. What you do to my children you do to me.

We hear Nityananda with blood flowing from a gash in his brow made by a drunkard's blow crying Strike me again only do it in Krishna's name. We read of saints who washed the clothes of their disciples and a master who bathed their feet. The grace of God as mother falls like dew upon parched places over and over again.

Another reason why it is thought that India should remain within the British Empire is that thereby the "depressed" and "untouchable" classes may be uplifted. But, though it is admitted that as the human and wicked notion of 'untouch-



ability is non-existent in England. Englishmen do not practise ceremonial 'untouchability', no one can prove that the British Government in India has deliberately followed any liberal and definite policy of uplift in relation to the classes referred to. Christian missionaries have converted large numbers of these people and given them a higher social status and a wider and more hopeful outlook on life. But in pre-British times Buddhism, Islam, Vaishnavism and Sikhism have also gained converts from among them. The Arya Samajists and Brahmos are doing it, though on a smaller scale. It is also a fact that even in recent years some Indian States are systematically and methodically doing more for the uplift of these people than the British Government in India.

It is necessary also to examine the objection that if the English departed from India, Hindus and Muslims would fly at each other's throats. Here we wish to take the evidence of historians. Are there racial riots in U.S.A. or are there not? Are not these riots on a more terrible scale than most Indian riots? Who quells these riots? Is it not the Americans themselves? Does anybody propose to subject America to Japanese rule to settle the quarrels between the whites and the negroes? Are there not big riots in every western country, including England? If they can quell their riots, why should we be supposed incapable of doing so to the end of time? In medieval India there were probably Hindu-Muslim riots under both Hindu kings and Muslim kings. Were the number of these larger than that of the riots under British rule? Are there more religious riots in the Indian States than in the British provinces? What reasons are there for assuming that to the end of time we shall be so foolish and so blind to our best interests as to go on fighting among ourselves for ever?

It is unnecessary to deny the good that British rule has done us intentionally or unintentionally to prove that the only satisfactory political goal for India is freedom and independence. We will assume

that the British came here as surgeons and physicians for our good. Under the directions of a surgeon bandaging may be necessary, temporarily for a man whose bones have been fractured or dislocated but surely the bandages should not continue forever. A sick man may require to take medicines and diet and exercise as prescribed by a physician, but he cannot forever remain under the rule of the physician unless he be a born and lifelong invalid, which no nation is. Englishmen may have come to India as teachers, but surely our intelligence should not be unending.

Complete equality between Indians and Britishers is impossible in the British Empire even though one may call it the Indo-British Commonwealth. Were such equality won we being the more numerous party should rule the roost which we do not want to do and which Englishmen would not tolerate for a day. In fact it is not merely Englishmen but all over the world white men in general refuse to admit in practice the equal humanity of the non-white races. Such arrogance is bad for them and insulting to us and intolerable too. For their good and our good and the good of mankind, it must be destroyed. The only way to do it is for India and all other subject countries to be free and independent. There may be intermediate stages on the way to independence but they are only stages. The final goal is independence.

The interdependence of nations or of peoples on equal terms is a high ideal. But it can be truly realised only when all distinct peoples have come to have an independent political existence of their own.

For complete self-realisation and self-expression for being and doing the best that we are capable of for giving to the world the best and utmost that we can and ought to freedom and independence are indispensably necessary.

#### Past and Present.

News from all provinces of India from Faridpur Chittagong and Bengal all go to show that men—old and new—too

not of the economic results produced by the use of foreign clothing in India. We simply meant to say that if an Indian eats rotten food, he falls ill; if he drinks spirituous liquors, he gets drunk or his health of mind or body or both suffers; but if he puts on foreign clothing, that does not scratch his skin, break his bones, or produce ulcers on his flesh.

As for the evil effects of the use of foreign clothing and many other foreign things, *The Modern Review*, which has a wider personality than "Ramananda Babu," has exposed it repeatedly long before the *Independent* was born. "Ramananda Babu" himself has been practising swadeshim in certain things for more than a quarter of a century, and did not therefore require to be treated to the commonplaces of India's economic history.

### "Sinfulness" of Foreign Cloth

Theft is immoral and sinful. Cheating is immoral and sinful. Lying is immoral and sinful. Is it sinful, in the same way, to sell and wear foreign cloth?

If one exhorts others to cease from sinning, one does not say, "You may go on stealing, cheating and lying till the 13th of March, as otherwise you may be inconvenienced": one says, "You should cease to steal and cheat and lie from this very moment." For there can be no compromise with sin.

But we read in the papers that dealers in foreign cloth and foreign yarn have been allowed by the leaders of the Non-co operation movement to sell their goods till certain dates next year, and picketting has been stopped. This shows that the sale and use of foreign cloth and yarn, though highly injurious to our national interests, are not sinful. If they were sinful Mr. Gandhi would not have been a party to an arrangement by which sinning was to be prolonged.

Spiritual sentiments should not be exploited, even though that may appear to make the attainment of a certain object easier.

### Forcible "Conversion."

There can be no doubt that the turbulent Moplahs have forcibly "converted" a good

many Hindus to Muhammadanism. Some Musalman leaders have rightly condemned such "conversions." Some apologists have urged that many or all of these conversions were real conversions. But the question may be asked: "How is it that the converters and the converted chose this particular period, marked by such turbulence, for real conversions in considerable numbers?"

In the interests of both Hindus and Musalmans it is necessary that persons forcibly converted should find the way open to their old religious community. If going back to Hinduism be possible, those who are Hindus at heart will find the practice of sincerity possible. Moreover, if converts to Christianity or Islam from Hinduism remain Christians or Musalmans even if re-conversion to Hinduism be possible, then it will be a clear proof that they are Christians or Musalmans by choice. But if such re-conversion be not possible, there may be some doubt as to whether some Christian or Musalman converts are not obliged by necessity to remain outside the pale of Hinduism.

### Prosecution of the Ali Brothers.

Hitherto repression had left Non-co operation leaders of the front rank practically untouched. With the arrest and prosecution of the Ali brothers and some others it enters on a new phase. That their arrest and the arrest of Dr. Kichlew and some other leaders have not resulted in the outbreak of any disorders speaks highly of the discipline which the nation has undergone under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. If we can practise both non-violence and non-co-operation, that would certainly mean that we have made some progress towards the attainment of swaraj.

The absence of any disorder may disappoint official and non-official Anglo-Indians of a certain type. They may even interpret this phenomenon to mean that the country is unconcerned at the fate of these arrested leaders. Such an interpretation need not be taken seriously. We should calmly and firmly stick to our resolve and carry it out.

The arrest and prosecution of the Ali brothers is a god-send to them and to

non-co-operation movement. If they can face it as they ought to, which we have not the least doubt they will, they will more than regain what they lost by their apology. The apology, we wrote at the time was not dictated by fear, but nevertheless it did not, to say the least, add to their influence or raise their reputation.

The venerable mother of the Alis has made characteristically heroic and patriotic pronouncements. She is unmoved. Mrs. Mohamed Ali has not only not been unnerved but has cheered up her husband. The mother of another arrested Muslim leader has told her son that if he apologises he must not show her his face again. These are inspiring news. The nonchalance of the arrested leaders cannot but give a philip to the movement.

### Art and Science and Contemplation

Those who have some knowledge of the literature of Indian Art know that Sukra Charya attached great importance to meditation, the artist was not to slavishly copy a model but meditate on the idea and the ideal he sought to represent and give to men the result of his meditation. We are reminded of this on reading some passages in "*Reconstruction in Philosophy*" by John Dewey, Professor of Philosophy in Columbia University. Professor Dewey may be called the father of Instrumental Logic and is a great educationist and psychologist. William James has declared his 'Studies in Logical Theory' to be the foundation of Pragmatism. Prof. Dewey writes—

The really fruitful application of the contemplative idea was not in science but in the esthetic field. It is difficult to imagine any high development of the fine arts except where there is curious and loving interest in forms and motions of the world quite irrespective of any use to which they may be put. And it is not too much to say that every people that has attained a high esthetic development has been a people in which the contemplative attitude has flourished—as the Greek, the Hindu, the medieval Christian.

The professor then proceeds to compare the contemplative and esthetic attitude with the scientific attitude.

On the other hand the scientific attitude that has actually proved itself in scientific progress is a practical attitude. It takes forms

as disguises for hidden processes. Its interest in change is in what it leads to what can be done with it, to what use it can be put. (Page 126.) While it has brought nature under control there is something hard and aggressive in its attitude toward nature unfavourable to the esthetic enjoyment of the world.

But these two attitudes are not mutually exclusive and incompatible. They can and ought to be reconciled.

Surely there is no more significant question before the world than this question of the possibility and method of reconciliation of the attitudes of practical science and contemplative esthetic appreciation. Without the former man will be the sport and victim of natural forces which he cannot use or control. Without the latter mankind might become a race of economic monsters restlessly driving hard bargains with nature and with one another bored with leisure or capable of putting it to use only in ostentatious display and extravagant dissipation.

The importance of this question of reconciliation cannot be overrated. On it depends the mutual understanding and reconciliation of the East and the West.

Like other moral questions this matter is social and even political. The western peoples advanced earlier on the path of experimental science and applications in control of nature than the orient. It is not I suppose wholly fanciful to believe that the latter have embodied in their habits of life more of the contemplative esthetic and speculatively religious temper and the former more of the scientific industrial and practical. This difference and others which have grown up around it is one barrier to easy mutual understanding and one source of mis-understanding. The philosophy which then, makes a serious effort to comprehend these respective attitudes in their relation and due balance (page 127) could hardly fail to promote the capacity of peoples to profit by one another's experience and to co-operate more effectively with one another in the tasks of fruitful culture (p. 129).

The two attitudes exist in every individual people and race, and need to be developed and harmonised by all.

### Races and Gambling

As betting on this horse and that is fashionable in the so-called "highest" circles of Anglo-Indian (old style) and Indian society its wicked character does not strike many people. But, like the drink evil, this kind of gambling has affected every stratum of society in Calcutta and even in

the mofussil. The underlying idea is to get rich quick without effort or exertion. Old and young, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, from pickpockets to princes, take part in the races. Betting has become a craze and a fashion with a large number of our people. On race days taxis, buses, and tram cars know no respite. From early forenoon to late in the afternoon people resort in hundreds to the race course. Gambling goes on merrily on the grounds. Many are the tales of woe and misery that have resulted from betting. Many also are the fraudulent transactions and secret bargains that are gone through by people who need funds for gambling. Those who lose generally become cheats and drones, idle and irresponsible persons. Those who win give themselves up to wine and debauchery, shows and theatres and uppish ways without end. It behoves the leaders and social reformers to be on the alert betimes and try to do away with the evil. Otherwise there will be ruination all round. This form of gambling should be stopped by legislation like other forms. That is the plain truth, whatever big lords and ladies may think and do.

### The Bengal School of Indian Art.

In the course of an address delivered in Bombay in August last, Mr Solomon, Principal of the Bombay School of Art, said :—

If we glance at the situation in India to-day we shall see that the two main centres of artistic activity are Calcutta and Bombay. There are distinct differences of theory and method between the artists of these two cities, because while those in Calcutta still pin their faith to copy ancient conventions, Bombay has for many years kept an open mind. The result has been that for a time, and thanks to the energetic championship of Mr. Havell, the Calcutta school produced some charming pictures of small size, archaic in style, while (also for a time) Bombay did not produce anything of the same characteristically Indian flavour. That, however, did not mean that the art theories of this City were fallacious. The complete freedom from all shackles of convention of the Bombay school had led no doubt to a welter of ideas and a confusion of differing artistic aims. But that is a temporary phase and I venture to tell you all to-day that this is already being justified of the artistic

faith that is in her. For contemporary Indian art must be founded, not on the art of a long-past period, but upon the country itself. And India, as she is the greatest artists' country in the world to-day, will impart to her artists now as true a message as she did fifteen centuries ago. All that Indians have to do is to listen to the voice that cannot err, that of their own mother and to close their ears to the tumult of outside opinion. Yes, I think it is becoming increasingly clear that Bombay has saved Indian Art by her endeavours.

The above passage does not give an accurate idea of the aims and achievements of the Bengal School of Indian Art, which is called a school for brevity's sake. For the pupils of Mr. Abanindranath Tagore do not all follow the same style. In fact, he distinctly tells them not to try to imitate the artists of this country or that, this period or that, but to give to the world *their own art*. That has not remained a mere exhortation. Its effect is becoming increasingly manifest. At the last Calcutta Exhibition of the works of these artists, "The charge," says *Rupam*, "that many of the younger disciples of Mr. A. N. Tagore are hampered by a continuous attachment to the leading strings of the master has been disproved by the works of the artists mentioned. It is obvious that many of the members of the school have been able to realize that the business of an artist is not to follow a leader—still less to adhere to a doctrine or tradition, but to express himself. . . That there has been an attempt to modernize the outlook is evident from the large number of *genres* that were exhibited." Mr. A. N. Tagore himself is not wedded to any particular method or style. *Rupam* holds that "it is very little realised that his indebtedness to European art is no less" than to "the traditions of Indian art." "Recently he has been in a Chinese mood and has done very clever pieces in the manner of Chinese artists. It should not be misunderstood that he wilfully adopts these varied forms of technique as a medium of his own expression. He is ever seeking to train and perfect his own language and form of expression—never disdaining to take lessons and hints—from whatever quarter they come." His picture entitled "In the Temple of Mahakala" is specially characterized

by a technique which is said to be very far from Indian

### A Bill to Amend the Hindu Law

Mr T V Seshagiri Ayyar's Bill to amend the Hindu Law provides that —

Notwithstanding any rule of Hindu Law or custom to the contrary no person governed by the Hindu Law shall be excluded from inheritance or from a share in joint family property by reason only of any disease deformity physical or mental defect

It shall apply to all provinces of India except Bengal

It is stated in the statement of objects and reasons —

Certain classes of persons have been excluded from inheritance presumably on the ground that their present condition is due to sins in the former birth and that they are therefore not entitled to share in the patrimony. Without questioning the soundness of this reason of the rule I am of opinion that in the times that we live in such grounds of exclusion should not be allowed to deprive a person of temporal rights. These persons stand in greater need of assistance than their more favoured brethren who can earn their living. Public opinion has expressed itself strongly against the disability which the present state of the Hindu Law imposes on them.

My reason for excluding Bengal from the operation of the Act is based on the opposition which the motion for codifying Hindu Law met from the Bengal Representatives in the Legislative Assembly. It may be that the Members who spoke on that occasion only expressed their individual views and did not expound the collective opinion of that province. In that case the clause relating to the exclusion of Bengal may be modified in the Select Committee. If on the other hand Bengal is as orthodox as it has been represented to be by seeking to apply the provisions of the Bill to that province the passing of the measure so far as the other provinces are concerned may be jeopardised. *This is my reason for excluding Bengal.*

We support this Bill and think that it should apply to Bengal also though we are neither 'orthodox' nor represent Bengal. May we enquire who are the orthodox men who represented Bengal? What is the opinion of the representative organs of Bengal Hindus?

### Senate Meetings of the Calcutta University

At a meeting of the Senate held on September 3, new rules were made in lieu of the old ones relating to the publication

of books by the Calcutta University. The old ones had become 'a dead letter', Dr Howells said. Who made them a dead letter and for what purpose? Echo answers 'Who'. The old rules gave some power of control to the Senate which was, no doubt nominal, for the same boss ruled the roos in Senate and Syndicate alike. The new rules take away this power from the Senate. This is no loss except in name. But we do not find it mentioned anywhere that the present Publication Committee which was to be reconstituted would be required to certify that the MSS of books for publication were free from plagiarism wholesale or 'retail'.

On the 24th September two meetings of the Senate one special and one ordinary were held. At the special meeting it was decided to confer the honorary degree of Doctor in Law on the Prince of Wales. The vice chancellor said that King George V and King Edward VII had been similarly honored when they visited India as heirs apparent to the British throne. As the Calcutta University is an official institution it must welcome the Prince in some way or other, whether there be any precedent for any particular method of welcoming him or not. The Senate also resolved to confer honorary degrees on twenty eminent individuals in commemoration of His Royal Highness's visit. The vice chancellor did not enumerate any precedents for this sort of commemoration. Is there any in Calcutta? It seems rather odd though—this idea of 'specially honouring' a man by conferring equal or equivalent honours on twenty other persons.

If the honorary or some other degrees of the Calcutta University had at present any particular value it would have been worth while to consider who else ought to have been similarly honoured in addition to the twenty, or who among the twenty did not deserve the honour. A word or two of comment however, on some objections and suggestions may not be amiss. Exception has been taken to the inclusion of the name of Mrs Sarojini Naidu on the grounds that she is a Non-co operator and that she is not an eminent litterateur. Her position with regard to culture in

general and Western culture in particular is not similar to that of Mr. Gandhi. So there is nothing incongruous in the Calcutta University seeking to honour her. And she certainly deserves to be honoured for her literary achievements. Moreover, the University should be above politics in its recognition of literary achievement. Sir Surendranath Banerjee also might have been honoured, but not on the ground of his being "a brilliant graduate", which he was not. All the other persons named by a certain journal might similarly have been honoured.

At the ordinary meeting, "the Syndicate's recommendation to the Senate appointing Mr. Nagendranath Gangulee, B. Sc. (Illinois), as Guru Prasad Singh Professor of Agriculture for a term of five years on a salary of Rs 500 a month was accepted." The other four chairs, provided for by the Khaira Fund, had been filled previously. It cannot be said that Mr. Gangulee is utterly unfit for the post; for fitness is a relative term and there are varying degrees of fitness; though it will be admitted that he has not won such distinction in agriculture as the four other professors have in their fields of work. Nor can it be said that, of all the twelve candidates for the chair, he was undoubtedly the best qualified in point of academic distinction, experience of agriculture and agricultural farms and demonstrations or original research in agriculture.

The offer of providing for a Mining Institute at Ikrah by Mr. Frankishna Chatterjee was accepted. This institute should prove very useful.

We approve of the senate resolution suggesting the abolition of all distinctions between barristers and vakils. We are also of opinion that an Indian Bar should be constituted. But we think it should be an independent body. It should not be under the tutelage of the High Court, which practically means the tutelage of a couple of High Court judges who have the ordinary human failings of love of power and patronage and are subject to prejudices like other mortals. Unless the Indian Bar be independent, it can not be self-

respecting. So let it be under the control of a Society which should have picked representatives from all grades of the profession as well as from the Bench, the members being all elected.

The vice-chancellor then made a long statement relating to the withdrawal of students from schools and colleges.

The statement shows that whereas in July, 1920, these schools had 2,10,936 pupils they had in July, 1921 only 1,63,787 students, in other words, 17,119 students have disappeared from our recognised schools, that is nearly, 23 per cent. of the students have left off their studies.

As regards colleges,

The number of students which stood at 10,492 on the 15th September, 1920, and was brought down to 6,121 on the 1st March 1921, rose to 7,585 on the 10th August, 1921. To put the matter briefly, 42 per cent of the students disappeared in March, 1921; nearly 14 per cent returned to the Colleges by the 10th August, 1921: so that out of 10,492 the net loss was 2,907, that is, more than 27 per cent.

Though adhering to the principle of non-co-operation, we have been from the beginning opposed to the merely destructive phase of educational non-co-operation, and wrote our article on "Non-co-operation in Education" from that standpoint in our last February number. With the vice-chancellor, we regret this diminution in the number of students. If an adequate number of national schools and colleges had been opened and these students had joined them, or even if they had been all, or most of them, been otherwise usefully occupied, say, in the work of rural social service or political propaganda, spinning, agriculture, trade, handicrafts, or in some sort of skilled or unskilled labour, such regret would not have been felt. But there is no information before the public to show that most of these ex-students are receiving education or are otherwise usefully occupied. Among them are many who are impelled by some high idealism. It is greatly to be regretted that the energies of such youngmen should run to waste.

The concluding words of the vice-chancellor's state

Let the public also realise the extent of the financial loss sustained by the University. It will then rest with the public to decide whether they wish to maintain a University or not, and the responsibility will be theirs, if the University is compelled to close the doors, for obviously, a University cannot be maintained without funds.

Here we join issue with the speaker. The public will certainly not be responsible entirely or mainly, "if the University is compelled to close the doors." For the bankruptcy of the university had been anticipated and notes of warning had been sounded in the public press long before the storm of educational non-co-operation burst over Bengal. This impending bankruptcy was due to Sir Asutosh's megalomania, to not cutting one's coat according to one's cloth, to the fancy that the cloth had the property of automatically expanding for ever to wasteful and extravagant expenditure, to not laying by a sufficient reserve fund, etc. But for these reasons the prospect would not have been so gloomy and the difficulty, great though it is, could have been tided over. But whatever fault we may find with the university and its management, we do not at all desire that it should be compelled to close its doors. Let the people and the state open their purse-strings wide, stipulating that the work and expenditure of the university shall be really under the guidance and control of a senate constituted on a truly popular basis.

Sir Asutosh Mukerjee may consider the defection of students due to Non-co-operation as a god send because it enables him to try to prove that the financial condition of the university is due to it. But such an attempt will not deceive the public. Why have not the examiners been paid their dues yet, though the examination fees were realised from the candidates during the first quarter of the year? Surely the Non-co-operators have not broken open the safes of the university and run away with the large sum paid by the candidates! The reason must be that this large sum has been spent for some purpose other than the main object for which it was realised. Is not this misappropriation in equity? Sir Asutosh spoke of the

prospective loss of income of the university. What has that prospective loss got to do with the reported inability of the university to pay its ordinary staff for September and October, and with Sir Asutosh's appeal to the post-graduate teachers to take less than their stipulated salaries? What has non-co-operation to do with the University's engaging in money-lending business in order that it may be able to earn a higher income than the 3½ per cent. G. P. Notes of Sir Rash Behary Ghose's second endowment yield? The details we may publish hereafter. The much-vaunted administrative capacity of Sir Asutosh is about to wreck the University. Let him not try to throw the blame on others.

If literary studies do not draw so many students now as hitherto, steps should be taken to increase the accommodation in all institutions for science students.

#### Education of Indians in Britain.

Facilities for higher education, particularly for special training for the productive professions and occupations, are so inadequate in India, that increased facilities, however small in any country cannot be considered negligible. Therefore, if the labours of the Committee appointed for increasing educational facilities in Britain for Indians result in any advantage, that should be welcome. At the same time, our young men and women should be repeatedly reminded that there are other countries which can give equally good and sometimes superior education at less cost than the British centres of education. Those who seek to qualify for the bar, or to compete for the I. A. S., etc., which is possible only in the United Kingdom, must needs go there. But those who want to follow other careers and those who seek knowledge and education in general, have America, and many European countries to choose from. It is well-known that France, Germany and Switzerland provide education of a superior order. Italy, Holland and Denmark also have good educational centres. Norway also provides very good education. Recently an Indian gentleman who has been residing in America for years, went

the mofussil. The underlying idea is to get rich quick without effort or exertion. Old and young, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, from pickpockets to princes, take part in the races. Betting has become a craze and a fashion with a large number of our people. On race days taxis, buses, and tram cars know no respite. From early forenoon to late in the afternoon people resort in hundreds to the race course. Gambling goes on merrily on the grounds. Many are the tales of woe and misery that have resulted from betting. Many also are the fraudulent transactions and secret bargains that are gone through by people who need funds for gambling. Those who lose generally become cheats and drones, idle and irresponsible persons. Those who win give themselves up to wine and debauchery, shows and theatres and uppish ways without end. It behoves the leaders and social reformers to be on the alert betimes and try to do away with the evil. Otherwise there will be ruination all round. This form of gambling should be stopped by legislation like other forms. That is the plain truth, whatever big lords and ladies may think and do.

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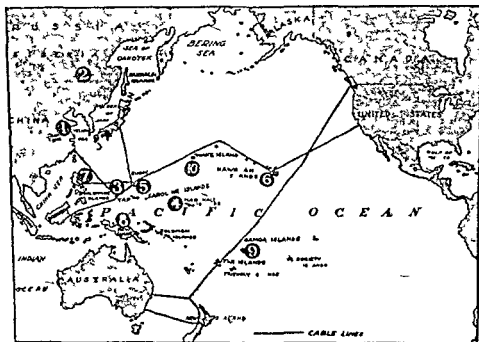
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## Problems of the Pacific That Will Confront the Washington Conference



( For this map and the explanation below we are indebted to the New York Tribune )

1 By the Treaty of Versailles German rights in the Chinese province of Shantung were transferred to Japan. The United States Senate adopted a reservation in the treaty withholding American acquiescence in this transfer. China refused to sign the treaty because of it.

2 Japanese forces are still occupying parts of the Siberian coast provinces. Japan has also occupied the north or Russian half of the Island of Sakhalin.

3 Yap is the important cable station island. A mandate over which was irregularly awarded to Japan by the Allied Supreme Council. President Wilson made a reservation on Yap and the United States has not relinquished its right to participate in the disposition of these former German possessions turned over by Germany to the five Allied and Associated Powers.

4 Mandates over the Caroline and Marshall Islands were awarded to Japan by the Allied Supreme Council. The American delegation to the peace conference did not contest these assignments.

5 Guam is the most important naval base in the western half of the Pacific.

6 Hawaii is the most important American base in the middle Pacific.

7 The Philippines, an exposed American outpost in the Far East, can be held only if the United States can maintain a fleet in the Pacific based on Hawaii and Guam.

8 The German part of New Guinea was assigned to Australia.

9 The German portion of the Samoa Islands was assigned to New Zealand.

10 Wake Island, which belongs to the United States.

## Ireland.

Sinn Féin pins its faith on the doctrine of government with the consent of the governed. Mr. Lloyd George also repeats the same formula, but would subject it to the qualification that the past history of

Ireland should be recognised. But surely the past position of Ireland (which still exists) as a subject country was not a status which the Irish have ever accepted. They have never been a consenting party. Of course it is not practicable for the British cabinet to recognise De Valera and

to visit Norway in course of his wanderings. He writes to us that the university at Kristiania has not a single student from India. This rather surprised him. For he found, the British universities are so crowded that many Indian students do not get admitted there easily. On the other hand, a university like that of Kristiania does not suffer from a plethora of foreign students. "Since it is a first class seat of learning and because we have such a good name in Scandinavia, some of our brilliant post-graduate students ought to come here." "I went and had a look at the Technical Institute at Bergen and at the School of Navigation at Kristiania and was deeply impressed by the fact that any young man can live on Rs 1000 a year and get a good training in a new land amid surroundings of exceptional beauty and human kindness. Norwegian is an easy language to learn. Any one who knows English just enough to get along as I do will be able to master Norwegian in a year. So both from the standpoints of scholarship and economy this will prove to be a lovely country for the training of our youth." As to Norway being a good country for education we have no doubt. As to the expenses of education there, we intend to make inquiries and publish the result later on.

There is one important reason why many of our young men and women ought to gain knowledge and experience in foreign countries other than Britain. Hitherto we have looked at the world, past and present, through British eyes as it were, and have unconsciously acquired a British bias. This requires to be corrected. We should be able to form an independent idea of the world's past, present and future.

#### Financial Embarrassment of Bengal Government.

The Government of Bengal cannot carry on its work unless there be an additional income of at least two crores and a half. If Bengal had at her disposal her income from jute, her financial position would have been solvent. But as the Imperial Government has commandeered this income,

she has been obliged to pray, like a beggar, to the tin gods at Simla to give her back part of what is really her own. That Bengal is permanently settled as regards her land revenue and therefore Bengal's land revenue is less than that of any similar area in the other provinces, is a matter between the Imperial Government and the landholders of Bengal. The people of Bengal were not a party to this permanent settlement. If it was wrong, they were not responsible for it. Therefore, it would not do for the Imperial Government to say: "Because the land in Bengal yields less revenue than land elsewhere, therefore we will take from Bengal her income from what is practically Bengal's monopoly." Why, sirs, that Bengal land gives you less than land elsewhere is a fact for which you alone are responsible, not the generality of the people of Bengal. Why then should you deprive the people of Bengal of a source of income to which they are specially entitled and which may enable them to improve the sanitation, education, agriculture and industries of their province? If you think proper, you may take back from the zamindars what you have given them. The majority of Bengal zamindars have squandered their incomes, doing little good to Bengal.

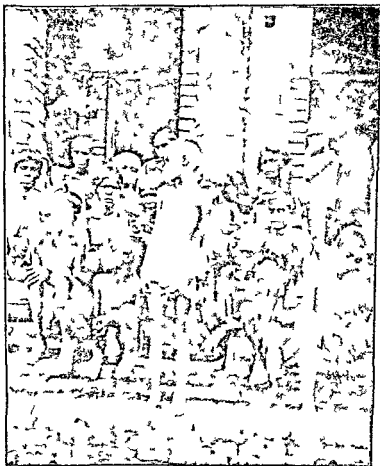
#### The Jewish "National Home."

It has been said that Britain has undertaken the administration of Palestine to make of it a Jewish "national home." "But is the promotion of that end really the purpose of this force of occupation?" asks the *Nation and the Athenaeum*. This force of occupation, namely, the British garrison, is costing Britain £2,500,000 a year, or £500 a man. The *Nation* continues: "Is it not rather stationed in Palestine in accordance with the recent strategic doctrine that the defence of the Suez Canal must be contrived from that end as well as from Egypt? This charge must be debited less to Zionism than to strategy." It does not seem likely that the British or any other government would spend two and a half million pounds per annum for a purely altruistic purpose.

of Bombay Bombay is thus maintaining her traditional reputation as *urbs prima in Indus* in this respect It should also be noted that the Marwari Relief Society and the Swetambar Jain Community as also the Salvation Army have responded to the call of humanity and opened centres in some of the places Their total benefactions up to date will exceed Rs 20 000 Sir A K A S Jamal of Rangoon has also forwarded to Sir P C Ray Rs 5 000

Heart rending accounts of deaths from starvation in the doomed area of Khulna continue to be received The Khulna bashi in its issue of the 24th September reports several more cases of death In the village Batikhali under P S Paikgacha (1) Birbhadra Mandal died of starvation It has been attested and authenticated by Pandit Sasitidhar Haldar of the said village (2) Charubala, a girl of eight years daughter of Rajendra Nath of Sahapara died of starvation It has also been attested by the Chaukilar of that part of the village (3) & (4) Patudasi of Sarabpur and Nabin Sardar of Bakra also died of starvation All the villagers are of opinion that these deaths have been caused by starvation These facts will speak for themselves It may be urged that the Khulna Relief Committee owe an explanation to the public as to why deaths from starvation should occur when the response of the public has

been fairly generous The following facts placed at our disposal will show the appalling magnitude of the distress to be combated At present close upon 25 000 people are receiving doles of a



Some of the stricken Men Women and Children in Khulna

quarter of a seer of rice per head which gives 156 mds per day Taking the current price of rice at 6 1-0 per md the total expenses come up to nearly Rs 1000 per day In fact the utmost strain has been put upon the resources at the disposal of the Committee The number of actual sufferers does

his associates as the representatives of a sovereign state. But it is equally impossible for the latter to attend a conference on the previously accepted understanding that, whatever may happen, Ireland must remain a part of the British Empire. Perhaps the two parties may meet and confer, leaving the status of the Sinn Fein representatives undefined and without previously settling whether Ireland would or would not be allowed to exercise the right of separation from Britain.

Sinn Fein is organised for war—that has been abundantly clear. But that it is admirably organised for peace, too, has not been made so prominent by the British purveyors of news. "In the Ireland that is administered by Sinn Fein," says *The Nation and the Athenaeum* (Sept. 3), "the truce has been preserved with remarkable success. In the domain of the North-East Parliament there has been, on the contrary, incessant and growing violence. Belfast is the most barbarous city in Western Europe and it has lived up to its reputation. The pogrom is now its accredited form of propaganda. The Catholics have been the victims of a series of attacks culminating in an outbreak on Tuesday of such a character that the Lord Mayor was obliged to ask the soldiers to take charge of the city."

### Indians and Banking.

It has pleased Mr. Watson Smyth to feel disappointed in the Indian recruits that have just been enrolled in the superior services of the Imperial Bank of India. We are not yet aware what special reasons have led the powerful President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce to cry down the whole lot so soon after their selection. But what has so far come to our knowledge is that there have been at least two instances in which the selected candidates had been able to pass only the Matriculation examination, so far as their academic career is concerned, although there had been many distinguished graduates, some with high honours in Economics and Mathematics and some with actual banking experience to choose from. Both the young men chosen are

sons of biggish fathers. In both the cases, it is more than evident, the fathers' position and influence in life rather than the sons' qualifications have served as the reason for their selection. So if such be the stuff which the Governors of the Bank have been pleased to choose, where is the fault of the general run of the Indian candidates? Nice judgment indeed! You just get hold of an undeserving lot of your own choice and then when they do not come up to the mark, you begin to decry the whole class. Better blame the system and not the recruits, who are only its victims. Mr. Smyth needs to be told that his condemnation has been onesided. To the Indian constituents and outsiders the newly-recruited assistants who have been imported from his homeland do not appear to be quite so quick, intelligent and obliging as they should be. An intelligent observer will not fail to notice that everything is made ready by the Bengali assistants; the "Sahibs" have only to affix their initials to the papers and registers according to the usual routine. The sight of a Bank Chaprasi guiding some of the "sahibs" in the disposal of the papers, sometimes by their tints, is not uncommon. It does not seem, that the majority have had any training or experience worth the name abroad. Some are extremely gossipy, the common trend of talk indulged in being, who went to the war before whom. The result of this condition of affairs is that no customer's peon or durwan returns from the Bank without having spent at least 2 to 3 hours before he has had his business transacted there. Consequently Imperial Bank delays, like the law's, have become proverbial. Some strict and vigilant Inspectors are necessary to set right the happy-go-lucky assistants.

### Khulna Famine.

Sir P. C. Ray begs to acknowledge with heartfelt gratitude the receipt of close upon Rs. 25,000 in cash from Bombay, and several bales of cloths worth Rs. 25,000 are on their way to the affected area. It will thus be seen that altogether Rs. 50,000 have been already contributed by the philanthropic donors.

considered on their merits. In effect, the contracts become terminable.

This practically means a continuance of the present Company system which in practice in many respects amounts also to the system worked directly by the State. Their administration has been universally condemned not once but twice—first in 1819 and again now.

The London correspondent of the *Hindu* of Madras has cabled that the report of the Committee has caused a flutter in the financial dovecote in London. The British classes that have hitherto exploited Indian Railways for service and other advantages are staggered. They know it is well-nigh impossible for the authorities to go against the recommendations of the Chairman. They will, adds the correspondent, try to use some Indian Capitalists as their tools. We regretfully mark that Sir R. Mookerjee has subscribed to the dissent. We trust Indians will not lend their support to these champions of the Company system.

### China.

#### *The New Republic* 433 —

America and Japan are in complete opposition in regard to China and the legislation with which America regards the Anglo-Japanese alliance is because of the fact that it inevitably marks Great Britain's acceptance of a policy which we think criminal. England has usually opposed and thwarted attempts which the United States has made to promote the integrity and preserve the sovereignty of China—witness the defeat of the North China railroad project in 1903. At the present time she is engaged in operations in South China the predatory character of which is illustrated by the Cassell contract in Kwangtung. If Lloyd George thinks that the British Empire is behaving like gentlemen toward China it is clear that he has in mind standards of international morality which America is not yet prepared formally to accept.

#### "Ahimsa and Independence"

In our first note in the present number we have said that an independent India would require an army, a navy and an air fleet to preserve her independence and we have also said that these should be used only for defensive purposes. We are not unaware of the valid objection that if there be any military readiness for even a defensive purpose the fighters would be spoiling for a fight and might somehow contrive to bring about a quarrel to show their own usefulness as well as to get rid of the ennui of idleness. We have replied. We do not know whether the

majority of riots are brought about by policemen in order to show that they are useful public servants, but nobody urges the abolition of the police force on the ground that they may manufacture riots. The military in every country should be under the control of the civil authorities. Their preparedness might not lead to militarism.

It may be objected that the maintenance of fighting forces of any sort clashes with the ideal of ahimsa or non-killing. It does in the same way as does the maintenance of a police force. But can we do without a police force in the present state of civilisation of any country?

Ahimsa is one of the spiritual ideals which we require to realise. For the individual it is comparatively easy to realise it. The individual may resolve and carry out the resolve not to submit to injustice or wrong or to submit not to be cowed down to do anything which means unjust, wicked or unrighteous but also, at the same time not to assert his rights, not to obtain justice etc., by injuring others. He may stick to this resolve even unto death. If a nation can similarly resolve not to surrender its freedom and independence but at the same time not to kill the aggressors in order to preserve freedom and independence it may be able to realise the ideal of ahimsa. But it should be prepared rather to be wiped off as a nation than to give up its ideal. It is not unthinkable that a nation can rise to such heights of self-discipline and sacrifice and spiritual courage and firmness. The submission of cowards and imbeciles to aggressors is the very antipodes of ahimsa.

Peace or real safety does not lie in military power. No external means can suffice to promote and establish ahimsa and international peace and amity unless the reason of men is convinced and their hearts changed. The spiritually minded intellectuals of the world who love peace and are in favour of ahimsa should address themselves to the noble task of producing this conviction and this change of heart. It can be proved that amity and peace are good not only for the soul but for lasting

short of one lakh of people. This shows the need of continuous and generous help.

### The Repressive Laws Committee.

The Repressive Laws Committee have submitted their report. They have recommended the repeal of some repressive laws and the retention of some others. These remaining ones would be quite enough for purposes of repression. But is there nobody who has the vision and the power so to arrange things that occasions for repression may not arise? Increasing numbers of men show plainly enough that not only do they not fear imprisonment but on the contrary appear to welcome it. It does not seem probable to crush such a spirit, particularly when it is non-violent. But supposing it were possible to crush the spirit of a people, would it be right to do so? Would it not be right and possible to utilise it for national reconstruction? If statesmen gave up a policy of camouflage and did justice, and set their hearts on establishing real equality, there would be some hope.

In British Indian history, "reforms" and "concessions" have the knack of coming too late at least by a decade. Some British statesmen seem to hold out the hope of some sort of Home Rule about a decade hence, if "politically-minded" Indians give the British parliament satisfaction during their period of probation. In the first place we do not appreciate this attitude of generous patronage of the British people. We must have our rights, and we will win them. In the second place, in the history of the British people in their own homeland, unrest and disorders of all sorts have been *in practice*, though not in words, taken to be a convincing proof of the readiness and the capacity of the British people to exercise greater freedom and more human rights than before. Why not make use of that test in India?

### Recommendations of the Railway Committee.

Rai Sahab Chandrika Prasada of Ajmer is a recognised authority on India railway problems. His History of the Indian Railways will be shortly out. Therein he

has examined the recommendations of the Railway Committee 1920-1921. We reproduce below his observations on the question of State *versus* Company management of Indian railways:—

The Committee are unanimous in advising that the system of management by guaranteed companies of English domicile should not be continued after the termination of their present contracts and that this management by a combination of English and Indian domiciled companies is impracticable, but they are divided as to the relative merits of management by the State and by Indian domiciled companies. The Chairman, the Right Hon'ble Srinivasarao Sastry, P. C., Mr. E. H. Hiley, C. B. E., Mr. Purushotamas Thakurdas, C. I. E., M. B. E., and Mr. J. Tuke are in favour of direct management by the State, provided the Committee's recommendations for financial and administrative reforms are substantially adopted. They are opposed to Indian domiciled companies mainly on the broad ground that as a matter of practical politics, companies of substantial independence cannot be formed in India to work the State-owned lines, and that without such independence the advantages claimed for private enterprise are lost. They recommend accordingly that as and when the English guaranteed companies' contracts fall in, the undertakings should be managed directly by the State. All future capital is to be raised directly by the Central Government. Funds required to put the existing railways into proper shape should be raised even at today's prices as fast as they can be, and economically spent. The immediate raising of capital for *extensions* is not recommended. Government borrowings are to be by ordinary Sterling loans in England and rupee loans earmarked for railway purposes in India.

We congratulate the above-named members of the Committee for doing this piece of justice to India. We do not quite approve of large borrowings, especially out of India, nor do we approve of any enhancement of passenger fares. With the modifications and remarks we have made, we heartily support the recommendations of the majority Committee, and we trust they will be brought into force without delay.

Sir H. P. Burt, K. C. I. E., C. B. E., Sir R. N. Mookerjee, K. C. I. E., Sir A. R. Anderson, Kt., C. I. E., C. B. E., Sir G. C. Godfrey and Sir H. Ledger are against Government being committed to a policy of State-management only, and recommend the continuance of a system of State and Company management side by side, with Indian companies in lieu of English companies. They accordingly propose a scheme for creating Indian domiciled companies to manage the East Indian, and possibly the Great Indian Peninsular, other lines to

considered on their merits in order when the contracts become terminable.

This practically means a continuance of the present Company system which in practice in many respects affects also the systems worked directly by the State. The railway station has been universally condemned not only but it was, first in 1850 and again now.

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### Charge Against the Ali Brothers and Others.

The charge against the Ali Brothers and five other persons, namely, Pir Ghulam Mujadid of Matlari, Bharati Krishnathiraji, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Maulvi Hussein Ahmed of Deoband and Maulvi Nisar Ahmed of Cawnpore, is that they have committed offences under Sections 120 (B), 131 and 505 of the Indian Penal Code, in respect of their support of a resolution passed at the All-India Khilafat Conference held at Karachi from July 8th to July 10th, 1921 inclusive, which *inter alia* declared it unlawful at this time for a Musalman to remain in the British Army or to enter the Army or induce others to join the Army and declared it the duty of every Musalman to bring this home to the Musalmans in the Army.

It cannot be said that such a resolution has taken Government by surprise. For in the Report to the Government of India of the Committee appointed to examine repressive laws, dated the 2nd September, 1921, we find the following passage —

In attempting any survey of the present political situation we cannot leave out of account further dangerous developments adumbrated by leaders of the non-co-operation party. To illustrate this point we cite some extracts from recent speeches

(1) "Mahatma Gandhi says that if you are determined *Swaraj* can be attained within one year. The machinery of the Government is entirely in your hands." \* \* \* At first we will request the military and the police to throw up their services with the Government. If this request is rejected the public will be asked to refuse to pay taxes and then you will see how the machinery will work. We do not recognise the authorities of the present Government and refusal to pay taxes will settle everything. This can only be achieved by unity. Now it rests with you whether you will sit under the *Satanic* flag or will come under the

flag of God. The day will come when the sweepers, washer-men and others will be asked to boycott those who are on the side of *Satan*."

### Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions.

The resolution moved in the Legislative Assembly by Ral Bahadur T. P. Mukerjee that judicial and executive functions should be separated and steps be taken to appoint a committee consisting of officials and non-officials, for preparing a scheme for the purpose at an early date, has been carried by a majority. The bureaucrats have all along thought that the heavens would fall if the two functions were separated. Let us be prepared for the cataclysm.

### Indians in East Africa.

In the Council of State Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas moved that all necessary steps be immediately taken to secure effect being given to the policy of equality of status for Indians in East African colonies and protectorates in every respect as laid down in the Government of India's despatch on the subject Mr. Sarma speaking on behalf of the Government accepted the resolution and said that the Government would abide by the despatch, and negotiations were now proceeding with the Home Government for the equality of status of Europeans and Indians in East Africa and there was every reason to hope that a satisfactory solution would be arrived at and an announcement made thereon. It had been expressly understood that in so far as British Indians had lawfully migrated to any part of the Empire they should be treated perfectly on equal terms with the rest of His Majesty's subjects. This principle had been re-enunciated and accepted at the recent Imperial Conference.

### Wives of Government Servants.

Nowhere in the British Indian Empire do women enjoy so much freedom and possess so much economic independence also as in Burma. So it is in the fitness of things that the Burma Government should have issued a press *communiqué* declaring that if the wife of a Government servant takes part in a movement such as boycott or hartal or belongs to an association which takes part in any such movement, the husband should do all in his power to discourage her from so doing. If it were found that so far from taking such action, he passively allowed or encouraged

her to take part in such movement, Government would call upon him for an explanation of his conduct.

Evidently the Burma Government is a past master in haggling and driving an unconscionable and hard bargain. It buys the working capacity and reason and conscience of its servants by paying a certain sum, and proceeds coolly to assume that the wives of these men have been thrown in. What reason has the Burma boss to assume that the personalities of the wives of Government servants have been thrown into the bargain? Far from being a liberal and wise political or administrative move, it is not even honest business. In the colloquial of the marketplace, something thrown in is called *phau* in Bengali and *gheluā* in Hindi. Are women mere *phaus* and *gheluās*? Have they no personal freedom? If women have any self respect they must rebel against this doctrine.

### The Empire Universities Congress

Over 400 representatives and delegates from every part of the British Empire and nearly every one of its 39 universities attended the recent Empire Universities Congress. Regarding the work done we take the following from an article reproduced in *The New Empire*.

The morning of the first day was devoted to 'The Universities and the Balance of Studies. This was dealt with under three specific heads:

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It is obviously impossible to give even an outline of the content of the discussions on the above subjects. A publication (Report of Proceedings of the Congress of Universities of the Empire 1921 G. Bell and Sons, Ltd.,

York House, Portugal Street London W C 2) will follow in which all the material will appear.

I am content that the work of research will be greatly stimulated in the Universities as a result of the Congress. On no subject in the past was there a greater divergence of opinion. The old antagonisms between Science and the humanities have almost disappeared and the Congress, I am sure, did much to ensure their final burial.

### Saran Floods

The floods in Saran have been of a very devastating character causing untold sufferings to a very large number of persons. Contributions for the relief of the sufferers should be sent to Babu Mahendra Prasad, Saran Congress Committee Chapra.

### A Tax on Knowledge

The new postage rates introduced this year, coupled with the postal rule that all value-payable packets must be registered, have seriously affected the retail book trade and must in the long run tell on publishers also. Formerly a book which the post office carried for half an anna has now to pay one anna as postage. Formerly a book worth two annas and a half could be had by a mofussil buyer by V P P for four annas. At present a mofussil buyer by the V P system has to pay eight annas for it. The new postal rule and postage rates are a direct tax on knowledge and education. Government ought not to have sanctioned such rates and such a rule. Members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State ought to have done their best to do away with this tax on knowledge and education. But they have done nothing. The people of no free country would have tolerated such a tax.

### An Unreasonable Postal Innovation

But an innovation recently introduced by the Postmaster General of Bengal is still more unreasonable and unjust. Formerly 'registered' newspapers could be sent by post for half an anna up to the weight of 40 tolas. According to the new rates a registered newspaper weighing exactly or about 20 tolas has to pay half an anna as postage, and for every additional 20 tolas or less, it has to pay an additional half anna. We tried somehow to reconcile ourselves to this tax on knowledge and journalistic enterprise. But the Post

worldly prosperity and happiness, too. That war does not make the world as a whole prosperous and happy is evident from the last great war. Even the victors are not more prosperous and happy than they were before. England, for instance, is saddled with a national debt which staggers imagination. Her internal labour and other troubles have been disastrous in their consequences and seem unending.

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- The Universities Bureau

It is obviously impossible to give even an outline of the content of the discussions on the above subjects. A publication (Report of Proceedings of the Congress of Universities of the Empire 1921 G. Dill and Sons Ltd,

York House, 1 Portugal Street London W.C.2.) will follow in which all the material will appear.

I am confident that the work of research will be greatly stimulated in the Universities as a result of the Congress. On no subject in the past was there a greater divergence of opinion. The old antagonisms between Science and the humanities have almost disappeared and the Congress I am sure did much to ensure their final burial.

### Saran Floods

The floods in Saran have been of a very devastating character causing untold sufferings to a very large number of persons. Contributions for the relief of the sufferers should be sent to Babu Mahendra Prasad, Saran Congress Committee Chapra.

### A Tax on Knowledge

The new postage rates introduced this year coupled with the postal rule that all value payable packets must be registered have seriously affected the retail book trade and must in the long run tell on publishers also. Formerly a book which the post office carried for half an anna has now to pay one anna as postage. Formerly a book worth two annas and a half could be had by a mofussil buyer by V.P.P. for four annas. At present a mofussil buyer by the V.P. system has to pay eight annas for it. The new postal rule and postage rates are a direct tax on knowledge and education. Government ought not to have sanctioned such rates and such a rule. Members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State ought to have done their best to do away with this tax on knowledge and education. But they have done nothing. The people of no free country would have tolerated such a tax.

### An Unreasonable Postal Innovation

But an innovation recently introduced by the Postmaster General of Bengal is still more unreasonable and unjust. Formerly registered newspapers could be sent by post for half an anna up to the weight of 30 tolas. According to the new rates a registered newspaper weighing exactly or about 20 tolas has to pay half an anna as postage, and for every additional 20 tolas or less it has to pay an additional half anna. We tried somehow to reconcile ourselves to this tax on knowledge and journalistic enterprise. But the Post

ductive activity which is bound to fail in the long run under the operation of the inexorable economic laws. This is the teaching of economic history and it would be decisive but for certain factors which are implied in the above statement of the case but which we usually forget when discussing the question. We shall here leave out the ethical difference between the modern sweated almost slave labour in capitalist owned factories and the free and cheerful work done in cottage industries. But in a strictly economical view of the matter the machine is superior to the *charkha* as a wealth producer for the entire nation first if only the spinners and weavers are in direct and close contact with each other and live in the same political, geographical and economic world, and secondly if the time of the millions of spinsters in the villages set free by reason of the machine killing the hand spindle can be devoted to more productive employment than in the past.

Now it is notorious that neither of the two is the case in India. The spinning machine has robbed our poorer women and children of their sole employment and thus prevented them from adding to the income of the family in the only way possible for them. The male Indian agriculturist and day labourer—i.e. ninety per cent of our male population—depend generally upon only one profession and their families have no supplementary source of income. When an entire family depends upon one employment only and has no diversity of work it is economically in a most precarious condition. It has no resisting power in the case of famine or slack trade. The *charkha* if it stays on will remove this danger and multiply the earnings of every family of labourers. As Mr Gandhi said to the Varanasi deputation (10th Sep) —

With the importation of foreign cloth began the impoverishment of India with it began the enforced idleness of more than 40 per cent of the nation. This enforced idleness has I know driven many of our sisters to a life of shame and misery.

The first point too has told against us. Our weavers and even weaving mills like the Mohini Mills and the Beawar Mills depend entirely on English yarn. They are therefore entirely at the mercy of the English spinning mill, the English steamer companies and the English (or Bhatia) yarn importers. Labour unrest, coal shortage or lack of

tonnage in England forces our weavers to close their business and starve. It is impossible to imagine a more unsatisfactory economic arrangement. Therefore the yarn needed for the cloths we consume must be spun close to the looms—that is the Indian cloth supply will only then be assured when its yarn is spun in India preferably in each weaving district itself.

### How to Make the Charkha Permanent?

The crux of the matter is to bring the spinner and the weaver close together and to so control—we prefer to say arrange—things that (a) the spinner may have adequate and prompt supplies of raw cotton from the new crop and at fair prices (b) the supply of yarn may adjust itself to the demand so that neither may the spinner have a surplus of unsaleable stock on hand nor may the weaver remain idle for lack of yarn and (c) the cloth woven may be rapidly sold without forming a drag on the hands of the weavers—who are naturally very poor. A national agency must undertake the labour and cost of maintaining a commodity exchange (if we may coin a phrase on the analogy of labour exchange) between the cotton grower the *charkha* spinner the handloom weaver and the purchaser of Swadeshi cloth—if the first three classes are not to become the slaves of capitalists and money lenders. In every province our leaders must undertake this task if Swadeshi is to be permanent.

We are glad to learn that the problem has been tackled in the province of Bihar, at least and the following scheme of work has been adopted. The country will watch with interest the actual working of this great and supremely needed economic experiment. "To begin with we intend to establish a central depot at Patna with branches in all districts within our jurisdiction. Each district will be subdivided into smaller units each of which will serve as a depot for sale, purchase and barter of the requisites and products of this cottage industry. These units will be located in centrally situated places which are easily accessible to weavers as well as spinners—such as *hats* in which all our districts abound.

Each centre will have a depot under the control of one or more experienced volunteers. The volunteers will be charged with threefold duties: (1) encouraging the use of,

the *charkha* in the neighbouring villages within their jurisdiction, (2) inducing existing spinners to spin yarn in larger quantity and of better quality and (3) persuading weavers to weave handspun yarns only. In carrying out the above objects, they will be assisted by our village organisations. Each depot will store cotton, *charkha* yarns, *khaddar*, *charkhas* and handloom materials. *Charkhas* may have to be distributed to poorer people on the hire-purchase system, the price being repayable in 5 months on easy instalments either in cash or yarn. Cotton may either be sold at cost price or be given in exchange for yarns at a fixed rate, to spinners. All village organisations will be required to notify to the spinners that they can easily dispose of their surplus yarns to our depots. The weavers will be persuaded to take yarns from us and give us the finished cloth at a fixed rate per yard for their wages, or purchase yarns from us and either give us the cloth or dispose of it in any other way they consider profitable. It will not be very difficult to persuade weavers and spinners to make our depots a meeting place for them.

Reports from various district congress committees show that in various places *charkhas* are being plied on a vast scale, and there is plenty of yarn available as there is no large local consumption of yarn at present. There are other centres where weavers have been carrying on their ancestral trade, but have been using Indian and foreign mill made yarns indiscriminately. They have shown a decisive inclination for using handspun yarn for the wool only. In a place like Bihar Sharif where in the town itself, more than 3,500 looms are in full working order, and above 30 maunds of yarns are daily consumed, it will not be an easy matter to supply them with *charkha* spun yarn to the extent of even half their requirements, although the local weavers in a body expressed their desire to use only hand spun yarn for the wool. The utility of a central organisation lies in directing the surplus of one place to meet the demand of another. There is another weaving centre called Nasirganj in the district of Shahabad where about 20 maunds of yarns are daily consumed. There are several other places like these. Roughly speaking, there are about 75,000 looms at work in Bihar and Coota Nagpur taken together (but excluding Orissa). The funds that we have set apart for this purpose amount to one lakh of rupees

but the organisations that we contemplate establishing will require a larger expenditure, though in the long run the money invested in this business will come back to us. It would not be out of place to mention that we have already got about 300 volunteer workers in the Province to carry out the above scheme of helping hand-spinning and hand weaving to be done most efficiently and with the least economic loss."

### Camouflage

The entente between Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Mahomed Ali is the visible outward sign of the unity between the Hindus and the Mahomedans which is said to be the most hopeful feature of the present political outlook. The proverbial tolerance of Hinduism and the mildness of the Hindu character, and the consciousness among both the communities that for better and for worse, they must live cheek by jowl with one another to the end of time, have no doubt resulted in a working unity which suffices for all ordinary purposes. But whether it is anything like the strong bond that it is claimed to be depends upon the amount of strain it is able to bear when put to the test. Those who care to look beneath the surface will find that in all mixed elections, even among the educated public, voting goes more or less by religion, rather than by merit and this is more the case among Mahomedans than among Hindus, who are somewhat more liberal in this respect, though among them also, this feature is not altogether absent. Candidates who have made themselves odious even among their own community by their attitude towards the non co operation movement are strongly supported by reason of their being co religionists, even by N C O's, especially if they happen to be Musalmans. The attempt to convert the Dacca University into a predominantly Muhammadan institution in these days of Hindu-Musalman unity shows the amount of sincerity underlying the movement. Local self government is understood to mean government by members of one's own community and not government by Indians as such. Members of municipal bodies have been known to vote for a non-Indian candidate, rather than for one belonging to a rival community, though possessed of superior qualifications. Even in places where patriotic feeling runs high, both among Hindus and Mahomedans, and in political

meetings and public demonstrations there is an exuberant display of mutual good fellowship, the appeal of the Khilafat association against cow killing leaves the Mahomedans cold and unresponsive and the slightest attempt on the part of interested parties to effect a breach by preferential treatment of one community in regard to petty matters of no consequence meets with an amount of success which at once betrays the weakness of the link which binds the two communities. Even in the provincial legislatures the saddest feature we have been assured by highly educated Hindu members is the inability of the Muhammadan members in general to look at any matter from anything but their own communal point of view. Those who have heard Maulana Mahomed Ali and Mahatma Gandhi speak from the same platform must have noticed how careful they are not to tread on each other's corns and how delicately they handle the Hindu Moslem problem as if the slightest touch of reality will break their laboriously reared house of cards. Reading between the lines of their speeches it is not difficult to see that with one of them the sad plight of the Khilafat in distant Turkey is the central fact while with the other the attainment of Swaraj here in India is the primary object in view. The one may at any time kick the dust of India off his feet and turn a Muhajir, while to the other the soil of India is sacred as is the case with patriots all over the world. The one speaks in elegant Urdu ununderstandable of the majority of Bengali Mahomedans, the other in easy Hindi in which the predominance of Sanskrit words makes it readily intelligible to the non-Hindi speaking Hindus. The Mahatma thinks it expedient to suggest that discarded foreign cloth should be sent to Smyrna for the distressed Moslems of that place. A pact which has to be kept up with so many artificial props can hardly be said to be endowed with a full blooded vitality and if indeed the whole truth must be told many Hindus and Musalmans in the freedom of their home-circles do not hesitate to admit that the presence of the British is necessary to keep peace and administer justice among the rival communities! The Moplah riots in which so many Hindu families are said to have been forcibly converted to Islam lend colour to such an admission. And they will also furnish the acid test of Hindu solidarity for we have yet to see how

far the agitation to take these unwilling converts back into caste meets with the success which it undoubtedly deserves. In fact, sectarian prejudices and religious bigotry are still so rife in both the communities that none will regard the other with frank confidence. Only when emphasis will be laid on a common Indian culture and historical associations and geographical propinquity rather than on religious creed will there be a real change of heart but it will take years of rationalistic education and a fair degree of equality in knowledge intelligence ability wealth and social position among the middle classes of both the communities to eradicate mutual jealousies and misunderstandings and bigotries.

But we would not be misunderstood. Undoubtedly among the best minds with the growth of the conviction that India has no future apart from a real union of hearts among the rival communities a strong current in favour of such a union has been making itself increasingly manifest and in the political field the union is already an accomplished fact. Truly does Dean Inge say in his *Outspoken Essays*: Oppression and persecutions are far more efficacious in binding a nation together than community of interest and national prosperity suffering shared in common binds it with hoops of steel. It is this persecution and political suffering that has brought the two great communities together more than anything else and the foreign administrator who does not take count of this solidarity is bound to make egregious blunders which in their turn will further cement the bond of mutual fellowship between the Hindus and the Musalmans.

What we have taken pains to point out above is that this process of welding together will not be advanced by mere camouflage but there must be a root and branch change a radical transformation and a reconstruction from the foundation if the political comradeship dictated by the need of the moment and fostered by considerations of expediency is to be converted into an abiding social sentiment giving the word Indian its full content of meaning and making the voice of the people truly irresistible. If the fanaticism of the follower of the Prophet is more apparent on the surface the deep-rooted prejudices of the Hindu seem to be no less potent in keeping the communities apart and mutually distrustful. Those who cannot tolerate intermarriage between

different sections of their own community, or think it pollution to offer to or take a glass of water from the hands of a Mahomedan gentleman, give powerful hostages to the perpetuation of their foreign subjection, only they know not what they do

### Woman Franchise in Bengal

The resolution moved in the Bengal Council by Mr Sudhangsu Mohan Bose for enabling duly qualified women to vote at the election of members of Council has been thrown out by a majority. So much the worse for this majority. This insult to the womanhood of Bengal has pierced through the *purlis* and has been felt in Hindu and Moslem zenanas. So victory for woman franchise is assured

### The Biggest Donation in India

Mr Dhanubhai Bomanji, a wealthy Parsi gentleman has decided to endow one crore of rupees for the vocational education of Parsi boys of poor and middle class families. It would be the biggest single donation so far made in India by any one giver

### Dean Inge Speaks

The following opinions of Dean Inge on various topics will be found interesting and instructive —

The spiritual integration of society which we desire and behold afar off must be illuminated by the dry light of science, and warmed by the rays of idealism. The nation that first finds a practical reconciliation between science and idealism is likely to take the front place among the peoples of the world' Dean Inge, *Outspoken Essays* (1920) pp 604 5

'A nation may be so much weakened in physique by underfeeding as to be impotent from a military point of view, in spite of great numbers, this is the case in India and China. Deficient nourishment also diminishes the day's work. We may surmise that the European man the fiercest of all beasts of prey is not likely to abandon the weapons which have made him the lord and the bully of the planet. He has no other superiority to the races which he arrogantly despises. Under a

regime of peace the Asiatic would probably be his master' *Ibid*, pp 94 5.

"The industrial revolution came upon us suddenly, it changed the whole face of the country and the apparent character of the people. The first impetus was given by the plunder of Bengal, which, after the victories of Clive flowed into the country in a broad stream for about thirty years. This ill gotten wealth played the same part in stimulating English industries as the 'five milliards' extorted from France did for Germany after 1870.' *Ibid* pp 91

There were illusions on both sides of the North Sea, which had to be paid for in blood. In both countries imperialism was a sentiment curiously compounded of idealism and bombast, and supported by very doubtful science. Race and nationality are catch words for which rulers find that their subjects are willing to fight as they fought for what they called religion 400 years ago. In reality, if we want to find a pure race, we must visit the Esquimaux or the Fuegians, or the Pygmies, we shall certainly not find one in Europe" *Ibid*, pp 52 3

'Seneca's rebuke to his slave holding countrymen, 'can you complain that you have been robbed of the liberty which you have yourselves abolished in your own homes?' applies equally to nations which have enslaved or exploited the inhabitants of subject lands" *Ibid* p 30. 'It would be unfair to say that Rome destroyed nations. But she prevented the growth of nationalities as it is to be feared we have done in India' *Ibid*, p 45.

### "The Bride."

This picture shows a Bengali bride being carried in a palanquin to her father in law's house after marriage. Her face is hidden by her sari being drawn over her face

### Our November Number

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S V AND H S CONSORT DURGA

By the courtesy of the artist M. V. Shrinath and Chandra Jee

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## THE UNION OF CULTURES

By RABINDRANATH TAGOR

**I**T cannot but be admitted that this is a day of victory for the people of the West. The world is theirs to draw upon as they please and their stores are overflowing. We are left standing at a distance, agape watching our share growing less and less and with the fire of our hunger blazing the fire of our wrath. We wish we could have the opportunity of getting hold of the man who has been eating our share of the food. But so far he has got hold of us and the opportunity still remains in his hands and has not reached us at all.

But why does the chance not come to us? Why is the enjoyment of the earth's plenty for them alone? Surely because of some underlying truth. It is not a case of banding ourselves together in a particular way so as to be able to deprive them and provide for ourselves. The matter is not quite so simple as that. It is mere folly to expect to get the locomotive under control by hitting the driver on the head for it is not the man but his science which makes the engine go. So the fire of our wrath will not serve the purpose we must acquire the requisite science if we covet the boon which truth has in her gift.

It is like a father with two sons. The father drives his own motor car and has promised it to the son who learns first how to drive. One of the sons is alert and full of curiosity. His eye is always on the driving to see how it is done. The other one is excessively good-natured. His

reverent gaze is always on his father's face. He pays no regard to what the hands are doing with lever and wheel. The clever one soon picks up the science of motor driving and one fine day he drives off all by himself with exultant toots of the horn. So absorbed does he become in the joy of his new acquisition that he forgets even the existence of his father. But the father does not punish him for the liberty he is taking nor take the car away from him for he is pleased that his son should succeed. The other son when he sees his brother careering madly over his fields playing havoc with his corn dare not stand in the way to protest even in the name of their father for that would mean certain death. So he keeps his gaze fixed on his father's face saying that this is all in all to him.

But whoever condemns the useful, saying he has no use for it, simply courts suffering. Every utility has its rightful claim the ignoring of which entails a permanent slavery in the way of payment of interest until its dues are fully met. The only way to get rid of the school master's importunity is to do one's lessons properly.

There is an outside aspect of the world where it is simply an immense machine. In this aspect its laws are fixed and do not yield by a hair's breadth either this way or that. This mechanical world gets in our way at every step and he who through laziness or folly tries to evade its laws does not succeed in cheating the machine but only himself. On the other

hand, he who has taught himself its working is able not only to avoid its obstruction, but to gain it for an ally, and so is enabled to ride swiftly over the paths of the material world. He reaches the place of his quest first, and has his fill of the good things there. But those who have lagged behind, jogging along unaided, arrive late to find very little left over for themselves.

Since these are the facts, merely to revile the science by which Westerners have gained their victory in the modern world, will not tend to relieve our sufferings, but will rather add to the burden of our sins. For this science which the West has mastered is true. If you say, it is not their science, but their satanic abuse of it to which you object, that point need not disturb us; for we may be certain that the satanic part of it will be the death of them, because Satan's way is not true.

The beasts live if they get food, and die if they get hurt. They accept what comes, without question. But one of the greatest traits of man is his habit of protesting. Unlike the beast, he is a rebel by nature. Man has achieved his glorious position in the history of the world because he has never been able to accept as final what has been imposed upon him without his concurrence or co-operation. In short, man is by no means a mild creature only; he is ever in revolt. From the beginning of his career, man has sworn to sway the world of events. How? By conquering it, or else coming to an understanding with the forces of which it is the resultant. He will never be content to be merely a fact; he needs must be a factor. He began with magical practices, because at first it seemed to him that whatever was happening was due to some wonderful magic at work behind the scenes. He felt that he also could take a hand in it, if he could but master the art. The activities which began as magic ended in science, but the motive in both cases has been the refusal to be subservient to the blind forces of nature. Those, whose efforts were successful, attained the mastery over the material world, and were no longer its slaves.

The belief in universal, immutable laws, is the basis of science, and loyalty to this belief has led to victory. Secure in this loyalty, the people of the West are winning their way through the obstructions and difficulties of the material world. But those who have held on to a lingering faith in magic have failed to acquire control over the world's mechanism, and are being defeated at every turn. At a time when we were still busy invoking the exorciser against ill and the fortune-teller against poverty and misfortune, while we were content to seek protection against small-pox from Sitala Devi, and relied on charms and spells for the destruction of our enemies, in Europe a woman asked Voltaire, whether it was true that incantations could kill a flock of sheep. She got the reply that doubtless they could, provided there was enough arsenic. I do not mean that there is no belief in magic in any corner of Europe today; but certainly belief in the efficacy of arsenic is universal. That is why they can kill when they want to, and we have to die even when we do not.

It is a platitude to be saying today that the phenomenal world is only a manifestation of universal law, and that, through the law of reason, we realise the laws of the material world. It is because we know such power to be inherent in us, that we can take our ultimate stand on our own selves. But he who, in his commerce with the universe, cannot get rid of the habit of looking to accidental interventions, tends to rely on anything and everything except himself. One who doubts that his intelligence will avail, ceases to question, or to experiment. He casts about for some external master, and as a result is exploited, right and left, beginning from police officers and ending with malaria-breeding mosquitos. Cowardliness of intellect is a fertile source of feebleness of power.

From what period did political liberty begin to evolve in the West? In other words, when did the people of the West begin to realise, that political power was not the privilege of special individuals or classes, but depended on their own

consent? It was from the time that their pursuit of Science freed them from nameless fears, and they discovered that only those laws were true which could not be distorted or diverted by anyone's whim or fancy

Giant Russia was so long the slave of her Czars, because her people relied in every matter on Providence and not in their own powers. Even now, when her Czar is gone that power which has taken his place is but dragging her through a sea of blood to the barren shore of starvation. The reason is that self rule cannot be established through outside agency, but must be based on that self reliance which is born of trust in one's own intellect

I was once engaged in trying to improve one of our Bengal villages. There had been a fire and I asked the villagers how it was they had not been able to save a single homestead? "It was our fate!" they exclaimed. "Not fate," said I "but the lack of wells. Why not make wells?" "That will be as the master pleases," was the reply. So it comes to pass that the people, whose homesteads are gutted by fate and whose wells await the master's pleasure, may lack all else but never a master

From the very beginning God has given us Swarajya in His universe. That is to say He has given us for ourselves universal laws independent of Himself. We can not be prevented from bringing these under our control by anyone or anything except our own folly. So the Upamshat has it that God has given us laws for our own material provisions immutable for all time. That is to say those laws hold good for all people, and all periods, and all occasions. Had this not been so, man would have remained weakly dependent on God at every step, all his energies exhausted in propitiating, now this intermediary, now the other, in a chronic state of abject fear. But our God given Magna Charta of Swaraj sets us for ever free from the wiles of all pretending intermediaries,—with our freedom firmly based on well ordered and enduring laws. In the glowing letters of sun, moon and stars, God gives us his message. You have no

need of my help at every turn in the material world. I stand aside. On the one hand, you have the laws of matter, on the other, the laws of your mind. Use them together, and grow in greatness. The empire of the universe is yours, yours its wealth, yours its armoury of forces. May yours be the victory!"

He who accepts this charter of material Swaraj has the opportunity to achieve all other kinds of Swaraj and also to keep them when achieved. But those, who surrender their intellect to the slave-driver, have no help but to be slaves in politics as well. Those who insist on invoking masters, where God Himself has refrained from asserting His own mastery, those who court insult where God has granted them dignity—their self rule will certainly mean rule after rule, the only doubt being as to that little prefix "self."

The science of material existence is in the keeping of the professors of the West. This is the science which gives us food and clothing, health and longevity and preserves us from the attacks of matter, brute and barbarian. This is the science of the unchangeable laws of matter, and self rule can only be achieved when these are brought into harmony with the laws of our mind. There is no other way.

Let us consider the case of a departure from this truth. Take the idea that, if a Mussalman draws water from the well of a Hindu, the water becomes impure. This is a confusion indeed! For, water belongs to the world of matter, and impurity to the realm of the spirit. Had it been said, that if the Hindu contemns the Mussalman, this shows the impurity of his mind, the proposition would have been intelligible, it would be wholly a spiritual question. But when impurity is imputed to the Mussalman's vessel, then that which belongs to the category of the material is taken entirely outside the scope of material laws. The intellect is defrauded of its legitimate scope. The Hindu disciple of the West will urge that this imputation of impurity is only a religious way of promulgating a sanitary doctrine. Sanitation, however, takes no account of moral purity. The answer is given us. "But it is only

put thus in order to induce people, who have no faith in Science, to obey its laws." This is not a right reply. For if external compulsion be once brought in, it comes to stay. Those for whom it is made necessary, lose all initiative of their own and get into the habit of depending on injunctions. Furthermore, if truth has to be bolstered up by untruth, it ends by getting smothered. By using the phrase 'morally impure' where 'physically unclean' is meant, truth is made difficult of apprehension. Whether a thing is unclean or not can be proved. And if uncleanness be the charge, a comparative inquiry into the vessels and wells of Hindu and Moslem should be made, and we should find out if there is anything less sanitary in the Moslem water arrangements than in those of the Hindu. Uncleanliness itself being an external fault, it can be remedied by external means. But an allegation of impurity takes the question out of the jurisdiction of the ordinary mind, and makes it a matter of religion. Is that a sound method of achieving the desired object? To keep the intellect in a state of delusion cannot be the way to attain high moral excellence. Untruth from the teacher, together with blindness in the pupil, will never create a spiritually healthy society.

So if we call Western Science 'impure', merely because it was discovered in the West, we shall not only be unable to master it, but shall also be placing in a bad light that Eastern Science which teaches of moral purity.

Here I am apprehensive of another argument. Many will ask, Whether, when the West was still savage, clothed in skins and living by hunting, we in the East had not been able to feed and clothe ourselves? When they fared forth merely for plunder, had we not evolved a political commonwealth? Certainly, we were then far more advanced than the West. But the reason was that, in those days, we in the East had a superior knowledge of Science and its laws. We had then the knowledge of cultivation and weaving. That scientific knowledge went far further than mere skill in hunting which the West then possessed. It requires more science to con-

duct a stable government than to hunt wild beasts. How then did the parts become reversed? It was not by any trick of fate. It was by no luck or magic. Rather it was due to the West learning the same Science which the East had learnt before, and to a still more useful purpose. Therefore, it is not by looking to some external force that we can now compete with the West. We can resist their onslaught only if we make their Science our own. To say this implies that the greatest of our problems in India is the problem of Education.

But at this point in the argument, I have to answer the further question, whether I have found satisfaction in that aspect of power, which the West is now presenting to mankind. My answer would be, 'No'. What I saw did not satisfy me. The picture was that of self-aggrandisement, not that of happiness. For seven months at a stretch I have lived in the giant's Castle of Wealth, in America. Through my hotel window, sky-scrapers frowned on me. They only made me think of the difference between Lakshmi, the Goddess of grace, who transmutes wealth into well-being, and the ugly god Mammon, who represents the spirit of insensate accumulation. The process of piling up has no ultimate end in view. Twice two are four, twice four are eight, twice eight are sixteen, the figures leap frog-like over increasing spans. He, who is obsessed by their stride, becomes intoxicated by it and revels in the glory of mere multiplication. But, what oppressiveness it produces in the mind of an onlooker, I can best explain by an analogy.

Once I was in a house-boat on the brimming autumn river, seated at the window on the eve of the full moon. Not far off, moored along-side the bank, there was an up country cargo boat, whose crew were enthusiastically engaged, in entertaining themselves. Some of them had tom-toms, others had cymbals; none of them had a voice; but all of them had muscles beyond any possibility of question! And the beats of their clanging sped on from double-quick to quadruple-quick time, with the stimulus of its own frenzy. Ten o'clock passed,

eleven o'clock passed; it was well on towards midnight, yet they would not stop. Why should they? Had there been a song, there would have been some natural pause. Anarchic rhythm, on the other hand, has movement, but no rest: excitement, but no satisfaction. Those rhythm-maniacs on the cargo boat had no doubt that they were scaling the topmost heights of enjoyment. But what of poor me?

I was much in the same plight over there on the other side of the Atlantic. The *crescendo* of their rhythmic advance like a wilderness of bricks and mortar was obvious. But where was the song? That was the burdening question. And standing before the forbidding might of their towering opulence, the son of indigent down-trodden India was left cold, murmuring—"What then?"

I am not for emptiness, in the garb of renunciation. External restraint is true, only when it is the expression of internal fulness,—just as time and tune are kept properly regulated because the artist is full of his song. Unmitigated noise has no occasion for disciplined restraint. If there be the truth called Love, at the heart, enjoyment must be restrained, service must be true, that is to say, such a process of realisation needs the spirit of charity to help it. The renunciation, which is in the chastity of love, is the true renunciation. The union of the Goddess of Plenitude with the God who needs no wealth is the true union.

When I was in Japan, the spirit of old Japan gave me a profound pleasure. Old Japan had found Beauty reigning on the lotus throne of her heart. In her dress and ornament, in her dwellings and furniture, in her work and play, in her rites and ceremonials, she expressed in various forms the One who is beauty. Utter penury is as unmeaning as lavish profusion. The spirit of old Japan represented neither, but rather the fulness of perfection. Such fulness makes man's heart hospitable,—its passion is for welcome and not for rejection. Side by side with the old, I have also seen the modern Japan. Here the spirit of the rhythm-maniac has assumed control, and its din mocks the moonlight.

By all this, I do not mean that railways and telegraphs are not needed. They have their use, but not their message. Where man has needs, he must furnish himself with materials; but where he has fulness, there is manifest his immortality. Man's envy and hatred are in the region of his material needs, the region where he is in want. Here he erects his barricades and maintains his guards. Here he is for self-aggrandisement and for the exclusion of others. But where he is immortal he displays, not things, but his soul. He invites all to enter. His distribution does not mean diminution; and so peace reigns.

When Europe was opening out the mysterious chambers of the Universe with the keys of Science, she found at every step fixed laws. And their constant presence in her field of vision ever since has caused her to forget that there is something more behind these laws, which has its harmony of delight in accord with our complete humanity. By the help of natural laws we achieve success, but man aspires to gain something greater than success. The laws which the tea-garden manager imposes on his coolies, if well devised, tend to increase his output. But where the manager's friends are concerned, he does not dream of efficient laws. In dealing with his friends he does not increase his output; he spends his tea in entertainment. It is well to believe in the laws which make for efficiency. But if ever it is believed, that the truth of friendship is not a part of an infinite truth, then that belief tends to destroy our humanity itself. We cannot make friends with a machine. Therefore, if we cease to be aware of anything beyond mechanism, then our personality which is ever seeking its own affinity in other persons, finds no permanent refuge. The West, in its one-sided pursuit of Science, has been steadily thrusting personality further and further into the background till hardly any room has been left for it. If our own one-sided spiritual tendency of mind has made us lose our way and left us stranded in the quagmire of weakness and poverty, the lumping gait of the West has taken it no nearer, from its own side, to humanity's goal.

True, it is difficult to cope with those

who consistently keep to the tea-garden-manager outlook on the universe; for they have enlisted the services of the genie of efficiency. The good natured man invariably gets caught by their recruiters, and once in their net, there is no escape. He has no conception of the value of fixed laws of the world. He insists on pinning his faith just where he should not, whether it be on the unluckiness of Thursday, the virtue of talismans, the trustworthiness of touts, or the honesty of tea-garden recruiters. But even the most helplessly good natured man has a place, beyond the reach of laws, where he can take his stand and say, "God grant I may never be born, despite my trials and troubles, to be a tea-garden manager!"

And yet the tea-garden manager also has his own methods of benevolence. He makes sanitary dwellings for his coolies, soundly and symmetrically built, and his arrangements for their supplies are admirable. But this non-human benevolence is but an appendage of efficiency. It helps to increase the profits, it bestows a kind of benefit upon the human tools. But from that springs not even a fraction of true happiness.

Let no one imagine that I am referring to the relations between the Western masters and their Eastern servants only. The undue stress laid on the mechanical side of the world, both in external and internal relations, has similarly created a split in the polity of the West. If the mechanical bonds of association be made into a fetish, the living bonds of voluntary fellowship slacken. And this, in spite of the fact that these mechanical bonds make for extraordinary mechanical efficiency. Commodities multiply, markets spread, tall buildings pierce the sky. Not only so, but in education, healing and the amenities of life, man also gains real success. That is because the machine has its own truth. But this very success makes the man, who is obsessed by its mechanism, hanker for more and more mechanism. And as his greed continually increases, he has less and less compunction in lowering man's true value to the level of his own machine.

Greed is not an ideal,—it is a passion.

Passion cannot create. So when any civilisation gives the first place to greed, the soul relation between man and man is severed; and the more luxurious such a civilisation grows in pomp and power, the poorer it becomes in truth of soul. A picture is a creation, because it is the harmony of many lines, related to one another. An engineer's plan is not a picture, because the lines there are bound to each other by some external necessity. When greed of success is the main nexus between man and man, Society becomes a huge plan and ceases to be a picture of the ideal. Man's spiritual relations are lost sight of; money becomes the prime mover; the capitalist the driver; and the rest of mankind merely the fuel for the running of the machine. It is possible to measure the value of such civilisation in terms of the speed of its progress. But man, at the bottom of his heart, does not worship Mammon, and so has no real happiness in the triumphal progress of his car. Because his faith in Mammon is wanting, the cords, by which man is bound to Mammon's service, are not bonds of loyalty, but shackles. And man ever revolts when he feels himself shackled. The dark clouds of this social revolt lower only too dismally over the West. There the union, devised for exploitation, has ended in disruption. In India the union, imposed by customary rule, has resulted in emasculation. Because traditional customs and professional dealings are not ideals, therefore they make their arrangements by keeping man's soul out of the account.

What is the ideal? Jesus Christ said: "I and my father are one." Here is one ideal. "My unity with my father," is a true unity. But the unity of the coolie with the manager is not true. Again a great ideal has been given utterance to in the *Isha Upanishat*. "All that moves in this moving world is enveloped by God. Therefore enjoy by renunciation; never covet others' possessions." I have already referred in terms of condemnation to the greed which has become the dominant motive in the West. Why do we condemn it? The Rishi tells us the reason,—*"Do not covet."* Why should we not covet? Be-



cause truth cannot be obtained through greed. But if I say, "I want my enjoyment rather than truth." Well, the Rishi also says, "Enjoy." But there can be no enjoyment outside truth. What then is the truth? It is this: "All that moves in this moving world is enveloped by God." Had "all that moves in the world" been itself the ultimate truth, then to keep piling up would have been the best thing to do; and greed would have been the most efficient of man's virtues. But the truth being this, that God is there, enveloping all things, we have to enjoy this truth with our soul, and for such enjoyment renunciation is needed, not greed. During my seven months' stay in America, the land of mountain-high piles of lucre, I have watched this striving in the reverse direction. There, "all that moves in this moving world" has become prominent. God, who "envelops all things" has become obscured in the thick dust of dollars. Therefore, in America, the injunction to enjoy is not observed with the help of truth, but with the help of money. Truth gives us Unity. Money sets up separation. Furthermore, it keeps our soul empty. Therefore, it causes in us a hankering to fill that emptiness from outside, and we pursue the path of multiplying numbers in hot haste. While our desire runs at a break-neck pace, jumping from one figure to another in the multiplication table, we grow dizzy and forget that whatever else we may have been acquiring, it is not happiness.

Our Rishis have told us that satisfaction is only to be found in the One. Apples fall one after another. The truth about their falling cannot be arrived at by counting them: arithmetical progression marches on indefinitely and the mind turns away unsatisfied from each fresh enumeration, saying: "What does it all mean?" But when unnumbered falls find their unity in the principle of gravitation, the intellect at last finds satisfaction and can say: "Enough, I have found the truth."

And what of the truth of Man. It is not in the Census Report, not in an interminable series of figures. Man is expressed, says the Upanishat, when he realises all

creation in himself and himself in all creation. Otherwise his truth is obscured. There is a telling example of this in our history. When the Lord Buddha realised humanity in a grand synthesis of unity, his message went forth to China as a draught from the fountain of immortality. But when the modern empire-seeking merchant, moved by his greed, refused allegiance to this truth of unity, he had no qualms in sending to China the deadly opium poison, nay, in thrusting it down her throat at the cannon's mouth. What could be a better illustration of how the soul of man is revealed, and how it is obscured?

Many at the present moment will exclaim: "That is just what we were saying. How can we possibly maintain relations with those, who only know how to divide, whose rapacious maw continually opens wider and wider? They know nothing of the spirit of the Infinite which is all in all to us. They follow the cult of the finite. Must we not keep at arm's length their pernicious teaching and culture?"

But this attitude is also one of division, while it has not even the merit of worldly prudence behind it. India's ancient teaching was not this. Manu says: "Restraint cannot be practised so well by leaving the world, as by remaining in it purified by wisdom." That is because the responsibility of the material world is also on us and cannot be shirked, if we would do justice to the responsibilities of the world of the spirit. So the Upanishat says: "Rescue yourself from death by the cult of the finite, and then by the cult of the infinite you shall attain immortality." Shukra, the preceptor of the Titans, was master of the art of material existence; and in his school Kacha, the emissary of the Gods, had to gain admission in order to learn the secret of immortality.

One of the first steps in the culture of the Soul is to free it from the tyranny of matter. This is the basic effort which must be made to start with; and unless the foundation be thus well and truly laid, the powers of the majority of men will be exhausted in their struggles to stave off sheer physical starvation. It is quite true,

that the West has kept its head bent to the ground and become so absorbed in the spade work that no time has been left to lift its head upwards. Nevertheless, it will not do for those, who aspire to live in the light and air of the upper storey, to despise the spade work itself. In the region of the spirit, our seers have told us, ignorance is bondage, knowledge is freedom. The same is true in the material world. Those who do not know its laws are its slaves, those who do are emancipated. The bondage of external forces is an illusion which science alone can dispel.

Anyhow, the Western continents have been striving for liberation from the *maya* of matter, striking hard whenever they encounter any of the roots of that ignorance which breeds hunger and thirst, disease and want, or other ills of mundane life. In a word, they have been engaged in securing for man protection against physical death. On the other hand, the striving of the Eastern peoples has been to win for man his spiritual kingdom, to lead him to immortality. By their present separateness, East and West alike are now in danger of losing the fruits of their age-long labours. That is why the Upanishat, from the beginning, has enunciated the principle, which yet may serve to unite them "Gain protection," it says, "from death by the cult of the finite, and then by the cult of the infinite you shall attain immortality." "All that moves in the moving world" is the province of Science "God envelops all this" is the province of the philosophy of the Infinite. When the Rishi enjoins us to combine them both, then that implies the union of the East and the West. For want of that union, the East is suffering from poverty and inertia and the West from lack of peace and happiness.

There is a danger of my being misunderstood as to what I mean by Union. I should like to make that point quite plain to my readers. Uniformity is not unity. Those who destroy the independence of other races, destroy the unity of all races of humanity. Modern Imperialism is that idea of Unity, which the python has in

swallowing other live creatures. I have said before, that, if the spiritual altogether swallows up the material interest of man that cannot be called harmony. But when the spiritual and the material keep separate, in their own respective provinces, then they can find their unity. In like manner, when we respect the true individuality of men, then we can discover their true unity.

While Europe, after the great war, has been yearning for peace, the smaller nations have been more and more insistent in claiming self determination. If a new era is really to be ushered in, it must be signalled by the overthrow of the monster, Wealth, and the monster, Empire, and also of the enormity of organisations. The true unity must be established upon true units. Those who co-operate with the New Age must cultivate their own individuality in order to attain successfully the spirit that shall unite. They must remember that Freedom (which is the great quest) is not of this or that nation, but of universal man.

The truth that "the man who knows others as himself is truly revealed" is not only to be found in the pages of man's scriptures. Its working can be seen throughout human history. In the beginning, we see man gathered into separate groups within barriers of mountain and ocean. As soon as man came into touch with man, the problem of his truth as a member of the human race demanded attention. Whenever men came together, but were unable to unite, they lost their truth. Those of them, who, having come into contact, hit out wildly against one another, none trusting the other, each trying to gain the advantage, have all disappeared from the face of the earth. And those, who have tried to realise the one Soul in the souls of all, have developed into great peoples.

Thanks to Science, so many vehicles of communication are speeding over land and water and even through the air, that today there are no longer any geographical barriers. Now, not only individual men, but whole nations have come into contact, and the problem has become

acute. Those whom Science has brought together how, shall man put asunder? If the conjunction of man is a real union, then all goes well, otherwise nearness produces conflict. Such an age of universal conflict has come. The outward forces which are bringing men together are running at a great speed; the inner forces which make men united are lagging behind. It is as if a locomotive were to rush on with its train, the driver left behind wringing his hands in despair, while a cheering crowd of onlookers are lost in admiration at its headlong speed, crying "This is progress indeed!" And we, the mild men of the East, who are in the habit of *trudging along on foot*, how can we possibly bear the brunt of the collision? Things which are near us and yet keep aloof, if they have their movement, always give us shocks. Such a conjunction of shocks may not be comfortable, but, in certain circumstances, it may be wholesome.

However that may be, *nothing is more obvious* than the fact, that nations have come together, but yet are not united. The agony of this presses on the whole world. Why is it, that, in spite of its torture, the world can find no solution? Because even those, who had mastered the art of uniting within their own boundaries, have not yet learnt the secret of uniting outside them. The barrier, by limiting truth, makes truth itself at first easier of comprehension; so man is apt to give the credit to the barrier and not to the truth; he worships the priest to the exclusion of the divinity, and fears the policemen more than the king.

Nations have risen on the strength of truth, but it was not their Nationalism which was true. And yet human sacrifices are being offered to this barrier-god. So long as the victims were of alien race no question arose; but all of a sudden, in 1914, the votaries developed a mania for sacrificing one another. Then the doubt arose: "Is this after all the right kind of household god, who fails to distinguish between kindred and stranger?" While he was fastening his fangs on the limbs of the offerings from the East, sucking out their substance, the festivity of the sacrificial rites waxed fast and furious, for

stimulants were not lacking either. Today some of them are to be seen with, bowed heads, oppressed with the misgiving, that perhaps this kind of riotous worship might not be altogether healthy. While the war was at its height, there was some hope that the orgy of Nationalism might soon be brought to an end. But the war, which disappeared in one aspect came back wearing the mask of peace. The thinkers of the West are bemoaning the tragic fact, that, the infatuation from which this disaster has been caused, is still as vigorous as ever. This infatuation is Nationalism, the collective Egotism of the whole nation. It is a passion whose tendency is against the ideal of Unity. Its pull is towards itself.

The peoples have come together. This great truth cannot be crushed beneath the triumphal car of any imperialistic ambition. Then we must establish relations with this truth. Otherwise there will be no end to these wars of annihilation. Since it is essential that education should fit in with the spirit of the time, the high priests of Nationalism will avail themselves of every pretext and opportunity to inculcate by means of education the doctrine of national pride in the growing generation. When Germany frankly made her Universities the servitors of her political ambitions, other European nations condemned her. But which of the greater European nations has not followed suit? The only difference has been that Germany being the greater master of scientific method, carried on the nationalistic propaganda more thoroughly. She made her education into a scientific incubator for hatching the eggs of Nationalism, and the chickens produced have been more vigorous than those of the neighbouring nations. The same has become the function of the press,—the unremitting circulation of plausible national untruths.

An Education which can free the nations from this ungodly fetish of Nationalism is what is chiefly needed today. Tomorrow is to begin the chapter of the federation of races. Any evil tendencies of thought and sinful habits, which militate against the spirit of federation will unfit us to take our part in the history of tomorrow.

I hope I can claim to be duly conscious of the glories of my own country, but my fervent prayer is that such consciousness may never make me forgetful of the earliest message of our seers, the message of unity, in which the forces of disruption have no place.

I can hear, from over the seas the wailing of men questioning themselves : "Wherein was our sin,—in what part of our thoughts, of our education,—that this terrible suffering is ours today ?" May the reply of our Rishis reach them : "There can be no blindness and sorrow, where all beings are known as oneself and the Unity is realised." I can hear, from over the seas, the cry for Peace. We must give them the message of our great forefathers. "Peace is where the Good is; the Good is where there is Unity."

SHANTAM, SHIVAM, ADVAITAM.

Unity is peace ; for Unity is the Good.

I am fully conscious of the glories of my motherland, so it shames me even to think, that now, on the eve of the new age, when the command of Rudra, the Terrible, has gone forth to sweep away the rubbish of decayed ages, this same rubbish should be piled up into an altar for her worship. He who is Peace, who is Good, is the One Universal Refuge of all the different Nations of men. Cannot the chanting of the *mantra*,—Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam,—with the first fresh glow of the dawning era, rouse in us once more our ancient love of truth ?

It is the dream of my heart, that the re-centre of our country should also be the meeting ground of the East and West. In the field of business, antagonism still prevails ; it struggles hard against reconciliation. In the field of culture, there is no such obstacle. The householder, who is exclusively occupied with his domestic concerns and is chary of his hospitality, is poor in spirit. No great country can afford to be confined to its kitchen, it must have its reception room where it can do honour to itself by inviting the world.

India has only government institutions, or their prototypes, for her education.

By far the greater part of it consists in begging for the crumbs of other people's attaining. When begging becomes a habit, the lack of hospitality ceases to cause shame. So the Indian Universities have no compunction in proclaiming themselves mendicants with nothing to offer in return for what they receive. It is not true, that nothing is expected from them. I have often been confronted in Europe with the question : "Where is India's voice ?" But when the enquirer from the West comes to India, and listens at her door, he says : "The words which we hear are only the feeble echoes of our own words,—the mere parodies of things preached by us." To me, it has always seemed that, when the Indian disciple of Max Muller boasts in strident tones of his Aryan descent, there is heard all the blatant noise of the Western brass band ; and also when in a frenzy of condemnation he rejects the West, there is heard only the most discordant sounds of the Western tunes.

It is my prayer that India should, in the name of all the East, establish a centre for the culture of Truth to which all may be invited. I know she lacks material wealth, but she has no lack of spiritual wisdom. On the strength of the latter she may invite the world, and be invited into every part of the world, not to hang round the threshold, but to take the seat prepared for her in the innermost chamber. But even that honour may be left out of sight. The real object of our endeavour should be to realise truth in our inner nature and then to manifest it in the outer world,—not for the sake of expediency : not for gaining honour, but for emancipating man's spirit from its obscurity. The ideal revelation of soul must be expressed, through all our education and through all our work, and then by honouring all men we shall ourselves be honoured, and by welcoming the new age we shall ourselves be freed from the burden of senility. The manna of that education is this :

"He, who realises all creatures in himself and himself in all creatures, is never obscured."

## ENTER THE WOMAN WARRIOR

**T**HE second world conference of Communist women met behind the ancient Kremlin walls in Moscow from June 9th to 15th. Eighty-two women delegates representing 23 different countries including China, Bokhara, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia attended. Of these delegates 39 were intellectuals and 43 working women. They had arrived in Russia by every conceivable route—some legally and some by routes known to the world revolutionaries. They arrived in many varieties of garb: the three Armenian delegates in bare feet and with scanty clothing. In this condition they had been conducting Communist work, establish-

ing Soviet schools, kindergartens, public dining rooms and nurseries for five months in the far districts of their new Republic.

Despite the great geographical distances, the languages which were as strange and as distant as the lands from which they came, the variety of costumes, the differences in color and race, these women met for a common purpose under the first proletarian revolutionary government in history.

The conference came to a close after a week of thorough consideration of the world revolutionary situation, after which it issued theses on methods and forms of communist work among women, a resolution to the



LEADERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

**G. TILINA**  
Member of the Executive  
of the International  
Women's Conference

**CLARA ZETKIN**  
International Secretary, Com-  
munist Deputy in the German  
Parliament

**ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI**  
Assistant Secretary, first woman  
Minister of Public Welfare in  
the Soviet Government

ourselves. Reforms but divert our effort on from the fundamental fight. Under the Soviet system—the in turn of the dictatorship of the proletariat—we have brought to life the ideal system under which our complete emancipation is being realized.

One of the most brilliant spots in the Conference was the appearance of Mussabeg a beautiful young Mohammedan woman from Azerbaijan. Her head was wrapped in a purple shawl, framing a slender, dark, fascinating face. She spoke in Turkish which was later translated into Russian by a Persian delegate. In emphasis she raised a slender forefinger when she said,

I warn the women comrades here that the women of the East are not so advanced as the women of the West. We have been slaves indeed, and now for the first time you find in the streets of Azerbaijan women who throw off their veils and who take up social and political duties. Most of our women are illiterate, only the revolution has given us the chance of cultural and spiritual progress. I say in the name of our women that we are willing to fight to the very last battle until victory is won. We will go with you in your march to complete emancipation.

The other sessions of the Conference were held in one of the former Czarist palaces in the Kremlin, that great Tartar wall, encircling the palace and many buildings connected with it. The imperial insignia of the former Czars, engraved on panels, was covered with red silk. A marble bust of Karl Marx stood at the back of the stage. Red banners were stretched between each pillar about the circular room, on these were inscribed the words in every known language, "Workers of the world unite." Other banners bore such inscriptions as "The sacredness of motherhood can be truly realized only under Communism," "Communism will abolish the age-long inequality of woman," "The creation of a new society cannot be realized without the participation of women."

Reports were given upon the condition of women in each country, upon women in trade unions, in social life in the family, under marriage, before the law, their public, social and religious activities and organizations. Work done by the Communist Parties among them was reported upon.

Two reports were given by Kollontai, one upon the international work of the International Secretariat, which was very little because of Russia's isolation during the past few years rendering communication impossible, or difficult. The second report was of the work among women in Russia, 1918-1921.

work carried on in co-operation with surrounding Soviet Republics. This very thorough, reviewing the historic Congress of Oriental Women at Baku, on February 11th, of the great Conference of Women of the East in Moscow in April of this year, and of the Conference of Persian Women in Tiflis. The reports reviewed the legal status of the women of Russia and of the Oriental or semi Oriental women within Russian boundaries before and after the revolution, the work of the Soviet Government in education of women, the establishment of clubs, kindergartens, nurseries, communal dining rooms, co-operative workshops, the encouragement of home industries, the protection of motherhood and infancy, the abolition of prostitution, the educational and political propaganda among women and their participation in the government and in all branches of public life. The report also reviewed methods of work among women, and ended by a resolution on forms and methods. In part Kollontai said,

For truly the problem of the Socialist parties was to gather around concrete demands which were a possibility within the framework of bourgeois society. But now the problem is quite different: it is the education of the masses in the spirit of active awakening and expression of their will power which is of fundamental importance. Woman's chief enemy is her passivity which she must overcome. The various forms of work to overcome this must be adopted by the Communist Parties of all countries, on the following bases:

1. Women must be enlisted as full fledged members of the Party, on the basis of equality and independence in all militant class organizations, trade unions, co-operatives, factory committees, etc.

2. To recognize the importance of recruiting women into all branches of active struggle of the proletariat (including military service for the defence of the proletariat) and into the construction of new forms of society and the organization of industry and life on a communist basis.

3. To recognize the functions of motherhood as social functions and pass and support appropriate measures to aid and protect women as the bearer of the human race.

The special functions imposed upon women by nature—child bearing, and the peculiarities attached to this calling for the protection of the strength and health in the interests of the entire community, the Conference considers it necessary to find special methods of work among the women of the Communist Parties and establish a standard of special apparatus within the Communist Parties for the realization of this work. The apparatus for this work among the women in the Party should be the branches or committees for work among women, organized by all party committees commencing with the Executive Committee and ending with the city districts or village party committees. This decision is obligatory for all Communist Parties attached to the Communist International.



The Second International Conference of Communist Women held in Moscow, Russia from June 1927. Delegates representing different countries were present.

### Kollontai continued further

In the East where the women live under peculiar conditions under the age-long yoke of tradition it is imperative to display the utmost flexibility to apply unhesitatingly what would perhaps seem the most paltry measures in order to arouse them and draw them within the circle of economic ideas. The first thing to be done is to organize the women economically. Simultaneously with the cultural and educational work should be devoted to the highest degree.

Zetkin of Germany said that the weakness of the women proletariat is not due to lack of organization but in the weakness of revolutionary will power in the lack of confidence in their own powers. She urged that since four fifths of the women of Europe are housekeeper this class must be drawn into the class struggle. She likewise advocated work among peasant women and government employees.

Herta Sturm a young woman of about 22 outlined methods of work in Germany.

Our organization in Germany is conducted along these lines: there is an organizational committee composed of five people. Each member of the committee has a special duty to perform: one takes charge of agitation and educational literature, another of work among domestic workers, the third of work among various state and other enterprises. Separate local groups are affiliated to district groups, the district groups to

county, each district group has a secretary. The essence of the whole organization is that each group—whether local district or county—is headed by a member of the Communist Party and all the work conducted under the immediate leadership of that comrade. The work among the domestic workers and for women is extremely difficult usually it is done by comrades who have street experience and a good time.

Hilda Wertheim a young Austrian woman, Lucy Colliard of France, delegates from America, Bulgaria, Spain and other countries discussed the methods adopted in their countries. The American woman speaking specially of secret work since the Communist Party in America is illegal. A Persian man in the absence of a Persian woman delegate criticized the Conference most severely on the grounds that its methods, its terminology and its psychology is applicable to Europe and America alone and not to Mohammedan or other Eastern countries. He asked that different tactics be adopted for use in the East. The Armenian delegates, Nazarbeg in particular and the Azerbaijan delegate supported his proposal, and it was later decided that a special conference should be held to discuss methods of work among women of the East.

Nikolaeva of Petrograd analyzed the

same effect, an appeal issued to the women of the world, and March 8th set as International Woman's Day.

This Conference of Communist Women was created by the Third, or Communist International at the world congress in Russia in 1920. The purpose was to unite women under the banner of Communism to expose the reformist tactics of the second and second and a half Internationals operating under the approval of the Entente and to educate and inspire women to take their place with men in the world struggle against capitalism. An International Secretariat was formed with Clara Zetkin of Germany as secretary, and Alexandra Kollontai as assistant. Roland Holst the famous writer sister of Romain Rolland the greatest of French authors, was elected from Western Europe. From Russia Krupskaya Samoylova, Lilina Stahl and Smedovitch were elected.

The first conference of Communist women was held in July, 1920, in connection with the Second Congress of the Communist International. The second conference opened with a public reception and mass meeting in the Zinima Theatre in the heart of Moscow. The beautiful theatre was jammed with working women, leaning from the boxes, sitting on the railings, the bright gleam or the whiteness of their head shawls, kerchiefs and caps showing in the parquet. The boxes were occupied by foreign guests, one filled with Indian revolutionaries from western Europe. The expansive stage was occupied by the women delegates, the dashes of color of their costumes standing out in relief against the enormous red flag of the Soviet Republic hanging in the background. At the red draped presidium table extending across the front of the stage sat women whose names are known throughout the labour and Socialist world.

Clara Zetkin, Communist member of the German Reichstag, an energetic, gray haired woman of 63, with a record of 40 years' service first in the Social Democratic movement of Germany, and later in the Communist movement, Alexandra Kollontai first woman Commissar of Public Welfare under the Soviet Government, a highly educated Russian intellectual who in the early days of her youth entered the Russian Social Revolutionary Party, carried on ceaseless agitation among the peasants and who after the 1917 revolution supported Lenin, Trotsky and

other leaders of the Communist, or (meaning "Majority") Party, against Menshevik ("Minority") Party and other compromising groups.

Next to Kollontai sat a woman with a serious, inspiring face, her hair clipped short as a man's. She bent ceaselessly over her work, taking notes and translating into a number of different languages. Very inconspicuous she was, save when her translations were so intelligently and brilliantly given. This was G. Lilina, a leading Russian Communist woman, wife of Gregory Zinoviev, President of the Petrograd Soviet and President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

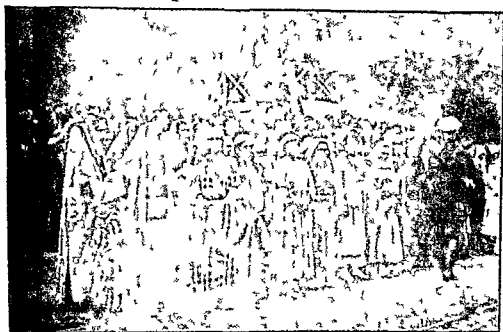
Near Lilina sat Roland Holst, a tall, awkward woman with a compelling face.

Throughout the Congress another woman appeared looking much like a peasant woman, middle aged, with smooth, round face, bearing obvious traces of Mongolian ancestry. This was Krupskaya, one of the hardest working women in Russia, an educator who may always be found at her post in the Educational Department. She is likewise known as Olanova, the wife of Olanov. And Olanov, it will be remembered is Lenin, President of the All Russian Executive Council of People's Commissaries.

Clara Zetkin was greeted by a thunderous outburst of applause when her gray head appeared on the stage, and when she formally opened the conference Kollontai presided throughout. Addresses were translated into Russian, German and French (The English language plays no role whatever in any part of Europe). The public reception as well as every session opened and closed with the singing of "The International," in as many tongues as there were nationalities present.

Kollontai stepped forward and, speaking in Russian, called the death roll of Communist women leaders who have died at their posts during the past year. Samoylova of Petrograd a member of the Executive of the women's international, and organizer of the women of the Ukraine, Inessa Armand a Spanish woman leader, died of cholera, and Gust Ossen, a Norwegian Communist leader. After each announcement, the audience arose and stood in silence. After the last announcement from the stage came the first notes of the Russian revolutionary funeral march, followed by the voices of the thousands of women and men in the theatre.





A group of proletarian women from the East have gathered in Moscow to attend the International Women's Communist Conference. The women are here seen watching a parade of the Moscow Divisions of the Red Army of Russia.

Short addresses were delivered by Thalheimer, a German member of the Executive of the Third International by Losofsky President of the All Russian Central Council of Trade Unions by Gousef from the General staff of the Red Army by Buclarin the soul of the Russian Revolution\* member of the Executive Committee of the Third International, and by Kalinin the much loved President of the Russian Soviet Republic and others.

Kalinin is a peasant and he appeared as always in the dress of the Russian peasant. His message was that the proletarian revolution was only possible in Russia because the women took their rifles in their hands and made common cause with the men in both the second and the third revolutions as well as throughout the long struggle against Czarism. It was the women of Petrograd he said who had started the revolution which overthrew the Czar.

A prolonged demonstration greeted the appearance of Patchufarova deputy in the Moscow Soviet. A slender working woman in a faded working

clothes a black lace shawl about her head Patchufarova a factory worker is one of the women orators of Russia. Time and again her address was interrupted by applause. When she finished Clara Zetkin left the presidium table and the two women embraced. Suddenly Clara Zetkin bent her head on the arm of the younger woman and wept.

Of historic interest was the appearance of Skalkaya of Georgia a gray bearded old man who has all the fire and energy of youth still in him despite the fact that he was one of the secret revolutionaries of Russia and had spent thirty years of his life in prison, coming out time and again but to continue his work and to return again to prison.

Mourova a slender young Ukrainian peasant woman with a keen intelligent face came forward. She said:

"We peasants of the Ukraine are illiterate but we are united in the defense of the revolution and of the Soviet. We women have taken our rifles and fought with our men against the counter revolution and against the international bandits who have tried to destroy Russia. We know that there is no other way to talk about the protection of our children and of our life but to have the power in our hands to

results of methods used in Russia, one in particular being of interest. She said:

'By means of "cells," etc. meetings' and by non party conferences as well we create bands of women workers who reach right down into the heart of the masses. And from them many gifted and practical workers are drafted into the Soviet institutions. The Petrograd Women's Department has attracted women in this way. Thus formerly there were 45 women in the Petrograd Soviet then 200, then 340, and now over 500.

Roland Holst spoke of the work done by the Women's Union of Holland, an organization including women Socialists, Christian Socialists, Anarchists, Syndicalists and Communists. Within this Union is a strong Communist group, she said, which now practically controls the educational or propaganda work.

In reporting to the Third (or Communist) International Congress two weeks later on the decisions of the Women's Conference, Clara Zetkin briefly stated

'In considering the form of organizing the women's movement, the Conference was governed by the idea that there could be no special women's movement as the proletariat has only one organization and one aim. However in view of the specific conditions under which the proletarian women had developed, the Conference proposed to organize special departments in all parties for working among women. These departments of course, must work hand in hand with the Party. They must carry on an oral and written propaganda, must perform all the agitational and organizing work among women always bearing in mind that on the education of these women masses, will depend whether they will be for or against the revolution. We believe that the proletarian women must be instructed by the Party in carrying out legal and illegal work. She must work hand in hand with the men and take her rifle and fight in the workers' struggle. The Conference also took note of organizing branches in all those institutions where women are predominant.'

A resolution to this effect was passed. In addition, the theses adopted at both the Woman's Conference and the Third International Congress, the work to be carried on among women of the East, particularly in Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Bokhara, Persia, etc., was outlined. This section of the theses reads

'In conjunction with the Communist Party the Women's Sections should do everything possible to achieve in industrially weak countries the recognition of the legal equality, the equality both of rights and obligations of women in regard to the Parties, Unions and other organizations of the working class.

'The Sections of Commissions should carry on in conjunction with the Party a struggle against prejudice, religious customs and habits which maintain an oppressive hold upon women, to achieve this it is also necessary to carry on propaganda amongst the men.

The Communist Parties, together with the Sections and Commissions, should carry out the principle of the equality of women in matters of the education of children in family relations and general social life.

'The Sections should seek for the support of that work, first of all among the large classes of women who are exploited by capitalism in the capacity of workers in home industries, as laborers on rice, cotton and other plantations, and assist in the general establishment of communal workshops and home co-operatives; this applies especially to all Eastern peoples living within the borders of Soviet Russia, the Sections should also assist in the general amalgamation of all women engaged on plantation work with the working men united in Trade Unions.

'The raising of the general educational level of the population is one of the best means of fighting the general stagnation of the country as well as religious prejudices. The Commissions should, therefore, assist in the opening of schools for grown ups and for children which are also to be accessible to the women. In bourgeois countries the Commissions should carry on a direct agitation to counteract the influence of the bourgeois schools.

'Wherever it is possible, the Sections or Commissions should carry the agitation into the homes of the women and should utilize the field work of the women for purposes of agitation, they should also organize clubs for working women, doing everything to attract to these clubs the most backward section of the women. Those clubs should represent cultural and educational centres and model institutions illustrating what can be achieved by women for their emancipation, through such means of self activity, as the organization of nurseries, kindergartens, schools for adults, and so forth.

'Circuit clubs should be organized for nomadic peoples.

'In Soviet countries the Sections, together with the party, should assist in the transformation of the existing pre-capitalist forms of production and economics into a social form of production, they should be practically illustrated in a manner convincing to the working women that the former home-life and home-production oppressed and exploited them, whilst social labor will emancipate them.

'With regard to the peoples of the East who live within the borders of Soviet Russia, the Sections should take care that Soviet legislation should equalize men and women and that the interests of the women should be protected. For this purpose, the sections should assist in the drawing of women to the position of judges and as members of juries in national courts of law.

The Sections should also draw the women to participate in Soviets, taking care that working and peasant women should be elected into the Soviets and Executive Committees. All work among the women proletariat of the East should be carried on a class basis. It should be the task of the Sections to expose the powerlessness of the Moslem feminists in the solution of the question of the enfranchisement of women. For enlightening purposes in all the Soviet countries of the East, the intelligent feminist forces should be utilized, as, for instance, women teachers, avoiding at the same time all unpolitical and vulgar treatment of religious faiths and national traditions. The Sections or Committees working

relieved to know that your operation is over and you are none the worse for it.

We are in a delightful country, in a delightful place, meeting with people who are so human. I feel clearly that the ultimate reality for man's life is his life in the world of ideas, where he is emancipated from the gravitational pull of the dust and where he realises that he is spirit. We, in India, live in a narrow cage of petty interests; we do not believe that we have wings, for we have lost our sky; we chatter and hop and peck at one another within the small range of our obstructed opportunities. It is difficult to achieve greatness of mind and character where our responsibility is diminutive and fragmentary, where our whole life occupies and affects an extremely limited area. And yet through cracks and chinks of our walls we must send out our starved branches to the sunlight and air, and roots of our life must pierce the upper strata of our soil of desert sands till they reach the spring of water which is exhaustless. The most difficult problem is ours, which is how to gain our freedom of soul in spite of the crampedness of outward circumstances, how to ignore the perpetual insult of our destiny so as to be able to uphold the dignity of man. Our Shantiniketan is for this tapasya of India. We who have come there often forget the greatness of our mission, mostly because of the obscurity of insignificance with which the humanity of India seems to be obliterated. We do not have the proper light and perspective in our surroundings to be able to realise that our soul is great and therefore we behave as if it is doomed to be small for all time.

The great philosopher Bergson came to see me and we had a most delightful talk. He has read my book "Personality" and what he said about my work was beyond my expectation.

August 21, 1920.

We are in a most beautiful part of France. But of what avail is the beauty of nature if you have lost your trunks which are your trunks and under-

wears. I could have been in perfect sympathy with the trees surrounding me, if, like them, I were not dependent upon tailors for maintaining self-respect. However, the most important event for me in this world at present is not what is happening in Poland, or Ireland, or Mesopotamia, but that all the trunks belonging to our party have disappeared from the goods van in their transit from Paris to this place. And therefore, though the sea is singing its hymns to the rising and the setting sun and to the star-lit silence of the night, and though the forest round me is standing tiptoe on the rock like an ancient druid, raising its arms to the sky, chanting its incantation of primitive life, we have to hasten back to Paris to be restored to the respectability ministered to by tailors and washermen. This is what our first parents have brought upon us. Our clothes are acting like screens dividing us from the rest of the world; and for this we have to pay,—pay the bills! Do you not think that it is outrageously undignified for my humanity that standing face to face with the magnificent spirit of this naked nature I can think and speak of nothing but wretched clothes which in three years' time will be tattered into shreds while these pine trees will remain standing ever fresh and clean majestically unaffected by the soiling touch of hours? But enough of this.

I suppose I told you in my last letter that I met Sylvain Levy in Paris. He is the greatest scholar, as you know, but his heart is larger even than his intellect and his learning. His Philology has not been able to wither his soul. His mind has the translucent simplicity of greatness and his heart is overflowing with trustful generosity which never acknowledges disillusionment. His students come to love the subject he teaches them, because they love him. I realise clearly when I meet these great teachers that only through the medium of personality truth can be communicated to men. This fundamental principle of education we must realise in Shantiniketan. We must know that only he can teach who can love. The greatest teachers of men have been lovers of

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I have just received your letter, and, for sometime, I feel myself held tight in the bosom of our Ashram. I cannot tell you how I feel about the prolonged separation from it, which is before me, but at the same time I know that unless my relationship with the wide world of humanity grows in truth and love, my relationship with the Ashram will not be perfect. Through my life my Ashram will send its roots into the heart of this great world to find its sap of immortality. We who belong to Shantiniketan cannot afford to be narrow in our outlook and petty in our life's mission and scope. We have seen, in Turretta Bazar, thirty or more birds packed in one single cage, where they neither can sing nor soar in the sky, but make noise and peck at each other. Such a cage we build ourselves for our souls with our petty thoughts and selfish ambition and then spend our life quarrelling with each other clamouring and scrambling for a small advantage. But let us bring freedom of soul into Shantiniketan.

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Let us forget the Punjab affairs,—but never forget that we shall go on deserving such humiliation over and over again until we set our house in order. Do not mind the waves of the sea, but mind the leaks in your vessel. Politics in our country is extremely petty. It has a pair of legs one of which has shrunk and shrivelled and become paralytic, and therefore it feebly waits for the other one to drag it on. There is no harmony between the two and our politics in its hoppings and totterings and falls is comic and undignified. The entreaty and anger, which alternately are struggling to find expression in the ludicrously lame member of this tragic partnership, both belong to our abject feebleness. When non-co-operation will naturally come as our final moral protest against the unnaturalness

within ten feet of the ancient, historic wall, spattered with bullet holes—relics of the revolution. The Russian revolutionary funeral march, bearing its burden of tragedy and as piration floated back over the silent marchers women and men of every land the many colored robes of the Eastern women, and the simple working dresses of the working women delegates from the west making a strange international picture.

The procession paused at the graves and stood in silence while wreaths were laid and while the regular beat of the funeral march arose and fell, carrying memories of the Czarist days which gave it birth.

Almost inaudibly Kollontai's voice was heard—'Comrades, we need no words here.'

Then Patchufarova, the woman deputy, as if speaking to the dead—'Rest in peace

dear comrades, we swear to finish the task which you set out to accomplish.'

The voice of Geannet Olsen of Norway came distinctly.

The dream of Comrade Gusti Ossen is fulfilled. She sleeps in a free country—in free Russia. She lies among the heroic fighters of a great cause against whom the workers of Norway, oppressed by their bourgeois are arming.

The simple ceremony ended. The orchestra again struck up the revolutionary funeral march. It blended into 'The International,' which the great audience began to sing. As the people streamed away in all directions, across the Red Square the notes of the song sung in the many languages of Western Europe were heard, until distance alone drowned them.

ALICE BIRD

## LETTERS FROM ABROAD

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Paris,  
August 13

I have come to Paris, not to stay here, but to decide where to go. The sun is shining bright and a spirit of exhilaration is in the atmosphere. Sudhir received me at the station and made all arrangements for us. Pearson has gone to stay with his mother for some weeks before we start for America. Therefore I am in the hands of Sudhir just at present and he is taking proper care of me. Paris is empty and there is no chance of our meeting the people whom I should like to meet. Our stay in England has been wasted except for the revisions I made of my *MISS* and the negotiation with the Macmillans. Your Parliament debates about Dyerism in the Punjab and other symptoms of the arrogant spirit of contempt and callousness about India have deeply aggrieved me and it was with a feeling of relief that I left England. Last evening I heard a great deal about the treatment our

Indian soldiers had from your officers and it has convinced me more than anything else that English people has not the power to give us anything truly great and whatever it offers to India will be *haram* for us to accept. We must ignore our connection with this people altogether and do our duty to our country never asking for their aid. Whatever pleasure I found in London was from meeting some foreigners who were truly great and I regret very much that I only came to know them at the latter end of my stay in England. I hope I shall be able to meet such people in my travel in Europe—they are the salt of the earth and they give me hope for the salvation of humanity.

August 20, 1920

After a fortnight's weary waiting got my Indian mails. Very glad. Pearson has gone to the letters were waiting at her

relieved to know that your operation is over and you are none the worse for it.

We are in a delightful country, in a delightful place, meeting with people who are so human. I feel clearly that the ultimate reality for man's life is his life in the world of ideas, where he is emancipated from the gravitational pull of the dust and where he realises that he is spirit. We, in India, live in a narrow cage of petty interests; we do not believe that we have wings, for we have lost our sky; we chatter and hop and peck at one another within the small range of our obstructed opportunities. It is difficult to achieve greatness of mind and character where our responsibility is diminutive and fragmentary, where our whole life occupies and affects an extremely limited area. And yet through cracks and chinks of our walls we must send out our starved branches to the sunlight and air, and roots of our life must pierce the upper strata of our soil of desert sands till they reach the spring of water which is exhaustless. The most difficult problem is ours, which is how to gain our freedom of soul in spite of the crampedness of outward circumstances, how to ignore the perpetual insult of our destiny so as to be able to uphold the dignity of man. Our Shantiniketan is for this tapasya of India. We who have come there often forget the greatness of our mission, mostly because of the obscurity of insignificance with which the humanity of India seems to be obliterated. We do not have the proper light and perspective in our surroundings to be able to realise that our soul is great and therefore we behave as if it is doomed to be small for all time.

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of our political situation, then it will be glorious, because true; but when it is another form of begging,—it may be, the best form,—then let us reject it. The establishment of perfect co-operation of life and mind among ourselves must come first through *tapasya* of sacrifice and self-dedication, and then will come in its natural course the non-co-operation. When the fruit completely ripens itself, it finds its freedom through its own fulfilment of truth. Our country is crying to her own children for their co-operation in the removal of obstacles in our social life, which for centuries have been hampering us in our self-realisation. We need co-operation of the sacrifice of love, more than anything else, to prove to our country that she is ours; and then we shall have the moral right to say to others, "We have nothing to do with you in our own affairs." And for this all the moral fervour which the life of Mahatma Gandhi represents, and which he, of all other men in the world, can call up, is needed. That such a precious treasure of power should be put into the mean and frail vessel of our politics allowing it to sail across endless waves of angry recrimination is terribly unfortunate for our country, where our mission is to revive the dead with the fire of soul. The external waste of our resources of life is great owing to external circumstances, but that the waste of our spiritual resources should also be allowed to happen on adventures that are wrong from the point of view of moral truth is heart breaking. It is criminal to turn moral force into a blind force.

Our time to go to Holland is drawing near. I have numerous invitations from there to lecture. I am not yet fully ready. Just now I am busy writing my message. My subject is the Meeting of the East and West. I hope it will be finished before I leave Paris.

September 12, 1920.

I had invitations from Germany and I decided to go. But travelling from one country to another has become so difficult

nowadays that, I had to give it up. Specially going from France to Germany is beset with obstacles. On my way back from Holland I shall try my best at least to visit Hamburg. Germany needs sympathy, and I hope I shall have the opportunity to go there and offer it to her. The other day I was taken to Rheims and other devastated regions of France in a motor car. It was a most saddening sight. Some of the terrible damages deliberately done, not for any necessities of war, but to cripple France for ever, were so savage that their memory can never be effaced. For it will take tremendous efforts and time to make them things of the past. When the spiritual ideal is lost, when the human relationship is completely broken up, then individuals freed from that creative bond of wholeness find a fearful joy in destructiveness. In such catastrophes one can realise what stupendous force of annihilation is not only kept in check in our society, but made into multitudinous manifestations of beauty and fruitfulness. Then we know that evils are like meteors, stray fragments, wreckage of a broken up wholeness, which need the attraction of a great planet of life's ideal to be assimilated into the peace of creation. Only spiritual ideals have that great power of attraction that can transmute these rebellious fractions into a perfect roundness. The evil forces are literally outlaws. They only need the control and cadence of creative laws to change them into good. Our Shiva is the lord of terrible spirits, who are spirits of death; and he is *Shivam*, the good. The true goodness is not in the negation of badness, it is in mastery of it. It is the miracle that turns the tumult of chaos into the dance of beauty. The true education is the use of that power of miracle, that ideal of creation. Punishments and disciplines imposed from outside are negative. The teacher is Shiva, he has the divine power of destroying destructiveness, of sucking out poison. If France had the Shiva in her heart she could transform evil into good, she could forgive. And by forgiveness she could prove her



immortality, and truly save herself from the hurt which was inflicted upon her. This is difficult, but this is the only way of salvation. Only the creative ideal can completely get over the acts of destruction. It is spiritual ideal, it is love, it is forgiveness. God is perpetually exercising it and thus the creation is ever kept sweet, and in the heart of death life has its ceaseless play of joy. Do we not know this in our individual life? Have we our own right to exist in this wonderful world? Would we not burn it, destroy it? Has not God's creative power given us our place in his universe? Must we forget that, when we judge and deal with our own fellow beings?

Paris,  
September 18 1920

To night we start for Holland. We have spent a very happy time in this house and have made friends with very remarkable persons. The whole big house with its beautiful garden and river bank have been absolutely ours. Some corners of its rooms, some window seats, some padded chairs have yielded their heart to me and they already look sad and disconsolate at the idea of my departure.

I find our countrymen are furiously excited about Non-co-operation. It will grow into something like our Swadeshi

movement in Bengal. Such an emotional outbreak should have been taken advantage of in starting independent organisations all over India for serving our country. Let Mahatma Gandhi be a true leader in this. Let him send his call for positive service, ask for homage in sacrifice, which has its end in love and creation. I shall be willing to sit at his feet and do his bidding, if he commands me to co-operate with my countrymen in service of love. I refuse to waste my manhood in lighting the fire of anger and spreading it from house to house. It is not that I do not feel anger in my heart for injustice and insult heaped upon my motherland. But this anger of mine should be turned into the fire of love for lighting the lamp of worship to be dedicated through my country to my God. It would be an insult to humanity, if I use the sacred energy of my moral indignation for the purpose of spreading a blind passion all over my country. It would be like using the fire from the altar of Jajna for the purpose of incendiarism. Please ask Suren to translate into English series of my papers which I wrote during the great political excitement over the partition of Bengal. They will be useful in the present situation.

Dinner is announced,—the time is approaching near for our departure,—so I may say God be with you, and take my leave.

## THE FIRST LORD MINTO'S INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

THE people of Afghanistan can never enter into love and affection for the natives of England. These people have always heaped disasters, miseries and ruin on the people of Afghanistan. Ever since the days of the Marquess Wellesley, the solution of the problem of maintaining the supremacy and security of the British people in India seemed to have consisted in keeping Afghanistan divided and making it the hot bed of intrigues and disturbances. At that time, nominally at least,

subject to the ruler of Cabul were the provinces of Sind and the Punjab. Lord Wellesley was not content only with sending the embassy to Persia to stir up disturbances in Afghanistan but also intrigued with the inhabitants of Sind and the Punjab with the object of their shaking off the rule of the king of Cabul. To the Hon. Jonathan Duncan at that time the Governor of Bombay Lord Wellesley wrote on the 8th October 1798 —

It has been suggested to me and I understand it

as the opinion of Sir Charles Malet, that a further diversion of the Shahs (i.e. Zemzun Shahs) force might be created by our affording certain encouragement to the nations occupying the Delta and the lower parts of the Indus who have been stated to be much disaffected to the Government of the Shah. I wish you to give this point the fullest and most serious consideration to state to me your ideas upon it and in the meanwhile to take any immediate steps which shall appear proper and practicable to you.

Thus then it is evident that the English opened their campaign of intrigues and conspiracies with the inhabitants of Sindh against the Afghan King. There are then very strong grounds to suspect that the disturbances and anarchy which took place in Sindh towards the close of the 18th, and the beginning of the 19th century, and which led to the establishment of the Talpura family as the rulers of Sindh quite independent of the Afghan Sovereign, were brought about by the machinations of the British.

When Lord Minto was the Governor General of India, he sent a mission to Sindh, ostensibly to contract an alliance with the Amir of that province against the French but in reality against the Afghan Sovereign. Prof H H Wilson writes —

'Alarmed by the menaced interference of Shah Suja (the Afghan King) on behalf of the expelled prince Abd un nabi the Amirs of Sindh had applied to Persia for succour and a Persian army had been directed to march to their assistance. The death of Abd un nabi and the embarrassments which Shah Suja experienced at home removed all ground of fear from Afghanistan, and the Amirs then became most apprehensive of peril from their allies. They thought it prudent therefore, to oppose one powerful friend to another,—British India to Persia, they therefore began to conciliate the British Government, and sent an agent to Bombay to propose the renewal of the commercial intercourse that had formerly existed. The proposal was favorably entertained, and Captain Seton was sent as envoy to Hyderabad. A treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was concluded by the envoy with the Amirs but, as the stipulations pledged the British Government to a reciprocity that was deemed inexpedient the ratification of the treaty was withheld and Mr Nicholas Hankey Smith a Bombay Civil Servant was deputed to explain the cause, and to contract a less comprehensive engagement. \* \* \* \* \* Mr Smith reached Hyderabad on the 8th of August (1803) and on the 23rd of that month a treaty was signed which engaged that there should be eternal friendship between the two Governments that agents or agents should be mutually appointed and that the French should not be permitted to form an establishment in Sindh.

But as there was no possibility of the French invasion of India ever taking place, the real object of the mission to Sindh, as shown in the above extract, was to conclude an alliance with the Amirs against Afghanistan. The elevation of the Talpura family to power in Sindh, was,

as stated before, brought about by the machinations of the British.\*

Lord Minto also sent envoys to the Punjab and Afghanistan.

The condition of the Punjab had attracted the attention of the Marquess Wellesley. His brother, Henry Wellesley as Resident of Oude, had brought to his notice the distracted condition of that province. Dating his letter, Bareilly, August 5, 1802, Mr. Henry Wellesley wrote to the Governor General —

'Such is the distracted state of the Sikh country, that Mr Fous (one of General Perron's officers) appears to have obtained possession of a considerable tract of country without the least resistance having been opposed to him. There can be no doubt of General Perron's intention to assume as large a portion of the Punjab as he may think himself able to manage, or it may be convenient to him to retain and it is equally certain that the actual state of that country will render it an easy conquest to anything like a regular force.

\* In her work *Lord Minto in India*, Countess Minto writes —

'The State of Scinde had come within the scope of the defensive arrangements proposed by the British Government but the indiscretion of their agent, Captain Seton led to the annulling of the treaty concluded by him with the Amir of Scinde.

It was found that Persian agents were negotiating with the Government of Scinde at the same time as the Envoy of the India Government, that they had authority to act for both France and Persia, and that the bait held out to the Government of Scinde was military aid to throw off the yoke of the King of Cabul to whom they owed a nominal allegiance, and the possession of the Afghan fortress of Candahar. The chief ruler of Scinde informed Captain Seton distinctly that despairing of the good will of the British Government he had intended to close with the offer of the French and Persians, but preferred the British alliance on the same terms. These terms, agreed to by Captain Seton, were not consistent with the endeavours making to secure the friendship of the King of Cabul hence the India Government repudiated the engagements made by Captain Seton and sent another Envoy (Mr H Smith) to Scinde, to renew the negotiations with that Government on the footing on which alone Captain Seton had been empowered to treat—namely, the admission, as a preliminary step to all further transactions of a resident agent of the British Government (the commercial resident having been expelled in 1802).

This measure is necessarily preliminary to the accomplishment of our ultimate purpose that of withholding or detaching the Government of Scinde from connections with our enemies, as well as the more proximate purpose of securing an authentic channel of information and intelligence on points of the utmost importance to our interests. No specific engagement could be entered into with that government without the establishment of direct intercourse on a permanent footing, the attainment of which will afford the means of watching its proceedings and of obtaining authentic intelligence concerning the designs of our enemies' (Secret and separate general letter.) (Pp. 177-178)

One of the greatest dangers to be apprehended from the establishment of a French force in the Punjab is the means it would afford the French of extending their conquest down the Indus and of securing a communication with the sea by means of that river. This would remove every obstacle to their receiving supplies of men and stores from Europe for there is no British force on that side of India nor are there any native powers, situated at the mouths of the Indus, capable of opposing a regular force with any prospect of success.

The opinion of the military adventurer George Thomas as to the ease with which the Punjab could be conquered was also at that time well known. But it was not the policy of the Marquess Wellesley at that time to fight the Sikhs or annex their country. On the contrary he wanted to cultivate their friendship and raise them into a power as a buffer state against the Afghans on the one hand and the Marathas on the other. With this object in view he wrote to General Lake a letter instructing him to contract an alliance with Ranjit Singh and prevail upon that Sikh Prince and other Sikh Chiefs to assist the East India Company in their war with the Marathas or if they were not able to render any assistance at least they should remain neutral. Ranjit Singh obliged the British by not joining the Marathas and when Holkar sought refuge in the Punjab in stead of interceding on his behalf with the English, he allowed the troops of the latter to enter his province in order to capture Holkar. He did all these, thinking that the British out of sheer gratitude would befriend him. To be on friendly terms with the Rising Power of the English he was even ready to sacrifice and betray his own co-religionists into their hands. In the despatch to the Honorable the Secret Committee of the Honorable the Court of Directors, dated Fort William September 29th 1803, the Governor-General in Council wrote —

Raja Ranjit Singh, the Raja of Lahore and the principal amongst the Sikh chieftains has transmitted proposals to the Commander-in-Chief for the transfer of the territory belonging to that nation south of the river Sutledge, on the condition of mutual defence against the respect ve enemies of that chieftain and of the British nation.

But this evidently did not suit the British and so they did not enter into any alliance with Ranjit Singh. That Sikh prince saw how he had been made to serve the interests of the selfish and designing British without so far receiving any material benefit from them. Accordingly, he considered it proper to bring the territory south of the river Sutledge under his direct control. He was not going to transfer it to the East India Company.

Unfortunately for the Punjab, Ranjit Singh was no statesman. Had he been so he would have adopted a course different from what he did.

history of the

tory between the river Sutledge and Jh were a number of petty Sikh chieftains who had been before the second Maratha war of the Maharaja Sindhu. On the eve of the war with the Marathas towards the end of the year 1803 the English servants of the British Government under the Governor General's instructions opened intrigues with these Sikh chieftains, his secret and official letter to Lieutenant General Lake dated Fort William, August 1803, the Marquess Wellesley wrote —

I am not sufficiently apprized of the names, possessions, and relative conditions of the various Sikh chieftains occupying the territory between Patana and Jumna to be enabled to address letters to them or to press before the detail of your Excellency's proceedings with regard to them. Your Excellency will endeavour to acquire the requisite information and you will regulate your communications with those chieftains accordingly, in the spirit of these instructions.

Such of those chieftains as are subject to the control and exact ones of the Maratha power may perhaps be detached from the interests of that nation by proffer of protection from the British Government, and get exempted from the payment of tribute in future.

It should appear impracticable to obtain the co-operation of those chieftains, it would still be an object of importance to secure their neutrality.

But those chieftains did not come to the assistance of the Marathas and thus played into the hands of the British. The latter were in honor bound to render them every help they could and extricate them out of their difficulties. In return for what they had done for the English these Sikh chieftains expected their sympathy and active co-operation in their troubles.

Had Ranjit Singh been a far-seeing statesman he would have formed a confederacy with these petty Sikh chieftains and welded all these states into an United Sikh Empire. But he was no statesman. He was bent on the destruction of these Sikh chieftains. At first, to curry favor with the British he proposed to betray and sell these chieftains of his race and creed to them. But when he found no favorable response from the latter to his proposal, he wanted to reduce all these chieftains and confiscate their properties and estates. To effect these he set out from Lahore and crossed the Sutledge. The chieftains of the Doab were naturally alarmed and they appealed to the British Government for help against Ranjit Singh. The Governor General seemed to have been at first inclined to leave these chieftains to the tender mercies of Ranjit Singh. In the second Maratha war, these Sikh chieftains had been as much useful to the British as the princes of Rajpootana. British did not scruple to exhibit their faith towards the Rajput princes, as

The Sikh chieftains would

have fired better than the Ranjit princes but for the circumstances to be presently mentioned.

The Sikh chieftains of the Doab, as said before, appealed for help to the British Government, and in order to alarm Ranjit Singh and make him return to Lahore they industriously circulated a report that their application had been favorably considered. Prof H H Wilson writes—

In order to discover the truth of this assertion Ranjit addressed a letter to the Governor General stating that he had learned that troops were assembling at Jinnah, and requesting to be informed of the cause. He declared his wish to continue on friendly terms but ventured to add "The country on this side of the Jumna, except the stations occupied by the English is subject to my authority. Let it remain so."

Although Lord Minto was resolved to resist the pretensions of Ranjit Singh to the exercise of any authority on the right bank of the Jumna, yet the policy of securing his concurrence in the scheme of defensive alliance which it was sought to frame against the hostile designs upon India avowed by the Emperor Napoleon, suspended the announcement of the Governor General's sentiments, and Ranjit was referred for a reply to Mr (afterwards Sir Charles) Metcalfe whom it had been determined to send on a friendly mission to the Sikh ruler.

Metcalfe was a civilian and as such came out to India while yet in his teens. He received his initiation into the art of Machiavellian diplomacy under the Marquess Wellesley, and consequently he was always indebted to that Irish Governor General for the interest the latter took in him. After the departure of Lord William Bentinck, Metcalfe acted for sometime as Governor General of India. It was in that capacity that he wrote a letter to his patron, the Marquess Wellesley, dated Dec 27, 1834. As this letter sheds much side light on his character, it is reproduced below—

My Lord—Few things in life have given me greater pleasure than the receipt of your Lordship's kind letter delivered by Lieut Campbell. It is now within a few days of thirty four years since I had the honor of being presented to you. You were then Governor General of India and I was a boy of fifteen entering on my career. I shall never forget the kindness with which you treated me from first to last during your stay in India nor the honor and happiness which I enjoyed in being for a considerable period a member of your family. So much depends on the first turns given to a man's course that I have a right to attribute all of good that has since happened to me to the countenance and favor with which you distinguished me at that early period. *My public principles were learned in your school pre eminently the school of honor, zeal, public spirit, and patriotism.* and to my adherence to the principles there acquired I venture to ascribe all the success that has attended me.

The words put in italics in the above clearly show what policy Metcalfe would have adopted in India towards the native states had he been appointed as its Governor General. That he

considered the school of Wellesley 'the school of honor' is more than what we can understand since that Irish Governor General lacked all principles of honor and honesty. The secret and official letter which the Marquess Wellesley wrote to General Lake on the 2nd August, 1803, extracts from which have already been given above, regarding the Sikh States and Ranjit Singh, was examined and despatched by Metcalfe. Hence he was quite familiar with the views which the Marquess Wellesley entertained towards Ranjit Singh. It is probable that on this account, he was chosen as ambassador to the Court of Ranjit Singh.

• That Metcalfe was chosen as an envoy to Ranjit was due to the fact that he was a jingoist. Although a civilian, he loved war more than peace. Countess Minto in her work *Lord Minto in India*, writes—

The position of England relatively to Europe after the peace of Tilsit (June 1807) is thus commented on in a letter from a young Englishman in India to a friend. "What an unexampled and surprising picture the state of Europe now presents, France, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Germany, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Italy, Turkey—all Europe, save little Sweden, combined against our country. We may truly call ourselves '*duxes orbe Britannos*'. Although this is a state of things which no one could ever have wished to see I confess that I feel a pride in it. I hope that we shall do as well as possible under such strange circumstances."

We have at different times paid Austria, Prussia, France, and Germany we preserved to Turkey a great portion of its Empire, driving out its enemies, the French. We have constantly fought the battles of Europe against France and all powers are now ranged on the side of France against us. Hurrah for the tight little Island!

Countess Minto continues—

"We should hardly have ventured to quote so glaring a specimen of a spirit described in the slang of the present day as jingoism—the English language having apparently no term of reprobation for it—had the writer borne a name less known and honoured than that of Metcalfe."

It was however, the sort of spirit which, combined with conspicuous ability and strong character, had attracted the attention of Lord Wellesley, who when Metcalfe was only nineteen, sent him in a political capacity to the camp of Lord Lake and which in this year 1803, marked him out in the judgment of Lord Minto for a still more important mission.

The importance of the Punjab and Afghanistan through which countries the French and the Russians must pass in their contemplated invasion of India was fully recognized by Lord Minto and hence contracting alliance with them, (or if necessary, bringing their territories under the control of the East India Company), was considered expedient. In a minute dated 15th September, 1803, he remarked that even should France succeed in establishing an ascendancy in Persia much would remain to be accomplished before India could be successfully invaded and the

At that time, Metcalf was Political Assistant at Delhi. So he set out from Delhi towards the end of August, 1803, and crossed the Sutledge on the 1st of September, and reached the

hostility of the interjacent states, especially if seconded by the co-operation of the British power, might yet be expected to frustrate the design, or at least to reduce the invading army to a degree of debility which would give the troops of the Government of India a decided superiority in the field." Hence the necessity of establishing a direct communication with those states was evident.

In a letter to the President of the Board of Control, dated 10th February 1803, Lord Minto wrote —

"If the views of the enemy should extend to the direct invasion of India by an army proportioned to that undertaking, their march must probably be to the Indus, and must lead through the kingdom of Cabul and the territories of Lahore. It has appeared to be extremely desirable to push forward a British agency as far beyond our own frontiers, and as near the countries from which the enemy is to take his departure, as possible. We have not, till of late, had much inducement to frequent or to make much enquiry concerning the countries beyond the Indus, and there are difficulties attending the usual means of establishing an amicable intercourse with those governments or their subjects. We cannot safely rely on the fidelity or discernment of native agents, either for furnishing information or accomplishing any political objects our interests might require. I understand that the employment of Europeans in such services would be subject to great difficulties. Regular and avowed embassies which would furnish occasion to the fixed residence, during periods like the present, of Europeans properly qualified in those countries, would undoubtedly be best calculated to fulfil my present views, which aim first at obtaining early intelligence of the enemy's designs and secondly at casting obstacles to his progress.

Lord Minto entertained hostile designs against Ranjit Singh. His selection of Metcalf was also with that object in view. He wanted some pretext and sought means to provoke Ranjit Singh to hostilities. In his despatch to the Secret Committee of March 1803, he wrote —

"Although as a general principle we cordially recognize the wisdom and the justice of abstaining from all interference in the contests, disputes, and concerns of states with which we are unconnected by the obligations of alliance, and are fully convinced of the embarrassments and inconveniences of extending our protection to petty chieftains, who are unable to protect their territories from the aggressions of more powerful neighbours, yet we are disposed to think that cases may occur in which a temporary deviation from these general principles may be a measure of defensive policy, the neglect of which might be productive of much more danger and embarrassment than the prosecution of it, and that the certain resolution of the Rajah of Lahore to subjugate the states situated between the Sutledge and the frontier of our Dominion would, under other circumstances than the present, constitute a case on which, on grounds of self-defence, the interposition of the British

camp of Ranjit Singh at Kasur on the 11th. On the next day, the Sikh prince granted an interview to the British Envoy. "The first visits of oriental diplomacy," writes Kaye, "are visits of courtesy and congratulation. It is a kind of diplomatic measuring of swords before the conflict commences."

Metcalf was received by Ranjit Singh with great cordiality and courtesy.

"The Raja," wrote Metcalf, "met us on the outside of a large enclosure, and having embraced all the gentlemen of the mission, conducted us within, where tents had been prepared for our reception.

This interview was prolonged by the Raja beyond the usual time of visits of ceremony, but nothing of consequence passed at it."

On the 16th, Ranjit Singh returned the visit of the English diplomat. It was on the 22nd that negotiations were formally opened. Ranjit was told that the French had designs on Afghanistan and the Punjab and that he ought to enter into an alliance with the English.

Metcalf wrote to the Governor-General that

Power for the purpose of preventing the execution of such a project would be equally just and prudent. Yet the accomplishment of the more important views already described seems evidently incompatible with a rupture with him.

Again in another minute dated June, 1803, he wrote —

It is well known that the habitual and undistinguished jealousy which is the personal character of Ranjit Singh has been directed specifically against the British Government. He is aware that our interests and principles are unfavourable to some of the chief objects of his ambition and, in addition to this particular cause of distrust, means have been found to create in his mind a still stronger jealousy amounting almost to personal apprehension.

It is certain that our endeavours to open a communication with Cabul, and to establish intimate relations with that state, will furnish abundant matter of uneasiness and supply fresh food to the jealousy already entertained by Ranjit Singh, both of Cabul and of our Government.

So Metcalf was sent to woo the Raja, but had the Sikh sovereign resisted the overtures of the Christian Envoy, means had been prepared to annihilate him. Countess Minto in her work on 'Lord Minto in India' writes —

"The Commander-in-chief received orders to prepare for an advance, and a private letter to him from Lord Minto shows that in the event of serious resistance from Ranjit, it was in the contemplation of Government to substitute a friendly for a hostile power between our frontier and the Indus. 'There is reason to believe that a considerable portion of the country usurped by Ranjit Singh's strong, disaffected, and should any grand effort be made and be crowned with success, nothing would be more antagonistic to our interests than the substitution of friends and dependants for hostile and rival powers throughout the country between our frontier and the Indus.'

"In the course of this conversation, I endeavoured, in conformity to the instructions of the Supreme Government, to alarm the Raja for the safety of his territories, and at the same time to give him confidence in our protection."

In non-diplomatic language it means that he told a pack of lies to Ranjit Singh.

Ranjit Singh was not going to be so easily outwitted by the Christian diplomat. He asked Metcalfe whether the British Government would recognise his sovereignty over all the Sikh states on both sides of the Sutledge. But Metcalfe only replied that he had no authority to express the views of his Government on this subject. At this reply, Ranjit was much disgusted, and illiterate and wanting in manners as he was, his behavior towards the foreign envoy appeared hardly cordial or friendly. To show his defiance towards the English, he ravaged the Doab and exacted tribute from some of the petty chieftains. All the while Metcalfe still remained at his court as the accredited agent of the English.

In the meanwhile the danger of the so-called French invasion of India altogether disappeared and so the Governor-General was not very anxious to contract a friendly alliance with Ranjit Singh. Moreover, it would seem that the Envoy having espied out the country and the weakness of the military organisation of the Sikhs, the exaggerated notion of Ranjit's resources appeared to be a myth to him. Hence the Governor-General and his agent did not consider it necessary to any longer temporise with Ranjit Singh. On the 22nd December, 1808, Metcalfe personally communicated to Ranjit the intentions of the Government of India, that the territories between the Sutledge and the Jumna were under British protection, and that he might retain such acquisitions as he had made on this side of the Sutledge previously to the existence of the relations which had been formed with the protected states, but that he must restore all that had been made subsequently, and that in order to guard against any future encroachments, a military post would be established on the left bank of the river.\*

\* These Sikh Chieftains were not now to be treated as allies but as dependants of the British Government, for they had to enter into an agreement by which their states were to be escheated and taken charge of by the British on failure of their heirs, the privilege of adoption was denied to them. It was in

When these communications were made to Ranjit Singh, he was furious; to quote the words of Sir John Kaye:

"He left the room, descended to the court-yard below, mounted a horse, and began caracolling about with what the young English envoy described as 'surprising levity.' But it was not levity. He was striving to subdue his strong feelings, and was gaining time to consider the answer he was to give to the British Envoy. After a while he returned to another room and took counsel with his ministers,...."

"On the same evening he sent a message to Metcalfe saying that the proposal of the British Government to send troops to the Sutledge was of so strange a character, that he could not finally announce his determination till he had consulted with his chiefs, and that he proposed to proceed for that purpose to Umritsar, and he requested the British Envoy to attend him."

But the British Government did not communicate its intention to Ranjit Singh without making a show of military operations. In the middle of January 1809, a detachment under Colonel Ochterlony crossed the Jumna and proceeded to Ludhiana, whilst an army of reserve under the command of Major-General St. Leger was prepared to support the advance, should protracted operations become necessary. The troops of Ranjit Singh fell back as Colonel Ochterlony's detachment approached.

Ranjit Singh was sorely irritated and how he must have cursed himself for not affording aid to the Marathas in their struggle with the English, with whom at times he thought of trying conclusions! But an incident occurred which is said to have damped Ranjit's courage, and convinced him of his inability to successfully fight the English.

(To be concluded.)

HISTORICUS.

this manner that the principalities of Amballa, Kaithal and several other trans-Sutledge Sikh states came into the possession of the British. Lord Dalhousie vigorously acted upon the policy which was first of all initiated by Lord Minto, who like himself was a native of Scotland.

Baron Hagel (Travels, page 279) attributes the interference of the English to selfishness, the motive being the desire of benefiting by escheats, which the dissipated character of the chiefs was likely to render speedy and numerous.

## FORTS—A FACTOR IN ANCIENT INDIAN MILITARY ORGANISATION

By S V VISWANATHA, M A

**F**ORTS have played a very prominent part in warfare ancient and modern. In ancient Greece and Rome the city state was 'walled'. Every state was fortified to give shelter to the inhabitants within and for protecting them from invasions from without. In Europe, the construction of fortifications seems to have been hastened after the period of the mediaeval wanderings of peoples'. The later developments in the methods of siege warfare appear to have been necessitated by the frequent invasions to which the mediaeval kingdoms were exposed. Forts are seen to serve two important purposes—to afford shelter to the civil population and to afford strong and convenient basis of operations for the warlike population against the onslaughts of the enemies.

The history of forts reaches to a very early age in India. The Rig Veda the earliest record of our ancient civilisation makes mention of the fortresses of the aboriginal population, their fortified castles and their iron strongholds'. The Dasyus after harassing the Aryan homes appear to have taken shelter in these. No wonder that the Aryan bard prays to Indra for the destruction of the 100 castles of the non-Aryan enemies finding that these were impregnable'. The evidence in the Vedas does not enable us to discover if forts were in frequent use in warfare and were at all a prominent war instrument in those times. In the Epics, instances are not wanting of fortified towns and the siege and fall of these in the course of warfare. From Megasthenes\* we are able to call out distinct and unmistakable evidence regarding the prevalence of forts in India of his time. The typical fort of the period is described by him. 'The city of Pataliputra which was about nine miles long and one and a half miles broad was defended by a massive timber palisade, pierced by sixty four gates, crowned by five hundred and seventy towers and protected externally by a moat full of water 600 ft broad and 40 ft deep.'

Regulations regarding the construction of

forts and the methods of fighting in these are set forth in the later works of literature such as the *Kautilya*, *Manu Smriti*, *Sukraniti* and *Kamandaka Nitisara*. In the *Kural*, one of the works of the first *Sangam*, the classic of Tamil literature, we note certain rules observed in the erection of forts, the utility of these in warfare, etc. The student of Indian History need not be told what important part forts have played in the Hindu Empire of Sivaji or the warlike Rajput kingdoms of North India.

The utility of forts in warfare is emphasised in all the works of literature dealing with politics in ancient India. The sources of strength of a kingdom are —*Swami, Anditya Janupada, Durga Kosa Danda, Mitra* and *Art*. A country without a fortress is liable to attack from an enemy. A king without a fortress is like a man who has fallen overboard into the sea'. It seems that for those that own forts there is no destruction'. 'Forts are the best places of resort in times of danger'. A King within his fort is respected by his subjects and feared by his enemies'. A well armed Bowman behind a rampart fights a hundred a hundred against ten thousands'. So much is the importance of forts in war. They are of immense value to a state as they afford shelter to the citizens against dangers from abroad'.

A fort is wealth to those who act against their foes is wealth to them who fearing guard themselves from foes'.<sup>10</sup> Both in times of war and times of peace are forts found to be useful.

The word that is generally used to denote a fort is *Durga*. It has come to mean insurmountable. Six kinds of forts are mentioned.<sup>11</sup> These are —*Dhanu, Mahi, Ap, Varksha Nri*, and *Giri*.

*Dhanu* —When there is no water round, when the surrounding region is a desert affording no supplies and no suitable bases of operations.

*Mahi* —Which the *Sukraniti*<sup>12</sup> divides into *Airinam, Pirigham* and *Parikham*. *Airinam* is inapproachable by

cause of pits, breaches, stones, etc *Pirigam* is the one surrounded by a deep ditch *Pirikham* is a fort surrounded by a strong wall of stone or mud

*Ap*—When the fort is surrounded on all sides by water

*Vārṅksha* That which is surrounded by thick jungles

*Nri*:—Which falls under *Sainya* and *Sahaya* in the *Sukraniti*<sup>13</sup> *Sainya* when filled with soldiers undaunted and invincible and *Sahaya* when filled with valiant friends in need

*Giri*—Situated on a summit and surrounded by hills

The above division is based on the characteristic points of strength in each of these varieties. The order of classification is not exactly the same in all works. Yet all agree in assigning to the *Giridurga* the first rank. The order of merit in the *Sukraniti*<sup>14</sup> is as follows *Giri*, *Jala*, *Dhanu*, *Vana*, *Pirika*, *Airina*, and *Pirigam*. The author of the above work adds, "As without the *Sainya* and *Sahaya* the work of a king will be in vain, these are essential to all forts and without these the other fortresses are useless." Forts on plains are more easily assailed than those on rivers, forts on rivers more easily than those on mountains, and the *Giri* variety is best suited to defend populous centres<sup>15</sup>. The vast plain is resorted to by animals holes in the earth by mice, etc, water is by crocodiles, trees by monkeys, but the *Giridurga* is resorted to by the Devas<sup>16</sup>.

Fort thus shall be built in forests or in deserts or in vast plains, preferably on mountain summits. The following points are noteworthy in the work of building of forts "Height, breadth, strength, difficult access. Science declares a fort must these possess"<sup>17</sup>.

Fort should be surrounded by a deep ditch, full of fresh water, filled with provisions and ammunitions and guarded by valiant soldiers well trained in warfare<sup>18</sup>. They should be made inaccessible to the enemies by stones and other obstacles put in the way<sup>19</sup>. "The seven things necessary in a fortress are spaciousness, difficulty of access, stores grain and fuel, easy ingress and egress"<sup>20</sup>. That fort is worthy of praise that has high walls, trenches full of water and having only one entrance<sup>21</sup>. "Raise tall walls around the forts with embrasures in them, the trenches round with water and put in

crocodiles and sharks," so says the *Mahabharata*<sup>22</sup>.

Fort that are not situated in favourable sites and are not well-equipped rightly serve as engines of protection for the enemy and for the destruction of the native country. Only such as are impregnable, as contain ample stores of food, and have enough munition and fighting material and are filled with warlike and enthusiastic soldiers "serve as military stations good or in time of need good reserves afford"<sup>23</sup>. A fort not equipped well becomes a source of ruin<sup>24</sup>. The following are the evil marks of a fort which lead to its destruction—Want of water in the moat; shattered battlements, ineffectiveness of the engines and the guns and the exhaustion of the resources<sup>25</sup>.

Five means of capturing an enemy's fort are mentioned in the *Arthasāstra*<sup>26</sup>—*Upajāpa* (Intrigue), *Upasarpa* (Espionage); *Vamana* (Winning over the enemy); *Paryupāsana* (Siege) and *Avamardana* (Assault).

*Upajāpa* is the means by which dissension is caused in the enemy camp, kings are enticed to come out of forts and be captured, false hopes being given them through ascetics, spies, etc.

Under *Upasarpa* spies are sent to know the inner movements of the enemy, the points of his strength weakness, etc. On the information thus gained the inhabitants may be taken unawares and attacked when they are least prepared to fight.

*Vamana* which means to win over the enemy by bribery or by other underhand means is not certainly a fair method. This will generally be resorted to only when the invading army proves unequal to the task. This is an underhand and dishonorable expedient.

On the other hand *Paryupāsana* is the process by which the enemy is starved out and forced to surrender by delayed and long continued operations. Sieges of forts are advised under the following circumstances. When the conqueror thinks "my army is provided with abundance of staple corn raw materials, machines, weapons, dress, labourers, ropes and the like, and has a favourable season to act, whereas my enemy has an unfavourable season and is suffering from disease, famine, loss of stores and defensive force, while his hired troops as well as the army of the friends are in a miserable condition, then he may begin a siege"<sup>27</sup>.



*Avamardana* is when a fort is captured at one dash by a sudden action. A general assault may be made when fire accidental or intentionally kindled breaks out when the enemy's people are engaged in a sacrificial performance or in witnessing spectacles or the troops are in a quarrel due to the drinking of liquor or when the enemy's army is too much tired by daily engagements in battle or when the enemy's people wearied by sleeplessness have fallen asleep.<sup>28</sup> The opportune time for storming a fort is said to be when the officers of the enemy prove faithless and subject to temptation when the work of construction of the enemy lines and forts is half finished when his stores are exhausted and when he is unaided or assisted by allies inimical at heart.<sup>29</sup> In these cases it is suggested that fire arms and powder may be used. But setting fire to forts is considered undesirable by Kautilya.<sup>30</sup> Fire offends the Gods it cannot be trusted it consumes the people grains cattle gold raw material etc and a fort in which all property has been destroyed is a source of further loss.

The fall of a fortress is certain when it does not hold out for long when the commander becomes unfaithful or is a coward when not properly safeguarded and when it is defended by soldiers not valiant.<sup>31</sup>

1. Rg Veda 20 8
2. R V v 30 20
3. Megasthenes n V A Smith p 121
4. H topadesa V graha v 50 & 51
5. Kautilya Arthasastra v 1 Sama Sastr s Trans p. 393
6. Sukran ti v 6 9 Arthasastra vii
7. Kamandaka x 28 30.
8. Manusmrti vi 73 & 74 Sukran ti v 60 20 & 21
9. Kautilya v 1 Kamandaka x 28
10. Kural. (Pope's Trans) LXXXV
11. Manu vi 70 In the Arthasastra forts are natural and artificial vi 1 See also 2 for classification on
12. Sukran ti IV 6
13. Ib d
14. Ib d IV 6 11 & 12
15. Arthasastra II 3 p 57
16. Manu VII 72
17. Kural, II LXXXV
18. Sukran ti IV 6 23 & 24
19. Ib d IV 6 2
20. H topadesa Vg VII 52
21. Mahabharata Sant Rajadharma 100 15
22. Ib d 69 43
23. Kural op cit
24. Arthasastra VIII 1 p 392
25. Kamandaka XIII 62
26. Arthasastra XIII 4 p 491
27. Ib d p 486
28. Ib d p 488.
29. Do
30. Do
31. H topadesa Vg X 101

## SOME FAMOUS CANNONS OF MUHAMMADAN INDIA

By N K BHATTASALI MA CURATOR DACCA MUSEUM

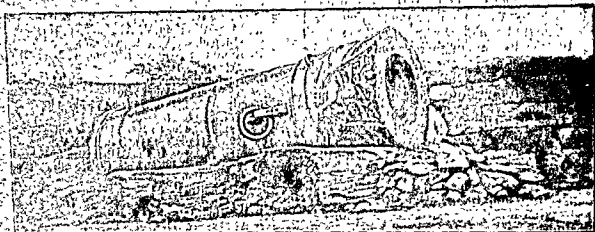
WHEN Hime (Lieutenant Colonel H W L) in 1904 wrote as follows in his authoritative work Gun powder and Ammunition on the use of artillery in India he was only confining to the popular idea on the subject

No trustworthy evidence of an explosive in India is to be found until the 21st of April 1526 A D the date of the decisive battle of Panipat in which Ibrahim Sultan of Delhi was killed and his army routed by Baber the Mughal who possessed both great and small firearms.

That this statement as well as the popular belief about the subject needs modification

will be apparent from Baber's own remarks in his autobiography. Three years after the battle of Panipat when he had practically subjugated Northern India he came into collision with the forces of Bengal which country continued to be the stronghold of the Pathans and the Afghans for about a century more. Baber's passage across the river Ganges near its confluence with Gogra was hotly contested by the Bengal army and Baber had to force a crossing under heavy fire. Baber remarks—

The Bengalis are famous for their skill in artillery. On this occasion we had a good opportunity of observing them. They do not



"Malik-i-Maidan" of Bijapur.

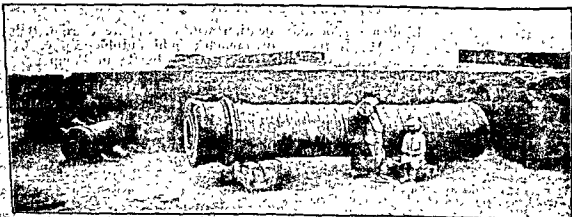
direct their fire against a particular point but discharge at random." (Tuzak-i-Babari Translated in Elliot and Dawson's History of India by its own historians. Vol. IV, p. 285).

Bengalis could not have been famous for their artillery and could not have given Baber a taste of their skill in 1529 A. C. if artillery had been introduced into India by Baber himself only three years before that date. Indeed, firearms appear to have been known to the Indians from remote antiquity and some standard books on Hindu polity like Sukraniti contain amazingly accurate descriptions of cannons and match-locks. But dictates of humanity never permitted its widespread use and Manu, the great lawgiver of

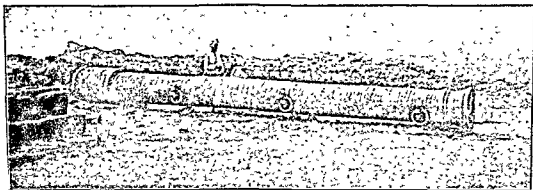
India, expressly forbids the use of fire arms.

The success of Baber's well-served artillery in the field of Panipat must have made cannons ever afterwards indispensable instruments of warfare. Cannons came into very general use in Moslem India and a number of famous Cannons lie scattered throughout the country, mute witnesses of the glorious days of Muhammadan rule in India.

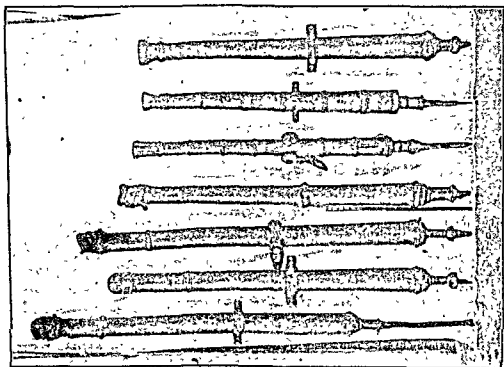
One of the most famous of these Cannons is the huge Malik-i-Maidan (The Lord of the Battlefield) of Bijapur. It is a cast cannon of brass measuring 14 feet and 4 inches in length. The maximum



Guns on the Lande Quassab Bastion, Bijapur.



The Lamb-Chhari Gun of Bhujpur.



The Dewanbag Cannons in the Dacca Museum.

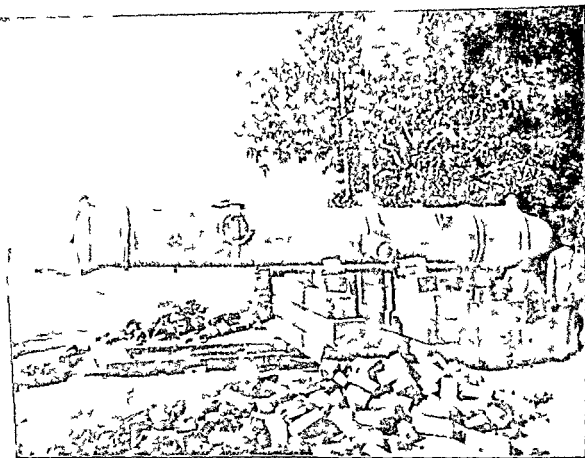
diameter is 4 feet 11 inches. The bore at the muzzle is 2 feet 4 inches but it tapers towards the back where at the powder chamber it is 2 feet 2 inches. The circumference in the middle is 13-7. It is estimated to weigh 55 tons or about 1500 maunds.

714-5.

It was cast in 1549 A. C. by one Muhammad bin Hosan:

The following account of the firing of the Malik-i-Maidan in 1829 will be interesting reading:

"The large gun on the south-west bastion



The Mahal Jhamyan of Dacca

of the city (Byapur) was charged by order of the Raja (of Satara) with forty seers of powder and fired yesterday evening at sunset. The powder from its coarse quality threw forth an immense volume of smoke which was truly grand although the report was weak in comparison with what was expected perhaps equal to that of a forty two pounder. The gun shook the frame and rebounded on the wall without any injury. The circumstance excited a degree of sensation among the inhabitants (10000 in number). Many had left their houses with their families to ten to fifteen miles and every Baniya shut his shop retiring from its walls.

(From a letter to the Bombay Courier—quoted in the Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register of 1829)

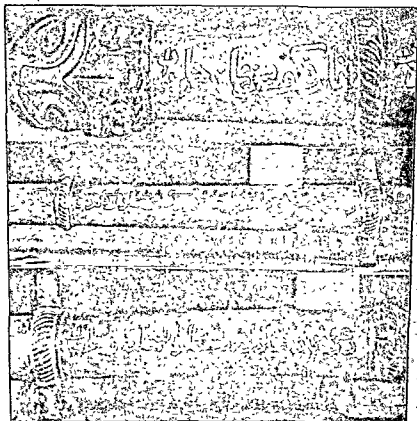
The Mahal Maidan was subsequently more than once fired by British Officers on the last occasion the violence of the report broke the windows of the civil hospi-

tal opposite which were left closed through mistake.

There are some other monster guns at Byapur. Two lie on the Landa Qassab basti on one of which in length is greater than the Mahal Maidan. It is 21 feet 7 inches long. The diameter at the breech is 4 feet 4 inches while that of the muzzle is 1 foot 5 inches. Its calibre is 1 foot 7½ inches. length of the bore 18 feet 7½ inches. It is estimated to weigh 47 tons. Another, a smaller gun is close to it. This is a mortar like piece and is called Cutcha Botcha (the banthing).

The longest gun of Byapur is the Lamb chhari (the far shier) which measures 30 feet 7 inches in length. The diameter at the breech is 3 feet 2 inches. The bore is 12 inches. Another gun close to it measures 19 feet 10 inches in length with a

bore of 8 inches. All these guns except the Malik-i-Maidan are of iron. They were made by placing together long horizontal bars of square section round a core. While hot, iron rings were slipped over these bars forming a loose barrel, which on cooling made the barrel tight. A succession of these rings welded into one another formed an outer layer of the barrel.



Persian Inscriptions on Guns.

The one on top is the Dewanbag cannon of Sher Shah.

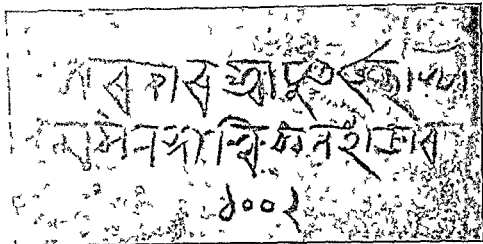
The only other gun comparable to these mammoths of Bijapur was the now-lost monster gun of Dacca. It was made like the Bijapur guns from fourteen bars of iron and was 22 feet  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length. The diameter at the breech was 3 feet 3 inches. And at the muzzle 2 feet  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The diameter of the bore was 1 foot  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Unfortunately the river-bank on which it stood was undermined by river-current and it fell into the river and was lost. It weighed about 770 maunds. The weight of the shot was about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  maunds.

Guns of lesser size abound in India. The great gun at Agra measures 9 feet 6 inches in length. The diameter at the breech is 3 feet. The diameter of the bore is 1 foot  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches. It is 334 maunds in weight.

The Dalmadal of Visnampur, in the Bankura District is 12 feet  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches in

length. The diameter of the bore is  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

The Kalu Jhamjham of Dacca is 11 feet in length. The diameter at the breech is 2 feet 3 inches; that of the bore, only 6 inches. This gun is traditionally believed to have been wrought by one Kalu Kamar who is also famed to have wrought the monster gun of Dacca which sank into the river. The latter was named Mariyam after the name of Kalu's wife, while Kalu Jhamjham still perpetuates the name of its maker. Mariyam appears to have been double the size of Kalu Jhamjham, but Kalu Jhamjham is equally famous all through East Bengal, and newcomers in Dacca do not consider all sights seen, until he has gazed his eyes on this wonderful piece of ordnance. This cannon long lay by the



Bengal Inscription of Isa Khan on one of the Dewanbag cannons

river bank at Swarghat till 1832 when it was removed by Mr Walters the then Magistrate of Dacca to Chawkbazar. It has again been removed to the river bank at Sadarghat in 1916 for better view. It has long been an object of superstitious awe and worship. My camera however caught the ponderous immobility in a rather delicate condition when the masons had the monster at their mercy and were doing whatever they liked with its huge mass!

The Dacca Museum has quite an assortment of smaller brass and iron guns which

were chiefly used in naval warfare. Seven of them were found in a batch at Dewanbag, on the Lakshya, four miles up Narayanganj. Dewanbag was the seat of Manwar Khan, grand son of Isa Khan, the most famous of the 12 Bhuiyans or chiefs under whom Bengal was practically independent during the reign of Akbar. Manwar Khan afterwards accepted the post of the commander of Nawab Shiefta Khan's fleet in the eastern rivers and was of great help to the Nawab in capturing Chittagong from the Arrakanese. The guns found at Dewanbag evidently belonged to commodore Manwar Khan, the name of whose grandfather appears in Bengali characters on one of the cannons. Another cannon bears a long inscription of Sher Shah, the successful rival of Humayun.

### THE EVIDENCE OF MISS MACSWINEY

**I**T is natural for the people of India, at the present crisis in her history, to follow closely the different phases of the struggle which is going on in Ireland, where an intensely brave, but almost defenceless people have been carrying out to the bitter end an unequal conflict against the great power, which faces them across the sea in order to attain their own ideal of independence.

A few days ago while in Bombay waiting to go to East Africa I was present at a cinematograph exhibition

Before the performance of the actual dramatic story began, a film was shown, in which the peasants of the West of Ireland were seen toiling with difficulty up a sacred mountain, with the priest of the village at their head on their way to a mountain shrine at the top, there to pray for peace.

The procession of sorrowful figures including weak women and old men helped over the boulders by their children,—each one of them so intent upon their mission, that they never looked up,—and then at

last the stillness of the mountain shrine itself where they knelt in prayer, while the women bowed their heads and silently wept, all this was so full of an immediate and living pathos, that the subsequent dramatic scenes of fiction became almost dull and commonplace in comparison. I went away very deeply moved, and the figures of those pilgrims of peace remained with me. My own thoughts turned instinctively from this agony of silent prayer and women's tears on the Irish mountain top, to the bereaved homes in India today, where women are silently praying and weeping at their household shrines, asking their God that the loved ones, who have been imprisoned in the struggle for India's freedom, may once more be restored to them, and that peace may come to this troubled land of India where the clouds of repression have lately grown so dark and the fury of the storm seems now to be reaching its height.

A few months ago I published in the 'Modern Review' an account of the evidence of Mrs Terence MacSwiney, as she gave it before the American Commission, together with the story of her husband's life and death. It will be remembered, that Terence MacSwiney volunteered to take the place of the Lord Mayor of Cork, Mr Thomas MacCurtain, who had been foully murdered in the middle of the night, by an armed band of assassins. Every one in Cork believed that these assassins were the police. Terence MacSwiney knew from the moment he volunteered to step into the dead man's office, that he must be prepared himself to meet his death.

The following is the account, that Miss MacSwiney gave, in her own evidence before the American Commission, of the events which led up to the murder of Mr MacCurtain, and of the murder itself. I shall, as far as possible, be using her own words throughout.

It was on the night of March 19th, 1920. They had all retired to rest. At about one o'clock or a quarter past one, there was a loud knocking at the door. They were all of them at once certain that it was either the military or the police.

Mr MacCurtain wanted himself to go down and open the door, but his wife would not let him. During those days of 'the terror', the plan had always been not to let the men go down, because, if they did, they would be shot at sight. So, usually the women went down first and opened the door, in order to give the men time to escape. But, in this instance, before Mrs MacCurtain could get to the door, it was broken open by heavy blows. About six or seven men smashed their way inside. One of them shouted "Hold that woman!" The rest rushed up-stairs.

They went straight to Mr MacCurtain's room, and called,—"Come out, Curtain." Mrs MacCurtain, who was downstairs, heard the baby cry, and begged to go upstairs and bring it down. But she was refused. Then shots rang out. Mr MacCurtain had come himself to the door, and they had shot him.

The baby suddenly ceased to cry and the mother thought that her baby had been shot. Meanwhile the assassins came downstairs again, and went out into the street and disappeared. The sister of Mr MacCurtain had run immediately to the rescue of her brother, only to find him in a dying condition. Mrs MacCurtain ran out of the house, crying,—"For God's sake—a priest and a doctor, quick! For God's sake,—he is shot!" But he died immediately before any help came.

There was no question in any one's mind in Cork as to the men who had committed the murder. They were clearly the police,—so everyone believed. No one else could have done it.

The Police Barracks were only 50 yards away, and nobody in the Barracks could possibly be ignorant of what was going on. Yet not a soul appeared from those Barracks till eight o'clock in the morning. The Police tried feebly afterwards to pretend that it was not done by them. But the evidence was overwhelming and irrefutable.

There was a universal outburst of indignation throughout the city of Cork, for MacCurtain was a man of blameless character and was popular with all classes for his kindness and his integrity.

With regard to *Sinn Féin*, that movement was initiated in the year 1905 by Arthur Griffiths, who is now the Vice President of the Irish Republic. The word '*Sinn Féin*,' so Miss MacSwiney explained, means simply "Ourselves." Arthur Griffiths took the name, in order to define a policy of self reliance. Before his time, Ireland had always been looking outside herself for succour. At one time, Ireland had turned towards the French Republic. At another time, she had looked to the British Parliament at Westminster to redress her wrongs. At yet another time she had set her face towards America for help. But Arthur Griffiths had said to his fellow countrymen, 'There is no good your casting your eyes everywhere to the ends of the earth. Only the fools eyes are there. We can do a great deal more at home. We can develop our industries. We can start cooperative societies. We can study the Irish language, and throw off the bondage of English education.'

The mention of education in Miss MacSwiney's evidence, leads on naturally to the account she gave later concerning the attempt made in the Nineteenth Century to Anglicise Ireland by means of the schools. In the year 1831, the so called 'National' Education Act was passed. It had as its express purpose, the elimination of everything that could appeal to Irish patriotism and the substitution of everything English. This was carried out down to the minutest details. The story runs, that the great scholar, Archbishop Whately, of Dublin, who had received his post as Archbishop at the hands of the British Government, was entrusted with the inspection and compilation of the necessary text books for teaching English. He found, in a book of selected poems, the wellknown lines of Sir Walter Scott from 'The Lay of the Last Minstrel':

'Breathes there a man with soul so dead'—the lines need not be quoted, they are so wellknown. It will be remembered that, at the end, Sir Walter Scott says that the unfeeling wretch, who has no patriotism, will go down to the vile depths from whence he sprung "unwept, unhonored and unsung."

This was too strong for the Archbishop's taste, and so he cut it out, and substituted some doggerel about the 'English Child':

'I thank the Goodness and the Grace,  
That on my parents smiled,  
And made me, in these blessed days,  
A happy English child."

Miss MacSwiney pertinently adds, "We call this blasphemy. We do not thank God for a lie."

In those earlier days, the Irish children were all Gaelic speaking. Gaelic is the name of the Irish language. Before the Act of 1831, they had learnt Gaelic in the open air schools conducted by their own people, called Ledge Schools. But in the English Schools Gaelic was absolutely forbidden. It was the same with regard to other subjects. In history, geography, literature, the English language and subjects took predominance. Nothing was taught about Ireland. In the secondary schools the English influence was even greater because it was there the fashion to ape England in every way,—in dress and manners as well as in language.

Out of this there grew up a people, who were the product of this Anglicising system. They were actually uncomfortable if they were spoken of as being Irish. They were ashamed of their own country with its peats and bogs, its poverty and its bare footed children. Those who went to these secondary schools, finished, if they could afford it, their education in England making the sea journey repeatedly to and fro. They called England 'home', and were never so happy as when, by any chance, they were mistaken for Englishmen and Englishwomen.

"You have no *idea*," said Miss MacSwiney, with great emphasis 'how hard we had to fight, year after year, to conquer that desire to be English.' But thank God, it is dead at last. Repression has killed it."

Miss MacSwiney gave a very striking picture of her family history and her brother's life. At the risk of some slight repetition of what I wrote in my earlier article, I shall record it.

The family of MacSwiney was a very



sary to do this, because the analogies are so obvious, that each reader can follow them out easily himself.

What I would rather refer to, in conclusion, is the analogy on the English side Imperial and so called 'strategic' necessities are always made an excuse for crushing the beautiful and delicate flower of nationality and freedom. I wish to point out that, bound up with imperialism is the inevitable tendency to deaden the spontaneity and the joy of subject peoples in order to bring everything into line with the imperial system itself. If we took the narrative of Mrs MacSwiney, and imagined her to be an Italian of the days of Garibaldi and Mazzini speaking about the Austrian dominion, or if we went later on in history and imagined her to be a Belgian, speaking of the recent German conquest, then the tone of the narrative, as well as some of the incidents as above narrated would require very little modification to make the picture almost an exact copy of what happened in Italy or Belgium. It is difficult for Englishmen to see this palpable fact which every other nation sees with open eyes.

The strange obsession remains in the English mind, that the British Empire is the one exception to all other imperialisms that the world has ever seen before, that the countries conquered by Great Britain, and held in subjection by Great Britain do not feel the loss of freedom or long for independence, that to talk, even, of independence in such conquered countries is seditious, and to mention the word 'republic' is disloyal, and to struggle towards political freedom is little short of rebellion. *Will, sir, grant me the fact, that, even after the European War this obsession can still remain.* Although monarchs and emperors and czars and kings and queens and Grand Dukes and Dukes and Princes have been falling down like a pack of cards, although republics have been springing up so thick and fast in Europe, that it is difficult to count them, nevertheless, it is assumed that everything within the British Empire is certain to remain as it was before the war, with no change whatever.

A part of the same mental obtuseness is seen in the argument, that is repeated over and over again, as though repetition alone could prove it to be true, that the British Empire is the only Empire in history that has not been held together by force, that it is an Empire in which freedom always reigns supreme. If that were really so, then why should not Ireland have her Independence tomorrow? Why should not Egypt be independent also? Why should not India? and Burma? and Ceylon? and Malta? The saying about freedom may have some appropriate meaning for countries like Canada or Australia or New Zealand. For if Canada wanted complete Independence tomorrow, she could have it. And so could Australasia. Not a single British soldier or sailor would ever go across the sea to prevent it. But when Ireland claims independence, by an overwhelming majority with every guarantee given to the Ulster minority, at once the much faster shown and the black and Tins reject outrages which were equal in wickedness to anything done in Belgium.

As in Ireland, so in India also, there are serious dangers of the same repressive spirit now in evidence. The terms 'seditious', 'disloyal', 'rebel' are already being used indiscriminately. Their use prevents one thing at least, beyond all question—that Indians are not free.

Yet the fact is patent, if only we would open our eyes to see it that mankind is actually at the threshold of a new epoch, in which these old imperial compulsions and strategical necessities will have but little meaning—a new world in which the future, as any woulded, perhaps well by the use of bayonets will be an impossible thing to contemplate. The conscience of mankind will not endure much longer this continued use of force, whoever may be its users.

Just as the whole royalist and imperial systems of Russia and Germany and Austria and Belgium and Turkey were fixed unquarrelled to the strait of the great War, and therefore were rent in twain at last by blow after blow, so also

there will be very much indeed, that will have to be put on one side in the imperial system of Great Britain. 'Dominion Status' will not solve all the problems of the future. More fundamental questions still, of independence, and of Republican status, will have to be faced, unhesitatingly and unreluctantly, and in no bargaining spirit.

For if Great Britain desires to be still reckoned among the freedom-loving peoples of the world, and not among the world's exploiters and oppressors, then every single anachronism of forcible occupation will have to be put aside. Each people's own will and choice, as to their own form of government, must be scrupulously respected. And, in order to accomplish this, Great Britain will have to be prepared to stand stripped bare of all her imperial trappings, as a free nation, among free nations, not as their mistress.

Being by birth an Englishman, and passionately loving my own country, there is no greater or nobler destiny, that I could wish for

"England, my England"

than this!

The picture of that Irish cinematograph scene has continually come back to my mind as I have been writing this paper, in Bombay, before starting out for East Africa. Those toiling, sorrowful figures,—men and women, young and old,—stumbling forward, helping one another over rocks and boulders till they reach their goal! And then the silent mountain height where prayer is offered to God for peace!

In that scene, is depicted the tragic human history, not of the Irish people only, but of all the peoples of the world. As they seek,—stumbling forward, helping one another, young and old, over the rocks and boulders, to reach the summit, above the din, the tumult, and the savage fighting of the world beneath, they feel the strain; the breath comes and goes; they struggle and fall, only to rise and struggle again forward to the goal. The mountain peak is there, ever beckoning them on; and God is there and peace, and a great silence.

Bombay.

C. F. ANDREWS.

designed to encourage the consumption of that liquor, from which such large revenues are expected.

Miss La Motte, an American lady has written a remarkable book thoroughly exposing the Opium Trade of the Government of India. Of all the Asiatic countries Miss La Motte has found, Japan and the Philippine Islands are the only ones which have protected themselves as carefully as any European country against this poison. In all other Asiatic countries the poison is freely introduced from India if not by the front door, at any rate through the back door. The only outburst of passion in Miss La Motte's singularly dispassionate book says Mr. Andrews, is contained in the following passage where she says: 'A nation that can subjugate 300,000,000 helpless Indian people, and then turn them into drug addicts, for the sake of revenue is a nation which commits a crime blooded at a city unparalleled by any atrocity committed in the rage and heat of war.'

In Bengal, the Legislative Council has recently voted against prohibition on the Honorable Minister pointing out that the excise yields to the creeds of revenue which mostly goes to maintain other useful departments. But the obvious reply is that the Government should reduce its top-heavy army and civil lists and bring its expenditure within the limits of its resources rather than maintain a bloated army and an overpaid bureaucracy at the cost of national health and morals.

**THE MASTERS WORLD UNION SCHEME** By Mohananda Mahabharati Arunachala Mission Sylhet, 1921 Price Rs. 3

This beautifully got up and handsomely bound volume of about 200 pages contains a short exposition of the teaching of Bhikur Dyanand and the story of his persecution by the police as well as the scheme for world union put forward by him at the end of the world war. The Bhikur's views are expounded in this volume seem to be quite liberal both in the matter of caste and that of sex and he differs from the majority of Indian religious preachers in that material well-being, and not ascetic renunciation is his doctrine harmonised with spiritual growth. His heterodoxy in the matter of caste and the promiscuous mixing of the sexes in his Ashrams whose special feature is *Vijaya Sanketan*, brought his teaching into evil odour among the general public and the terrible story of the armed raid into the Ashram in which so many bullet and bayonet wounds were inflicted and one valuable life that of Mahendranath D. M. A. B. was lost, shows that the political atmosphere of the Ashram was regarded by the Government with a great deal of suspicion. The scheme of a world federation outlined by Bhikur Dyanand after his release from jail also proves that politics is not altogether outside the scope of the teacher's activities. Throughout the book we find an attempt to present very conspicuous thoughts in grandiose phraseology likely to attract emotional enthusiasts from the West for whom we cannot help feeling from various references to world politics which are more or less out of place in a book of this kind, this book seems to have been mainly written. Liberalism in all its orders was the worst of the image of Sri Gouranga which prevails in the Ashrams and spiritual chiefs of Prem Gour Dyanand which is said to be the farthest from the very essence of the doctrine he embodied can

appeal only to a certain type of mind to which philosophical expositions are more or less superfluous. India is however a country where Masters abound and their teaching takes endless forms, and the jelly-like catholicity of the liberal religious temperament which is ready to take an imprint of everything good bad and indifferent with equal indifference, is well revealed in the Appendix to the volume under review in which extracts from President Wilson and Anatole France are to be found with others from the Englishman newspaper and Mother Seal's advertisements, ending with a manifesto from the sisters of shame of Calcutta regarding the advent of the new era (Satyajug).

**INDIAN UNREST 1919-20** by Alfred Nundy Bar at Law Dehra Dun, 1921 Price Rs. 2-8-0 Pp. 274

We took up the book carelessly but glancing through a few pages we could not help reading it from cover to cover at one sitting. The paper is good but the printing is badly done though it is remarkably free from mistakes and in this respect the Gargwal Press deserves a passing word of commendation on which many better known printing presses do not deserve. Throughout the book the author pitches into Lala Lajpat Rai in a way which seems to betray a personal animus. In all other respects his views are sound, sober well balanced and practical without being guilty of extravagance. As regards non-cooperation Mr. Nundy thinks that it has immense potentialities for causing mischief and is even calculated in the long run to lead to anarchy. The following deserves quotation:

A certain fact is being taken for granted which does not exist and that is the much vaunted Hindu and Moslem unity. I go further, and say that real unity does not exist even between different castes of the Hindus or sects of the Mahomedans and much less between the Hindu and the Moslem. Nevertheless Mr. Nundy has the fairness and foresightedness to admit this. There is no question on that so far the British nation has taken advantage of the division in the ranks of the people of India, by reason of their difference in race and creed. But though this union may not be lasting there are indications that they can unite in a common cause in respect to which their feelings are aroused. At the root of the Khilafat agitation is the Pan-Islamic idea in which we have hints of the proselytism of a combination of all Eastern nations apart from religion or race against Western domination. Quitting from Mr. Mahomed Ali's slanders to his brother, Mr. Nundy shows that neither Turkey nor Egypt cared anything for the Khilafat or Islam in India, but rather 'was a war against everything, with them' as to the Punjab Mr. Nundy says that we should now drop a curtain over that tragic episode. But when he says that Lala Lajpat Rai's public life displays an utter and barefaced absence of principles or that the raising of the emoluments of English officials is not a mixed evil for the higher wages the better the men we will be able to get, we must beg leave to part company with him and declare that Mr. Nundy is not always a safe guide, though generally his views may be accepted as sound.

#### POLITICS

**SHAKESPEARE'S MACBETH AN ORIENTAL STUDY** by Sharadit Dutta (Published by the author, Tatanagar, Parganas Benares, Price Rs. 1)

Nor have with plants or birds made friends

I have not learned the name of half the flowers  
Around me so few trees know me by name  
Nor have I seen the stars so often that I should dare  
There is at no time Dante's force in the following  
picture of the River of Hell

Middested it ran  
Anguished in portunty and in waves  
The drifting ghosts the agony endured  
Three Ruru saw pale faces float of kings  
And grandiose victors and revered high priests  
And famous women Now rose from the wave  
A golden shuddering arm and now a face  
Formed of sea waves seen and breast that quailed  
Over them moaned the penal waters on  
And had no joy of the fierce cruelty  
The hypercritical reader can point to a few lines  
here and there somewhat stiff of movement or  
probably somewhat extravagant in expression but  
there is such a wealth of sensitive in the poem that  
it leaves behind only a fascinating recollection of joy

P SESHADRI

LABOUR AND INDUSTRY. A series of Lectures delivered in the Department of Industrial Administration in the College of Technology, Manchester and published by the University of Manchester, London, Green & Co. 1920

This series of twelve lectures by well known specialists deals with that very important branch of industrial administration which concerns the relations of labour and capital and proposes various remedies for labour disputes which today mar the harmonious working of the industrial machine.

All the speakers lay great stress on the human element in industry and on the conception of industry as a public service. The result of the Industrial Revolution in England at the end of the 18th century was to break down the old cordial relations between masters and men and to dehumanise industry. The attempts that were made from time to time to improve the lot of the workers by means of Factory Acts and social legislation served as mere palliatives and did not touch the root of the evil with the spread of education and growth of self-consciousness, workers everywhere today refuse to be treated as mere commodities and claim full recognition of their rights as responsible and intelligent human beings. They not only ask for a share in the determination of conditions under which they work in workshops and factories but also in the management of industry. The modern labour problem is not a problem of men, wages and hours or of healthy working conditions in factories. A good deal of industrial friction has resulted from the employer's failure to grasp this simple fact.

There are no doubt workers such as guild socialists whom nothing short of the complete control of industry by their own class would satisfy. But except perhaps in Russia and Italy, the influence of this left wing or extreme section

of the labour movement is not as yet very pronounced in any country. The majority of the working classes only desire partial control of industry by associating their own representatives with the representatives of the employers in the management. Of course such joint control has its defects it would lead to divided responsibility and frequent changes of personnel and might engender instability of business relations. But these are by no means insuperable difficulties, mutual goodwill and sympathy can easily overcome them.

In fact the progress of democracy in the industrial sphere seems to be as inevitable in the 20th century as it was in the political sphere in the 19th. During the war, the old autocratic system of industrial management, in which the employer was everything and the voice of the worker counted for little or nothing, was found unequal to the changed conditions that had arisen and the democratic element was introduced in many industries with considerable success, both to diminish friction and to increase production. It is now generally recognised that confidence, goodwill and belief in the reasonableness of the system under which the workers work are as necessary as excellence in outward organisation to the efficient and successful working of the industrial machine.

Experts have their place in the industrial as well as in other spheres of life. But experts are not everything and they should not monopolise all power. The era of self-determination has begun and it appears that the great working class movement of non-cooperation in industry (for it is nothing less) will not cease until the two main underlying factors of present unrest are fully recognised and acted upon viz that labour is not a commodity which the employers can exploit in their own interests and that industry is a national service which demands from each worker—be he an employer or an employee—the best he has to give. It is in conceivable says the Right Hon. J. H. Whitley, talking of the working classes that men who spend their lives in any work have not a contribution to make on the business side of that industry from their knowledge and their brains especially in these days of great advance of education throughout all ranks of the people. So his idea is to establish Works Committees and Industrial Councils in all industries. Such joint committees of industrial magnates and working class leaders have already been established in many industries not only in the United Kingdom, but also in Germany, France, Italy and U.S.A. Everywhere they are contributing to the success and harmony of business and we are glad to note that their establishment in this country has recently been advocated by the Bengal Committee on Industrial unrest. Such Committees can be set up not only in private enterprises but also in Government and Municipal undertakings; and they have this

**FOUR TALES OF HINDUSTAN** By *Shrikh Chilli*  
Third Edition Illustrated Panna Office,  
Allahabad

In writing these stories, the late Rai Bahadur Sri Chandra Basu District and Sessions Judge assumed the pen name of Shrikh Chilli. Scholar of many interests as he was, he yet was capable of writing these stories which are entertaining to young and old alike. The review of Reviews of London when edited by the late Mr W. T. Stead wrote of these stories as being of a type that recall the delightful romances of the Arabian Nights. They are told in good English. The illustrations fully keep up the humour and the interest of the stories. The book is printed neatly in large type on good thick paper and the pictures which are all full page are printed on art paper. No school library and school boys and school girls library should be without a copy of it.

R C

**SACRED SPARKS** By *Marek Pt*  
(Karachi 1920)

This is another short volume of poems by the already well known writer on Western topics. The poems in this collection are not exclusively Zoroastrian. There are some on general topics. The author's high ideals and religious zeal are apparent in them. They are fit companions for a leisure hour.

I J S T

**INTERNATIONAL LAW UNDER THE WORLD WAR**  
2 Volumes By *James W. Ford Gar* or *Professor of Political Economy at the University of Illinois*  
Published by Longmans Green and Company London  
1920, Price £3 12s

The first volume consisting of 524 pages and divided into 20 chapters treats of (1) the status of International Law at the outbreak of the war (2) The Belligerents' treatment of Enemy Diplomatic and Consular Representatives after the outbreak of war (3) Treatment of Enemy Aliens measures in respect to Personal Liberty (4) Treatment of Enemy Aliens (contd.) measures in respect to Property and Business (5) Treatment of Enemy Aliens right of access to the Courts (6) Treatment of Enemy Merchant Vessels in Belligerent ports at the outbreak of the War (7) Right of Requisition (8) Transfer of Merchant Vessels from Belligerent to Neutral flags (9) Trade and Intercourse with the Enemy (10) Effect of War on Contracts and Partnerships (11) Forbidden Weapons and Instrumentalities (12) Forbidden weapons and Instrumentalities (contd.) (13) Treatment of Mortgages and employment of civilians as shields against attack (14) Devastation of Enemy Territory (15) Submarine Mines and Maritime Warfare (16) Submarine Warfare (17) The status of defensive armed Merchant Vessels (18) Land and Naval Bombardments (19) Destruction of Monuments Buildings and

Institutions especially protected by the Law of Nations (20) Aerial Warfare and (21) Violation of the Geneva Convention. The second volume of 331 pages and 18 chapters deals with (1) Treatment of Prisoners (2) Treatment of Prisoners (contd.) (3) Military Government in Belgium (4) Military Government in Belgium (contd.) (5) Contraband Requisitions and Forced Labour (6) Collective Lines and Community Responsibility (7) Deportations of the Civilian population from occupied territory (8) The German Invasion of Belgium (9) The German Invasion of Belgium (contd.) (10) Invasion and Occupation of Neutral territory (11) Destruction of Neutral Merchant Vessels (12) Contraband Right of Search and Continuous Voyage (13) Blockades (14) Interference with Mails and Persons of Enemy Nationality of Neutral Vessels (15) The Exportation of Arms and Munitions to Belligerents (16) Miscellaneous Questions of Neutrality (17) Effect of War on International Law and (18) Enforcement of International Law Outlook for the future.

In these two volumes as Mr Garner has indicated in the preface the aim is to review the conduct of the belligerents in respect to the interpretation and application of the rules of international law compare it with the opinions of the authorities and the practice in former wars and whenever infractions appeared to endeavour to determine the responsibility and to place it where it properly belongs. In accomplishing his task the author has first surveyed diligently the whole field of International Law customs practices and conventions as they prevailed before the outbreak of the last European war and then taken into account the specific instances of their breaches and violations during the pendency of the war and delivered boldly his criticisms thereon.

A very attractive and instructive reading has been furnished throughout in the presentation of the numerous topics. The language of this truly authoritative work is chaste the style simple the arrangement systematic and the treatment without repetitions and technicalities.

The abnormal situations and uncommon incidents that have cropped up owing to the employment of novel instruments of warfare, such as submarines torpedo-boats and airships and because of the use of new agencies for destruction such as asphyxiating and poisonous gases have all been studied with great care and the suggestions that have been thrown out in the course of the discussions of those conditions reflect credit on the scholarship and originality of the author.

Mr Garner has very vividly pointed out the imperfections in International Law that came to light in the course of the hostilities owing to their inadaptability to modern life and conditions. He has also clearly proved that the

various aspects of the law of Neutrality, the laws of maritime warfare, of contraband and of blockade need to be thoroughly overhauled according to present experiences. The provisions of the Military Manuals of the several countries have also to be wholly recast and the much vexed question of the freedom of seas more clearly defined and the pleas of superior command and the responsibility of soldiers more effectively explained. And many of the old theories have to be revised and made conformable to up-to-date ideas and conditions.

In recounting the cases where the rules of International Law have been departed from, the author has tried to keep up on the whole the attitude of an impartial critic. But his denunciations of the enemy conduct have been prematurely severe and have at places betrayed a partisan spirit evidently due to an obsession required during the war through garbled and coloured reports. The author would have very well reserved his strictures till he had an opportunity to have heard what the enemy had to say in justification of their misdeeds.

A good deal of theorising has been indulged in, which the author might well have avoided if he had not launched into his task just after the cessation of hostilities and had preferred to wait till matters had settled down and communications resumed.

The shocking violations and the glaring irregularities that have occurred during the course of the war have led some people to suppose that International Law as a system has become useless and obsolete. It is true as the learned author himself has said that its prestige has suffered, it has been discredited in the minds of some persons, its weaknesses have been demonstrated as never before but he also says at the same time, as a system it was no more destroyed by the recent war than outbreaks of crime in a community. Thus in spite of the spirit of despondency as to the ultimate fate of International Law there is every hope for it. For the sake of humanity and civilization it now behoves the great powers to be up and doing in trying vigorously to maintain its integrity. The formation of the League of Nations and the International Court of Justice and the several Conferences and Conventions that have met since the Peace, all point to a desire to achieve that object.

Among the commendable features of the work may be mentioned the luminous footnotes of which Mr Garner has made the most judicious use, the elaborate bibliography which perhaps leaves no important book, treaties or document unmentioned, the absence of lengthy excerpts in foreign tongues and the last but not the least, the handy index. The bibliography shows the vast extent of the labour involved in the preparation of the work.

The author has been selected the Tagore Professor of Law in the Calcutta University for 1922 to deliver a course of Lectures on *The Development of International Law in the Twentieth Century*. We would fain hope that he will present to the world in that capacity not only what finds place in the two volumes but also endeavour to go beyond them and throw additional light on some of the momentous questions that have arisen in the light of experiences that have come to him since he wrote his scholarly treatise. But as it is it deserves to find place in the study of all those who are seriously engaged in handling the present day International Law problems.

Altogether the net result has been one of merited success. Mr Garner has indeed laid the whole English speaking world under a deep obligation by his opportune and useful production.

In conclusion the publishers have to be congratulated on the beautiful typography and the excellent get up of the work.

P. C. G.

### TAMIL

REPRINT BY MR E. K. Ranga Rao, clerk, Additional Munsiff's Court, Erode.

It is a comedy written in easy Tamil. The plot is original enough. But the drama is defective in many ways. There is no list of dramatic personae. It is hard to trace which rules of dramatic composition on the Sanskrit or the English drama the author follows. Authors should remember that they should adopt the Sanskrit drama in its essentials as its genius has permeated the Tamil of to-day and the Tamil to a great extent. Under this defect comes the imperfect characterisation of the king's companion who seems to be a trifler and a jester at the outset but a Vedantin later. The sudden introduction of the hero imprisoned, though how he was imprisoned is not stated, the forced sermonisations drawn in with the sole object of display, as the minstrel's advocacy of compulsory elementary education when the case of a criminal is going on the strange way of bringing together the prince and Rupan while the former has come there to rob Rupan and her household, and such other departures from the routine.

There is an artificiality in the speech of the robbers and in that of the prince's companion when we first meet him. It is untrue to life and repelling to refined taste. On the whole the drama is easy to act, easy to understand and it contains valuable morals and reflections on the existing evils of the Tamil world. But unless considerable improvements, in the directions pointed out above, are made, it can lay no great claim to a prominent place in the garland of national life, art and culture that is to be.

V. N. RAMANATHAN ANANDAR

### KANARESE

MAHARASHI AUROBINDO GHOSH—a brief Life Sketch. Published by the Karnataka Trading Company, Dharmapuri. First edition 1921. Pp. 77+4. Price Rs. 12.

The author has to be congratulated for the excellent way in which he has treated his subject. A very impartial and clear life-history of the great man has been written in a really literary spirit. The chief merit of the book is the impassionate language and apt phraseology.

P A R

## HINDI

**DHANWAN:** Published by *Sudhakar Das*, 11, Vign Pricharak Office, Civil Hospital Road, Delhi. Pp 104, Price Rs 1-4-0

The book gives the method and names the materials for preparing various things of everyday use such as, ink, soap, scented oil, button, etc., etc. In these days of economic trouble and non-employment these formulae may be given a trial.

**MANJARI** By Ram Chandra B. I. L. B. M. R. A. S., and Prabhu Chandra Vidy B. Sc. LL. B. Published by the *Ujjayini Publishing House*, Ujjayiniapur, Lucknow. Pp 95 Price Rs 1-4-0 1921

The underlying plan of this book is a tradable one—the authors intend to give a new tone to the Hindi literature. The poems are erotic, patriotic and reflective. These are mainly based on the lyric style of English and Bengali. The humorous bits in prose are a new feature. The stories are either from Tolstoy or French sources. The depiction of the praying palm of Europe was not expected in such a work. The book contains two tri-colour pictures and the poems it printed with marginal borders. The get up of the book is nice. The cut on the cover is enjoyable. On the whole the book will give pleasure to many. The poems are promising on the part of the author.

RAMES BISE

## GUJARATI

**HINDU DHARMA IN PATHAMALA** (हिन्दु धर्मનો પાથમાળા). By Chaudhri Gulabhai Tripathi printed at the *Adarsh Printing Press*, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound Pp 414 Price Rs 3-8 (1921)

It requires great enterprise and financial risk to get turned into Gujarati, the substantial and solid Hindi work of Lala Bhanu Nath the late Judge of Agra, and a very well-known Hindi writer, and expositor of Hindu religion, as it is very costly. Even when his book was published in Hindi, it became known all throughout India for its intrinsic merit and valuable and voluminous informations. It has now been made available to Gujarati readers and is a storehouse of instruction, guidance and religious knowledge. We are afraid, its high price would deter it from being as popular as it should be.

**GUJARATI DASHAK JALANETI** (ગુજરાતી દશક જાળનેતી). Printed at the *Sarvot Vyasa Printing Press*, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound Pp 22+60, Price Rs 2 (1921)

This is a collection of papers read at the

anniversary meetings of fifteen (Gujarati) departed poets, men of letters, writers, etc., by their friends and admirers, so much information, criticism and observation of the most modern type, on their life work, collected in one volume, is a very happy idea, and will no doubt, be greatly appreciated by those in search of information regarding their works. A reprint of the speeches of the Presidents of the first two sessions of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, extends the scope of the utility of the collection.

**PLATO'S PROEDRUS** By Manishankar Ratnaji Bhatt, B. A., Printed at the *Sarvot Printing Press*, Bhavnagar, and published by the *Gujarati Sahitya Bhandol Committee*, Thick cardboard cover Pp 170, Price Rs 1-1, (1921)

The original work requires no introduction. This translation is made from the later work of J. Wright, in English, and not from that of Prof. Jowett, which has become as classical as the Greek text itself. There are many unknown names and obscure spots, which render it difficult for a reader who knows no European language to follow the exact significance of the passages where they occur, and the reader misses the association of ideas connected with them. Explanatory notes could easily have cured that shortcoming.

**SAMHITAM AND OTHER WORKS** By the late *Kanjiram Visabhai Acharya*, B. A. Published by the above Committee and Printed at the *Gujarati Printing Press*, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound Pp 410, Price Rs 2-4-0 (1921)

In Kanjiram's old in his youth, Gujarati literature has lost a most conscientious and laborious worker. It pleased God to take him away when he was just on the threshold of his useful career and it would be difficult to replace him. His silent but sedulous studies and efforts have been always directed towards the "uplift" of our literature specially historical, and he has left a mass of materials in manuscript which await a worthy successor. He was in a sense the founder of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, for the idea originated with him, and in publishing this volume of his unpublished works the Bhandol Committee has really paid a debt of honor, and acted most gracefully. The stories told by Kanjiram display a very fine imagination, and side by side, some of them help to preserve in permanent form, that floating literature of old Kathiawad its life, and its manners, its romance and its chivalry, which but for such commendable efforts, threatens to become extinct, with the advance of modern civilization. We congratulate the Secretary of the Committee on the noble work he has accomplished.

K. M. J.

Sardars. For the rest, the procedure is simple enough.

The Magistrates of the various localities select a number of individuals who are asked to choose from amongst themselves their representatives to the Assembly (The same procedure holds good in municipal elections). Can any sane man expect any independence of thought or action from persons so chosen? The State cannot plead that there is a dearth of suitable men. The Bikaner Marwaris are pioneers of business and industry claiming and exercising political rights in British India. Not a single member of the local bar has so far found his way into the Assembly. Is this an honest attempt to introduce self government, or an effort to win cheap fame by deceiving a gullible public?

Mr Ayer does not want the supreme government to interfere in the internal affairs of the States, except in exceptional circumstances. Here again he is theoretically right and for various reasons the British Government has been following this policy of non-interference more or less for the last ten years. The results so far as the people are concerned have been in many cases disastrous. I shall explain this more fully in the next paragraph.

It may be said that after all it is the business of the subjects of the States to try and set their houses in order. To set still betrays a lamentable want of public spirit. The charge is plausible but really unfair. The people are not allowed to work out their salvation. The treaties entered into by the British Government and the States are one-sided inasmuch as they ignore the people's interests altogether. The pledge of non-interference given by the British Government is not fully kept. For even the fear of a popular rising was often enough to keep the vagrancies of a Prince within bounds. Now that war is gone

He may do what he chooses, but so long as he can manage to keep in the good books of the Political Department, he is safe. He can rely upon British bayonets to uphold his authority. In practically all known instances of interference, it will be found that the prime cause was not misgovernment but disagreement between the Prince and the Resident or Political Agent.

The case of the people is thus almost hopeless. Their Rulers can go on indulging in all sorts of excesses but the Supreme Government will look peacefully on; but, if they try to redress their wrongs in their own way, it will at once step in to crush them. Hence they have gradually sunk into a state of supineness and despair.

But this cannot be allowed to go on for long. Those who have the good of the country at heart cannot ignore the States or leave their people to their fate. They must be taught and helped to win liberty with the help and co-operation of their rulers if possible, in spite of their resistance if necessary.

In the India that is to be there can be no room for absolute monarchs. The States must approximate to the condition of what are at present provinces of British India. If the Princes are retained at all, they can survive as reigning not ruling monarchs, hereditary presidents if you will but shorn of all power of doing mischief. We cannot allow the States to remain for long victims of an autocracy that is now trying to veil its true nature under a thin cover of liberal professions. The angularities of these administrative units must be removed so that they can conveniently fit into that organic entity which India is once again going to be.

N. V. Z.

## BANKRUPT BENGAL UNDER THE NEW REFORMS

THE system of public finance is a survival of an effete old regime—when India was ruled by a trading Company. The Company gradually took upon itself the burdens and responsibilities of the State. The result was the centralisation of the whole system of Government—especially on the financial side. The Acts of 1853 and 1858 treated the revenues of India as one—which legally belonged to, and went into the coffers of the Central Government. The inevitable sequel of this was the constant and incessant wrangle by the Provincial Governments for financial doles. As Sir Richard Buckley observed, 'the distribution of the public income degenerated into something like a scramble, in which the most violent had the advantage, with very little attention to reason.' Local autonomy brought no local advantage; the stimulus to avoid waste was reduced to a minimum, and as no local growth of the income led to local means of improvement, the interest

developing the public revenues were also brought down to the lowest level."

The essence of Indian finance, therefore, is the financial relations between Imperial and Local Governments. Lord Mayo's Government first granted some financial responsibility to the provinces and gave a fixed grant to each. In Lord Lytton's time the fixed grant was substituted by a share in certain specified heads of revenue. Thus in Indian finance we get the extraordinary complication—the three-fold classification of revenues—Imperial, provincial and "divided."

This change was made with a double object, firstly, to secure economy, and secondly, to induce careful and progressive collections of revenues. The revenues were divided up as follows—Salt, Opium, and Customs were wholly Imperial. The Provincial Governments got all the receipts under registration was not sufficient for their.



and to make good the deficit land revenue, stamps, excise and assessed taxes were divided between the Imperial and Provincial Governments. Originally these settlements were subject to quinquennial revision. The result was most deplorable. The provincial Governments had no incentive to economy, as their savings might be resumed by the Central Government at the expiry of each quinquennial settlement and as a reduced scale of expenditure would be accepted by the Imperial Government as the basis of the next settlement. In 1904 these settlements were made *quasi-permanent* so that the provinces might reap the benefit of their own economies and could count on continuity of financial policy (M. C. R., Para. 107). Lord Hardinge made the settlements permanent in 1912, reduced the fixed assignment and increased the provincial share of growing revenues.

Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford condemned this system of financial relations as an obstacle to provincial enfranchisement—inviting the constant interference of the Central Government in the details of provincial administration and wholly unsuited to the fair play of the popular principle in the provincial Governments. In order to make responsible government a success in the provinces they favoured complete financial devolution. They recommended a clear separation between Indian and provincial heads of revenues and the abolition of the divided heads of revenues. They suggested that land revenue, irrigation, excise and judicial stamps should be made wholly provincial receipts, whereas Income-tax and general stamps should be added to the Indian heads. But in order to make good the deficit in the Imperial Budget they assessed the contribution from each province to the Government of India at 87 per cent of the gross provincial surplus.

The Meston Committee on Financial Relations provincialised the revenue from General Stamps, fixed the initial contribution of Bengal at 63 lakhs a year, and recommended a graduated sliding scale of contributions under which Bengal's initial contribution of 6½ per cent would be gradually raised in 7 years to 19 per cent—the largest share of the Imperial deficit. Bengal strongly protested against this unjust and inequitable treatment and pleaded hard for the provincialisation of all revenues under Customs and Income-tax raised within the local limits of the province. The Joint Parliamentary Committee fixed a scale of permanent contributions under which Bengal would never have to pay more than 63 lakhs a year, and made one-fourth of the future excess in income-tax and super-tax over the standard of 1920-21 provincial. The Committee, however, recognised the peculiar financial difficulties of Bengal and commended her unfortunate case "to the special consideration of the Government of India."

Under the Meston Scheme Bengal was faced with a chronic deficit of 1 crore 52 lakhs for carrying on her ordinary administration. The Committee calculated the income of Bengal at 857 lakhs. Out of it 63 lakhs would go to the Central Exchequer as contribution to the Imperial Government and 13½ lakhs would be consumed on account of expenditure under Home Charges transferred to Bengal from the Government of India under the Reforms Scheme. Therefore, 106½ lakhs must be deducted from the gross income of 857 lakhs leaving behind a net provincial surplus of 750½ lakhs for the expenses of the province. The Bengal Budget of 1920-21 shows an expenditure of 903 lakhs. Therefore, under normal conditions, even without improving any of the nation-building departments, there would be a deficit of 1 crore and 52½ lakhs for merely carrying on ordinary administration. (Vide the Representation of the National Liberal League to the Government of India). The Budget of 1921-22 presents as a matter of fact a more harrowing tale. The Budget of 1920-21 showed an opening balance of 1 crore and 7 lakhs. But there was a deficit of 75 lakhs that year and there would also be a deficit of more than 2 crores in 1921-22 which would completely consume the provincial reserve. The new Reforms do not mean writing on a clean slate. Bengal has got to shoulder all the commitments of the old Government as well as of the Government of India. The increased pay of the Civil Service not included in the Budget of 1920-21 would be more than 30 lakhs. The increase in the salary of Ministerial officers would cost Bengal an additional 45 lakhs, if not more. The Dacca University would cost Bengal in the current year 12 lakhs, and would certainly cost more in the near future. The Reforms of the Calcutta University have not yet been undertaken. They are long overdue. The monumental Report of the Sadler Commission can no longer remain pigeon-holed and this would cost a huge sum. The expenditure in Police is progressing at a remarkable speed—almost as rapidly as the Military expenditure of the Government of India. The budgetted figure under Police for 1921-22 stands at 1 crore 90 lakhs as against the estimate of 1 crore and 63 lakhs of 1920-21 and the actual expenditure of 1 crore 13 lakhs of 1910-20. This means that Police expenditure is growing at about 20 to 27 lakhs a year. Thus apart from the deficit of 2 crores and 8 lakhs shown in the Budget of 1921-22, there would be an additional expenditure of about a crore for increased pay, for police, and for educational reforms. The outlook is really gloomy and unless the Government of India surrenders either some portion of the Customs revenues which amount to 12 crores 81 lakhs in the Budget of 1920-21 from Bengal or a portion of the Income-tax which amounts to 6 crores and 7 lakhs from Bengal, this province is doomed. She must either

reopen the Permanent Settlement which is almost impossible so long as Great Britain rules over India, or she must resort to fresh taxation which is also impossible as Bengal is already heavily taxed. It would be unfair when required for ordinary administrative expenses and in expedient specially in the present political and economic situation. Taxation would be also immoral and unjust as the present revenues are not properly spent and there is ample room for retrenchment. Before imposing a fresh tax the popular representatives must be satisfied that the present expenditure is wholly justifiable—not for education, sanitation or industrial improvement but for the efficient administration of an overcentralised and top heavy bureaucracy. Fresh taxation would convince the people that they have got merely the costliness of a so-called democracy and that they would better do without the new Reforms which have thrust upon their shoulders four additional members of the Government, costing them about 2½ lakhs a year with their respective staff of subordinates and have merely increased the cost of administration. It would really wreck the Reforms.

The new financial settlement under the Reforms scheme has hard hit Bengal. Bengal has to start her career under the Reforms with a financial handicap. In the allocation of revenues Bengal has been most unfairly treated. It cannot be gainsaid if one considers for a moment the respective financial position of the different provinces. The Meston Committee laid down a fine dictum that there was an obligation to leave each province with a reasonable working surplus so that in no case may a contribution be such as would force the province to embark on new taxation *ad hoc* which to our minds would be an unthinkable sequel to a purely administrative rearrangement of abundant general resources.

The question is, has each of the provinces a reasonable working surplus? The answer is in the affirmative in most of the provinces. According to a statement made by Mr. Hailey, the Finance Member, Bombay would begin the reforms with a surplus of 2 crores 42 lakhs. Madras—crores 41 lakhs. United Provinces 2 crores 17 lakhs. Punjab 1 crore 98 lakhs and Burma 2 crores 26 lakhs. And what is the reasonable working surplus of poor Bengal? A heavy deficit of over 2 crores. It was calculated at 2 crores 32 lakhs in last year; it would certainly be more than that in the near future. The Indian Government was pleased to fix the normal legitimate expenditure of Bengal at 777 lakhs. This was done in spite of the protest of the representative of the Bengal Government. As Mr. P. C. Mitter stated in his speech in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 5th February 1921, "The Government of India soon changed their mind and on their recommendation the Meston Committee accept

ed Rs 903 lakhs as the expense of Bengal. This was the Budget estimate for 1920-21. And on this estimate the Meston Committee fixed the financial settlement of Bengal. Here again an injustice was committed. Bengal was carrying on her administration at a very cheap rate by starving various departments and by holding back various important projects. In 1913-14 the estimated expenditure of Bombay with a population of 19 millions was 10 crores and 32 lakhs that of Madras with a population of 41 millions was 9 crores and 60 lakhs that of U. P. with a population of 45 millions was 8 crores 61 lakhs. Calculated per head of population Bombay spends Rs 3, Madras Rs 2-4, U. P. Rs 2 and Bengal Re 1-10 only. And the annual expenditure of Bengal with its 45 millions of population was budgetged at 7 crores 77 lakhs in that year. Certainly this shows an abnormal curtailment of expenses which could never provide the basis for calculating future financial adjustment. Nor did the Budget estimate of 9 crores 1 lakhs for 1920-21 subsequently recommended by the Government of India for acceptance by the Meston Committee provide either any correct basis for allotment. For the revised estimate for the same year (1920-21) showed a total of 9 crores 12 lakhs in extra expenditure of about 9 lakhs. And what is the estimated Budget expense for the current year 1921-22? It is 11 crores 40 lakhs, an additional expenditure of 2 crores 61 lakhs over that of the last year. And the gross provincial income is estimated at 9 crores 71 lakhs. The result is a deficit of 2 crores 8 lakhs which will be met this year by drawing on the unspent balances. And as has already been noticed, the commitments of the old Government and the expenditure sanctioned this year would lead to a heavier deficit in the next year. Critics may point out that there are certain items of abnormal expenditure this year e.g. (1) 67 lakhs as contribution to the Central Government (2) 86 lakhs for repayment of loan to the Government of India, (3) 46 lakhs for increased pay of Ministerial Officers (4) 12 lakhs for Dacca University (5) 20 lakhs for survey and settlement operations (6) 70 lakhs for Grand Trunk Canal project etc. The 2nd item does not involve recurring expenditure, but the rest do commit the Government to increased expenditure with the sure prospect of a heavier deficit.

In this state of things there is only one silver lining to the dark clouds—the special consideration of the Government of India in revising the present financial settlement. For this Bengal had been pleading, and the Legislative Council on the motion of Mr. Surendra Nath Roy, resolved to approach the Government of India for declaring the export duty on jute levied in Bengal to be a source of provincial revenue for Bengal from the financial year 1921-22.

under these heads are quite negligible. In 1920-21 Madras raised under Customs only 1 crore 28 lakhs and under Income-tax only 1 crore 42 lakhs, making a total of 2 crores 70 lakhs as against Bengal's total of 13 crores 88 lakhs. U P contributed 57 lakhs under Customs and 77 lakhs under Income-tax making a poor total of only 1 crore 34 lakhs. Again these are growing sources of revenue in the case of Bengal but not so in the case of Madras or U P. In 1920-21 the Budget under Customs showed in the case of Bengal an increase of 4 crores over that of the previous year, in the case of U P an increase of only 17 lakhs and in the case of Madras a fall of 5 lakhs. Thus while the growing sources of revenue like Customs and Income-tax have been denied to Bengal she has been granted those heads of revenue which are either inelastic like land revenue or which, in the best interest of the nation should not be developed e.g. Excise. It is also remarkable that the percentage of growth under Excise and Stamps is very high in Bombay Madras and U P but not so in the case of Bengal. If we take the Budgets of the last 8 years 1911-13 to 1920-21 the percentage of growth of revenue under Excise is 102 per cent in Bombay 70 per cent in Madras 43 per cent in U P and only 35 per cent in Bengal. Likewise under general Stamps the percentage of growth is 115 per cent in Bombay and only 69 per cent in Bengal. There seems to be an obdurate perversity in provincialising those heads of revenue which are inelastic and incapable of rapid growth in Bengal but which are elastic and develop easily in the other provinces. Thus sheer justice demanded the provincialisation of the Customs or at least the Jute duty which is levied under Customs.

The export duty of Jute is justly Bengal's due. It is classed under Customs and therefore goes to the Government of India. Jute is the monopoly of Bengal. It has cost Bengal a good deal in men and money. It has blessed Bengal with the curse of Malaria and has deprived her of the flower of her peasantry.

There is no export duty on similar articles which other provinces produce—e.g. raw cotton grains pulse flour, etc. Any tax or duty on the Jute of Bengal should be utilised and spent for the benefit of Bengal at least for the benefit of the bankrupt Bengal Government. The export duty on Jute should be surrendered by the Government of India and provincialised immediately.

But we do not know why the export duty on Jute is the only demand of the legislature and the executive. Is it because that it will exactly cover the deficit? The duty amounts to 2 crores 39 lakhs. But the future of Jute is not at all certain—its destiny may be profoundly affected by discoveries and scientific researches in Europe. The duty is after all almost a precarious source of revenue. The authorities would have been well advised if they would have pressed for relief in other directions—e.g., a certain share of the gross revenue from Customs or Income-tax or an Imperial contribution equivalent to the amount of the Jute duty. The first would have been a certain steady and growing source of revenue—especially in the case of Bengal with its commercial capital of Calcutta. To illustrate the point further under Customs the Budget of 1911-13 showed an estimated revenue of 8 crores 64 lakhs while that of 1920-21 places it at 12 crores 81 lakhs—about 50 per cent increase in one year. Of course, the objection may be raised against such a proposal on the ground of the accepted principle of the abolition of divided heads of revenue. But even in the recommendations of the Montford Report there were divided heads of revenue e.g. General Stamps and Judicial Stamps. And in the case of the provincialisation of the export duty on Jute there would be a divided head of revenue—i.e. Customs, though the ingenuity of bureaucrats might clearly keep the letter of the law unimpaired by removing the export duty on Jute from the category of Customs and by levying it in future as an Excise duty.

NIRMAL CHANDRA CHATTERJEE.

## GLEANINGS

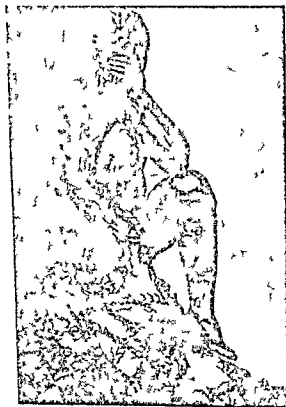
### America's Rival to Leonardo da Vinci and Rodin

Dr William Rimmer of Boston who died in 1897, was an artist of whom a renowned sculptor writes in the *New York Evening Post*, that he was the superior of Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo in the delineation of various forms of art anatomy. We are told that in sculp-

ture also he worked more like Rodin at Rodin's best than any man in modern times. Rimmer probably never heard of Rodin—it appears that he never went abroad yet it is obvious that he dealt with form with that strange intense plastic quality and that mastery of structural modelling which we see only in Rodin and once or twice of his greatest contemporaries. Nobody would readily believe that such a force lived in

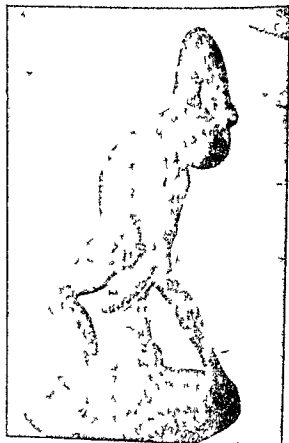
New England thought tallied modeled and painted for a long time absolutely without recognition insofar as his great ability and his great products affected the civilization of his environment. It might as well have been in Greenland. The truth is that Rimmer was not seen nor understood because there was no one to understand him.

The story runs that this benefactress of humanity asked Dr. Rimmer if he could not or would not make some of these drawings permanent so that the world might have them. He said that he would be glad to do it. She told him that she had a couple of thousand dollars she did not need and asked him to take the money and do as much as he felt would be right for such a sum. With it he produced these ninety



DESIRÉ

This is said to reproduce the face of the sculptor's father, a noble French *seigneur*.



The Lallag Gladiator

odd pages, all of which are masterpieces for what they illustrate as well as works of art in character of line and general rendering. Half of them at least excel any drawings extant in pure beauty and as masterful demonstrations of knowledge of the human figure. They have a character of truth without exaggeration that is not unlike the Greek. The man is inspired by the same beauty and drama as the Italian Angelo, and in his drawings of hands and feet we feel the influence of the Renaissance masters, but in the form and structure of the figure and its proportion he is Greek.

In the sixties and seventies Dr. Rimmer was known in Boston art circles as a remarkable lecturer on art anatomy as the sculptor of several statues and busts and as a man who had painted much without establishing a reputation as a painter. Yet the writer in the *New York Evening Post* assures us that he (the writer) has seen nothing in the records of art by the great Italian masters (excepting a few works of Da Vinci) that is comparable with Dr. Rimmer's drawings as studies not only of anatomy but of character. He then continues that unless it be a few of Hobbins and one or two by Velasquez, there are no drawings extant of the Renaissance, whether in France, Italy, Spain, England, or Holland that can compare with some ninety pages of work which this remarkable man produced at the request of Mrs. W. A. Tappan, a lady who attended his lectures.



INGRES OR THE FALL OF DA

The Sculptor Dr. William Rimmer believed to be the American rival of Leonardo da Vinci and Rodin

## Turning The Art World Back To Classical Ago

The Fascists in Italy are a band of confirmed and convinced reactionaries who believe in fighting for their rights just as the extreme radicals do for theirs. They are not going to give away all they have inherited from the past without a struggle. Here and there it might appear that the same spirit prevails in the domain of the arts. Classicism might seem to have been wholly cast out if only current art exhibitions are taken into account. But signs to the contrary are apparent. Paris has been holding an exhibition of the works of Ingres, the great inheritor of the traditions of classical and Renaissance art.

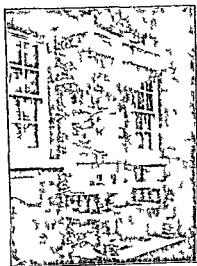
In *L'Illustration* (Paris) Leandre Vallat writes of the significance of this artist.

In truth I believe that what interests the unexpected followers of Ingres to-day is the exterior aspect of his pictures, their style, a certain mixture in which we find at once reminiscences of antiquity and of Raphael. It is a pleasant privilege to contrast the classics with the romanticists, and one is more willingly a supporter of the first than of the second.

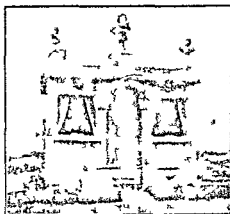
Classicism is understood a certain refined rigor, a tense and systematic will power, a Jansenist ennui, an absence of sensibility. But it is indisputable nevertheless that beyond the superficial and inexact appearances one discovers the real lesson learned by Ingres from antiquity and from the Renaissance through the medium of his master David who himself inherited it from his professors of the ancient Royal Academy.

In fact, this is the new lesson of Ingres, the one afforded to young painters but which they will not truly understand—namely the light by its values expressing itself in the modeled line. And they will not learn the lesson because it exacts persistent application, conscientiousness, and humility. This lesson is murmured discreetly or loudly proclaimed by the pictures of Ingres, the portraits in oil, the drawings in pencil, and the studies gathered for a month in the Hotel of the Society of Antiquaries. This lesson is heard with unmistakable continuity from one end to the other of these galleries in which the career of the painter is shown.

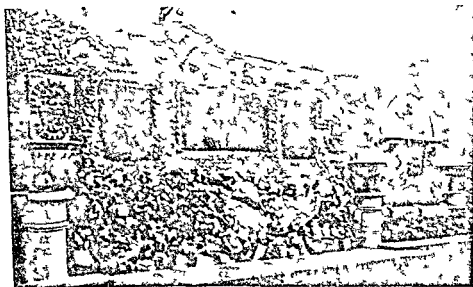
In the *Paris Revue d'Art* Mr. Andrew writes



The Solid Array



A Simple Adorned Summerhouse



The Shell Adorned Aquarium and Wall

buildings. They make a good building material as durable as the concrete as they are practically solid stone of great density and hardness

On sunny days the smooth mother-of-pearl surface reflects the light in myriads of beautiful color tones giving rise to dazzling effects,

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### India's Forest Resources.

*East and West* writes thus on India's forest resources —

The war came with its endless demands and economic upsets. Departmental working was undertaken in the Andamans. A mill was established and Andaman woods were placed on the London and Calcutta markets in sufficient quantities to make them desirable commercially.

Now there is a demand for 15 different Andaman species in excess of the supply and at prices that under very conservative estimates will yield 50 per cent. net per annum on the investment needed to put the proposition on a commercial basis. Many other species will be in demand as soon as we can put them on the market in sufficient quantities to insure a regular supply to users.

The Philippines have many timbers similar to Indian timbers. Three large private concerns are now lumbering there using modern methods of extraction and milling. Their progress has been so satisfactory that they are constantly expanding and adding new facilities and markets.

The Japanese have developed a similar logging and milling enterprise in Formosa.

In the Dutch East Indies in a situation very like that in the Andamans, a Dutch company has been working for years. They use logging railways, skidders and have a large band sawmill. Late reports say they are adding a second saw-mill and are increasing the log output.

Another large company is operating in Borneo.

The signs of the times are everywhere apparent, the question is only to what extent India will take advantage of her opportunities.

In India we have the Andamans with 2,200 square miles of magnificent forests.

We have thousands of square miles of productive coniferous forests in the Himalayas.

We have 15,000 square miles of forest in Madras, not to mention the wide tracts of forest lands in other provinces and in Burma.

Last year India exported a little over 50,000 tons of timber, mostly teak. That figure can be eventually exported from the Andamans alone. There is an abundance of fir and spruce to supply Egypt's 8,000,000 sleepers, to supply our railways, to make wood cheap enough to be more widely used all over India. We can supply derricks for the Mesopotamian fields, 60,000 boxes for her date crop.

This means opportunities for India's young men, an expansion of her trade, and increase in her industries.

### Yaska's Contribution to the Science of Language

Mr. K. Rama Pisharoti writes in *Everyman's Review* —

Yaska's *Nirukta* is, as Prof. Sayce rightly puts it, a 'model of method and conciseness'. He has laid down therein the true and correct principles of Vedic interpretation and has consistently applied them. He has subjected the words to a thorough scientific analysis, marking off the stems, the endings, the suffixes and the prefixes and assigning them to their respective places. Though he was not the first etymologist, he was at least the first to recognise the importance of this branch of knowledge and to raise it to the ranks of a science. He has by his work smoothened the path of Vedic interpretation. Sayana, the greatest of ancient Vedic interpreters bases his *Bhasya* on Yaska, and Prof. Rohit, the modern exponent of the Vedas, owes not a little to him.

The conclusions arrived at by Yaska may, or may not be, final in all cases, but the method he has followed is very commendable and noteworthy. For it was pre-eminently comparative, the method of science. The meanings of words are determined only by a comparison of a series of Vedic passages in which those words occur. Mere sonantal resemblance he never accepts as a test of kinship. He was the first to clearly enunciate the *Doctrine of Roots*. He has discussed and laid down the nature and function of roots and many of his conclusions in this branch are but 'startling anticipations' of what the philologists have said.

According to Yaska, Roots are mere abstractions and are as such unfit to explain the realities of language. These cannot have any claim to reality. These never emerge to the surface of speech, where we have only their effects or the words. The name *Dhatu* itself is quite significant of this view, for it comes from a root which means to *protect or nourish*.

Beside the elaboration of the Doctrine of Roots, Yaska has mooted another problem, a problem of the most vital importance in the philosophy of language, the *source of signs of nouns*.

### Art in Everyday Life.

Art has become a thing of luxury to those who can afford it. But in reality it ought to be an inseparable concomitant of our everyday existence. Mr. C. R. Ashbee observes in *Rupam* —

The mechanical invasion into life has so influenced our domestic architecture, and household belongings that everything human or personal is disallowed, we have perforce to take the standardised article, that everybody else has also. There is no longer any intimate response of the artist to our own touch of anything about us. We might even say that not until personal plastic creation finds a place again in life will there come redemption and relief to the craft of painting.

For is not the obverse of this casting of the artist out of the home, the picture gallery? Yet what an unhappy alternative. For those galleries of ours are really only store rooms, mausolea for the works of dead artists, great places where we put the pictures we don't or can't house elsewhere. So men paint for galleries in these days; an evil way. And when now we pass through our crowded picture galleries we are more than ever oppressed with the quarrelling and jangling of the schools. Sometimes, I think that from the mere weariness of men to place all this misapplied skill, all this enthusiasm which ought to go into the personal happiness of life there must surely come some better way of facing the difficulties, some insistence on solving the problem.

And the problem is how to find once again an economic basis for the arts and crafts, the creative impulse in man, under conditions of mechanical industry—how to find out what should and what should not be made by the machine. This is not a matter for the painters alone, but the art of painting will not find peace until it is solved. To argue, then concerning the art of painting solely or even mainly in terms of method, or historical development, however able this is done, as for instance by Mr. Roger Fry, is not enough. It does not satisfy, it does not meet our discontent. We know and the painter knows, that there is something else we want some thing that he cannot give us because social conditions debar him from doing so.

Watch a child with a box of chalks. It passes instinctively through the various conventions of the earlier schools. . . The impulse and the will to create is there, perhaps in every child and it is a force quite independent of the method or convention instinctively adopted. And if you try to take the box of chalks away before the creative moment is spent the child will be angry with you and there will be trouble.

Just so it is with the art of painting itself. It is with the other plastic arts, one of the great needs of man. For the moment the right expressive convention is not what the art craves for. Any of the great conventions will do, the artist will glorify each or all if you only leave him alone and give him his opportunity. What he is asking of us is a proper place in the world, a place of service, a place not, as at present, merely marginal. He wants to be somewhere where he can be of use, somewhere where beauty will count again and have significance once more, somewhere where form and colour and the telling of a tale delightfully may be his and where all the other things which the art of painting has at times stood for, may once again make good and be something. The present sickness is deeper than all forms of aesthetic expression, for, as every honest and thoughtful artist admits, it is concerned,

"About what's under lock and key  
Man's soul."

### Art in the Home.

Mrs. L. A. Kenoyer has contributed a very instructive and interesting article on "Art in the Home" to the August number of *The Central Hindu College Magazine*, from which we make a few extracts below.

How this word which is almost as sacred as religion has been misused! Perhaps some of you think only of pictures and statuary, but if you have been lovers of Ruskin, Rossetti, William Morris and your own Rabindranath Tagore, I am sure you have got in some respect a vision of the word that Art is no superfluity that we can do without, that it is not a thing apart from our everyday lives, but an integral necessity, the truest, best, of our every expression, the quality in all things which approaches unto God, unto harmony, peace, rest of the soul. I know an Indian lady who said to me, "I live for art," and I felt she did. For her voice was always controlled, sweet and musical. Her dress was original, not a tawdry imitation of what she had seen others wearing. The materials were from hand-loom made by weavers who were happy as they worked and who produced each piece of cloth as a lovely poem. Her needs were few. She was deeply and truly religious, a result of the honesty of her life (the lack of imitation) and the effort to know real beauty which speaks of soul rather than of things.

A real artist, who had studied from the best masters, once said to me, "All I had learned, all the pictures I painted were a horror to me until I made art a part of my life, the expression of the divine laws in everything I did and said, as well as in my cloths and my home, my interpretation of nature." This was what Ruskin felt and William Morris felt that the home, most of all was where this art of life, this expression of goodness or badness in us was most apparent. He felt that men lived in their houses as the soul lives in the body and as the soul and body react upon each other so do the man and his environment, and as men's souls and bodies must be variously beautiful and individual.

Good taste, which is the final criterion in all art, is cultivated and improved by constant study and application of the principles which control artistic expression. Should we not all do well often to take time to remind ourselves of certain great established principles and to endeavour constantly to see more clearly and completely the principles that govern the expression of these truths? William Morris felt this was necessary for the home, whether good or bad, is the basis of Society.

If we live among loud noises, bad odors, unharmonious colors, the wrong arrangements of things, imitation and pretence, we may be immune to their ugliness, but nevertheless they are there and vulgarity, ignorance and indifference can only be the result. But if, on the other hand, we are surrounded by concordant sounds, agreeable odors, harmonious colors and pleasing arrangement, the effect cannot help being different and a tremendous tendency made towards refinement, culture and the real expression of art and its appreciation. It will not only make for broader and better personal growth but will contribute to a higher type of national civilization.

### Advice to Workers for Indian States.

*The Indian Review of Reviews* holds the standpoint from which the problems of British India are judged and decided is not the standpoint from which the problems of the



The fact that there are separate States makes a world of difference and this fact is not to be swept out of existence by rhetoric or declamation. The Princes are factors that must be reckoned with in practical politics for a long time to come, and their rights (not as private individuals, but as heads of distinct political communities) have a degree of force that cannot be easily dismissed. Until, at any rate, a republic completely independent of England rises into being in British India (no longer so to be called), the separate existence of the States as States can suffer no jeopardy, and therefore not only expediency, but also justice, would seem to require that the friends of the people of the States in their ardour for political emancipation, should take care to devise as far as possible from all manner of speech and action likely to antagonize the Princes to their peoples. After all, what is wrong with the Princes is not so much their wanton wickedness as their illiberal training. They are victims of an unnatural, unwholesome system of political education and what they deserve is not denunciation so much as education and persuasion towards correct ideals. To supply these must be the first business of patriots anxious for real good. The Princes should be brought to see clearly that, as they are now obliged to rule subject to approval from some quarter, it would be infinitely better for them to work for the approbation of their own people than to work for the pleasure of an outside Power. They must be brought to a full and intelligent appreciation of the vital importance, to themselves and their States, of their People,—in other words to love and respect the people truly. This object is surely not to be achieved by speaking words of anger and passion which, albeit their good intentions, are apt to set the people up against the Princes and vice versa. We would therefore implore British Indian workers for Native States to make it a point to desist as far as possible from attempts likely to antagonize the Indian Princes and their peoples towards each other.

### Examinations and Culture.

The following paragraphs are taken from Sir Michael Sadler's monthly article on "Education in England" in *Indian Education* :

Dr. Rouse is a schoolmaster of genius, for twenty years he has been head of the Perse School at Cambridge. In the teaching of languages, classical and modern, he and his colleagues have been craftsmen of change. They have tried experiments and have devised new methods. At the Perse School the creative powers of the boys find opportunity of expression in the writing of English poems, in the composition and acting of plays and in weaving, pottery, carpentry and model making. When the boys have written a play, they make arrangements for its performance. They hope in future to make their own costumes, dye them, paint their own scenery and make the properties for the stage. With these pleasurable and profitable activities Dr. Rouse would doubtless associate music which has high value as a factor in liberal education. As Professor de Selincourt of Birmingham University said at a meeting of the British Music Society in London on June 16th, "To

have a just sense of beauty well developed is just as necessary as to have a well-ordered intellect. A proper training in the arts is of the highest value for the training of the moral sensibilities and the higher feelings."

The citadel of the old fashioned examination system is being undermined. It is besieged by new forces. The general culture, which education should impart, is not a culture of languages only, or a culture of languages and mathematics only, or a culture in which besides languages and mathematics, physical science must find a place. Culture must be not only intellectual but also moral and aesthetic. And though you can test (more or less satisfactorily) proficiency in languages, in mathematics, and even in physical science by means of examinations, you cannot by means of examinations ascertain (except within narrow limits) the moral quality of a pupil's character, or his creative ability in the graphic arts or his power of appreciating beauty. The formula of a liberal education has widened. The old examination tests, therefore, which were at one time thought sufficient, are now found inadequate. The net will not cover the ground. There are many teachers who agree with Dr. Rouse in thinking that, whenever there is an examination to be passed and the examination fills and preoccupies his thoughts, the spirit of the boy's work is spoiled. "At the Perse School," he continued, "we avoid all public examinations except when we cannot help it. Then we take the examination as far as possible in our stride, without making any conscious preparations which might unnerve the boy." These words might have fallen from the lips of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore,

### Testimonials

Sir Michael Sadler writes in the same journal —

Sir Graham Balfour has an entertaining pen. In his second lecture there is a good passage about testimonials. "Testimonials," The very word breathes disappointment. In moments of bitterness, I should describe a testimonial as a document of extravagant eulogy proceeding generally from an unknown source, a document which it has been frequently hard to give and almost always impossible to refuse. After reading a batch of such documents, one is reminded of Charles Lamb's childish question to his sister (when he had read the eulogies on the tombstones of the departed), "Mary, where are the naughty people buried?"

When one reads newspaper commonplaces about the success of modern education one asks oneself, "where is the naughty kind of education that is now making such a ferment of trouble in the English-speaking democracies?"

### India's Opium Traffic

Mr C F Andrews rightly observes in the *Indian Review* :

In certain respects, the 'drug' evil is more insidious and underground in its nature, than the 'drunk' evil. For it can be indulged in more secretly, and it often acts more cruelly. Also, there is this furthestmost important fact to remember, that the most mischievous part of the whole traffic is not in India itself (though the

opium habit is increasing in India with terrible rapidity its deadliest effects take place in foreign courts as such as China, to which the Indian opium finds its way.

We have far less right to degrade others than to degrade ourselves. Hence the growth of opium for sale and use in India and abroad, except for strictly medicinal purposes, must be stopped.

The evidence, which Miss La Motte has collected from Government Blue Books and Statistics, proves up to the hilt the fact, that the Indian opium which is exported abroad, corrupts and debauches the Eastern peoples, and yet is knowingly sold both by the Indian Government and by Colonial Governments in the Far East in quantities which exceed a hundred or even a thousand-fold the medical requirements. To give one example only the Government of India have quite recently received a five-year agreement to supply to chests of opium a month (from January 18th 1921) to the tiny colony of Hongkong which lies at the very door of China. This means that the Indian Government will continue to export 15603 lbs. of opium every year to Hongkong when ten or a dozen pounds would be more than ample for all purely medical requirements. All the rest represents the sale of opium as a drug to be smoked which the Hague Convention as clearly as possible declared to be in abuse.

The same facts as the above could be told about the export of Indian opium to Bangkok to Singapore to Shanghai, to Batavia to Batavia to Mauritius. And yet the Secretary of State for India grows indignant at the mere thought that the export opium which is sent from India and is grown in India could be abused.

The time has clearly come for the whole of the Indian people to rise up together against this hateful traffic, whether inside British India, or for the purpose of export abroad. The only safe rule to be followed by any people that wishes to protect its nationals, is to restrict the manufacture and the sale of opium, strictly to the medical needs of each country. If this were done, then a couple of hundred chests of opium at the outside, would be more than sufficient for the medical needs of the whole of India instead of the 8000 chests, which are consumed at present. Furthermore with regard to export opium for sale abroad probably five hundred chests could be the outside limit required for strictly medicinal purposes. This would reduce the opium traffic as far as India is concerned almost to nothing. The inland revenue that would be forfeited owing to the loss of sales in India, would be more than compensated for by the greatly improved health of the Indian people. The revenue from export opium would be more than compensated for by the genuine bonds of friendship that would at once be linked up between China and India—a friendship which might have far-reaching consequences for the future history of the world.

Let me repeat in conclusion,—what is needed in this matter is a great act of national self-purification, and the time is ripe for such an act.

## Class Rule.

Mr Bernard Houghton asks in the *Indian Review* —

Can any race or class rule others with justice, as they themselves would rule, had they the power? Apparently not. Always the unconscious in them will trick them and lead them to place first the own interests. Consciously they intend to rule one nation for its good, but the Unconscious swiftly substitutes for the nation the own race or class. If the interests of both coincide well and good—but if they clash, woe to the governed. For its insatiable egoism the Unconscious has always some plausible excuse—the governed are ignorant turbulent or unfit they require training and so forth. When our landlords ruled England, England required Corn Laws now that capital is enthroned we find annexations and mandated oil fields necessary for our existence. The commercial interests of powerful firms and the private interests of the official classes require that India be kept in leading strings. Therefore she is unfit for self-government. Incredible as it may seem we are even supposed to rule the Irish for their good. The French say the same of Algeria Morocco and Syria, the Italians of Tripoli.

The fact is that no race or class can rule another for its good. If you would rule justly, you must rule wholly. The unit is the nation, and the members of the government must be drawn from all the nation. Any class however sure of its own superior wisdom, as the capitalists in England, or the English in India, is bound to be infected with class egoism and to act immorally. Perhaps one day it may be realised that class warfare will only cease when no one class arrogates to itself the seat of power. Perhaps, when the present governments of England and France are merely exponents of the egoism of nations too, may give place to a world patriotism and the brotherhood of man become no day dream, but a divine reality.

## The Cow in India.

The *Indian Humanitarian* has printed the text of Mr C F Andrews' speech at the Cow Conference held at Brindaban. Mr Andrews thinks that the cow ought to be protected, as the greater number of the people in India are vegetarians, and require milk or milk products as part of their diet.

In Bengal where I live, it is practically impossible now for the very poor to get milk at all. I believe that this absence of milk accounts for the increasing weakness of vitality, and also for the painfully early age at which people in India die. The infantile mortality in India to-day is greater than that of any other country in the world. Here then is our real problem.

I wish to make a confession. For many years past, I have taken a deep interest in the question of Cow Protection, but I have shrank from coming forward publicly. The reason for this was, that I had previously boxed upon my conscience as a purely Hindu problem, with which Hindus ought themselves to deal. But I have become convinced

individualism and every man is for himself and his family. Society so constituted becomes full of petty antagonisms and is the very antithesis in practice of those high spiritual principles, which are everywhere theoretically accepted and which aim at the subordination of the personal to the natural and an orchestration of human activity for the common good. These ideals so thrust aside come at last to be regarded cynically as fitting for Paradise, but very unsuitable for Earth. Nothing could be more hopeful for the triumph over the minds of men of spiritual ideals than a movement which aims at superseding individualism in the economic sphere by co-operation. It may seem at first thought incongruous to associate the material activities described in this volume, with anything spiritual, but if we reflect a little we will find it is not so. The great religions had their origin in a descent from Heaven to Earth, and the incarnation in bodily form of a ray from the Divine Mind, and spiritual and cultural ideas, if they are to exist as real power, must in like manner descend and clothe themselves in a material form and distribute the loaves and fishes to the multitude. The idea of nationality is a cultural idea, but a man very soon becomes cynical about nationality in practice if his neighbour or his employer accepting the same national ideals do, in fact relegate him to poverty in the pursuit of their own interest. The co-operative movement in large measure binds together the economic interests of Irishmen, so that purchase, manufacture and sale become less and less personal enterprise, and more and more communal or national activities. It illustrates in a practical way the truth that the personal and economic interests of the majority are served best by their incorporation in communal enterprises. So the mind of the citizen is predisposed to subordinate his own interests and to identify them with the interests of the nation. I believe that, whatever may be the temporary strength of other movements in Ireland, the co-operative movement dealing as it does with the daily lives of men, must finally have an influence greater than any other in its effect upon the character of the Irish nation. It occupies itself with things men must do under whatever Government they exist, whatever religion they profess, whatever cultural interests they may have and because it deals with the permanent human occupations the principles accepted in its organization must affect national character in the long run most powerfully. Membership of Co-operative Societies is a practical education in economics fitting men for public services, and by its principles it fosters the spirit of citizenship. When the fierce passions of the hour have loomed themselves away, I am convinced that this movement will come to its own, and its principles of toleration and comradeship in work will become dominant factors in national life."

### Messaggio from a Great Chinaman.

Dr Wu Tingfang, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Finance Minister at Canton, one of the most eminent men of China, has sent the following special message to *To-morrow*—

My advice is that, as the men of today are the trustees of tomorrow, it is a great duty laid on us all to think of and to work for, the future. And, quite apart from considerations based on duty, I am conscious of a sense of what is called immortality when I am labouring for a future in which men shall cease to war, and pain and suffering and poverty shall not be the daily lot of most of the children of men. Our work and whatever we do, is part of ourselves and so we are linked to the future and become part of it when we do aught that enters into or influences, however slightly, the course and development of human society.

This is readily admitted in the case of the poet or the great teacher, or the hero who transfigures himself into an undying song or a religion or a deed of freedom. He dies—and yet he lives imperishably in that with which he enriches the future. And this is not less true when the structure of the future is strengthened with a stone fashioned by the hands of an unknown worker. Such a one lives immortally in the structure even as does the genius who is his co-worker.

What then must we do if we are to be true to our duty to the future? There is not a little that every one can do. But I believe that nothing is more important than the removal of the barriers separating artificially, the groups of the human family. Until men, as nations, truly learn the great lesson of human charity that makes each one of us his brother's keeper, patriotism will be a vice instead of a virtue, and war and all its terrors and evils will continue to afflict and bruise the body of humanity.

### National Art.

Mrs Margaret E Cousins writes in the *Calcutta Review*

No one denies that there is National Art, however much they may argue about the existence of National Geography, or National Mathematics, or even National Education. One has but to think of the Art of Japan—chiefly in colour and naturalistic, the Art of Greece—chiefly sculptural and humanistic, the Art of Egypt—architectural, geometric and allegorical, or the Art of India—ornate religious and symbolical, to realise that countries express themselves in beauty in quite different ways which can best be described as National, and which are the resultant of local conditions of climate, materials, social customs, and the outlook of the times and the people.

In this National Art of the Hindus there are unrivalled and unequalled examples of its ancient architecture in Indian temples of its stone sculpture in the caves of Elephanta and the rocky hillsides of Mahabalipuram, of its classic paintings in the Caves of Ajanta, of its highly developed music in the Carnatic system with melody types and a use of the material of vocal sound to an extent unthought of in the West, of its poetry and drama in Tukaram, Mirabai, and Kalidasa. All these and countless others are evidences of Indian culture of the highest degree at a time when the Western World was in its childhood.

She explains the decadence of Art in Modern India thus—

The desire to express emotion is the motive of art, but the actual power of expression is dependent on the

training and education of the artistic talent in an atmosphere of encouragement, appreciation and affinity. Under the system of education imposed on India by the British Government these have been absolutely lacking. English educationists, starting with the idea that Indians were uncivilised heathens, and failing to understand the rational side of the art, ignored India's past in history in institutions, in science, in art. It despised and taught its students, directly and indirectly to despise the already existent National Culture.

One of the probable causes that led to this unworthy attitude towards Indian Art is that almost every artistic effort in India is interlinked with religion, and as the British Government had tried to make their system of education palatable to Indians by the promise of religious neutrality, it found that in the case of the Arts it was practically forced to throw out the child with the bath. As the French say:

The educationists must have plainly seen that it was impossible to encourage the continuity of the ancient culture without indirectly encouraging the people in their "heathen" religion and thus a Christian government could not contentiously do, especially with the missionaries ready to report on the matter to those in high places at home. The easy way out of the difficulty was not to teach the Arts at all and this was the policy actually adopted for a certain length of time until reforms in education, particularly on the artistic side, began to be pressed by the later educationists, and a break having already been effected with the old tradition, the foreign authorities proceeded not only to make Indian boys into the likenesses of English gentlemen but even to make latent Indian artists into English artists!

Non-co-operators ought to be able to explain why in their schemes of National education they have not included any of the Indian Fine Arts—Indian Painting, Indian Architecture, Indian Sculpture, and Indian Music.

### Developed and Undeveloped Races.

The *Hindustan Review* contains the first portion of an article on "Aristocracy and Democracy" by Mr. Upton Sinclair, the well-known socialist writer, in which he writes, —

It is a fact of our world that there are some races more backward in the scale of development than other races. We should either exterminate them at once and be done with it, or else make up our minds that they are in the childhood stage of our race, and that we have to guide them and teach them as we do our own children.

There is no more useful person than the wise and kind teacher. But suppose we saw some one pretending to be a teacher to our children while in reality enslaving and exploiting them, or secretly robbing and corrupting them—what would we say about that kind of teacher? The name of the teacher is capitalist commercialism, and his profession is known as 'the white man's burden'. His abuse of power is the cause of our present racial wars and revolts of subject peoples.

No fair-minded person will dispute the following observations of his —

To say that certain races are in a childhood stage, and need instruction and discipline, is an entirely different thing from saying they are permanently inferior and incapable of self-government. The latter is a problem for the man of science, to be determined by psychological test, continued possibly over more than one generation. We have not as yet made a beginning. In fact, we have not even acquired the scientific impartiality necessary to such an inquiry. Our race prejudices and our economic dishonesties are such that work in this field would not carry authority.

In the meantime all that we can do is to look about us and pick up hints where we can. And one after another we see the races which have been regarded as inferior and have been held down upon that theory developing leadership and organization and power of moral resistance. Apparently the subject races of the world all have to get their education through hatred of their teacher, instead of through love!

Of course these rebel leaders are men who have absorbed the white man's culture, at least in part. practically always they are of the younger generation, which has been to the white man's schools. But this is the very answer we have been seeking—as to whether the race is permanently inferior, or merely immature and in need of training. It is not only among the brown and black and yellow races that progress depends upon the young generation, it is a common statement of travellers returning from Russia that the Bolsheviks have given up the old peasants, as hopeless, but are training the young men and women and hope to make a new race out of the children. The writer, who has spent twenty years pleading with Americans to change a few of their more obsolete ideas has sometimes been tempted to the same desperate conclusion concerning his own people.

Therefore in the course of this argument we shall assume that the democratic theory has the weight of probability on its side, and that nature has not created any permanent and necessarily inferior race or class. We shall assume that the heritage of human culture is a common heritage, open to all our species. We shall assert that they are born 'with certain inalienable rights' and that among these are the right to maintain their lives and to strive for liberty and happiness. We shall say that there will never be peace or order in the world until they have found liberty, and until their right to seek happiness has been recognized.

### Indian Laborers and Primary Education.

Mr. P. K. Sreerangachariar observes in the *Educational Review of Madras* —

The Indian Labourer is said to be a lazy, unpunctual and inefficient man and that the wages he is paid though meagre when compared to the wages paid to an English workman is more than what he deserves to be paid for his work. And the means suggested

for bettering his half starved condition is that of giving him Primary Education. The Experts say that such a course will improve the efficiency of the man and thus will get him better wages.

But the workman himself thinks otherwise. He is unwilling to send his son to school because he thinks it to be an expense & luxury which brings him no returns in the shape of material prosperity. He cites the examples of many a young man who after a five year course in a Primary school derides his father's profession but who finds it difficult to earn even a scanty living by any other means except by entering the Government service as a low paid servant. His brother who had stayed at home to help his father had easily learnt his father's trade and had become able to get on independently.

'But,' says the writer,

"if the Primary School is organised in a different way, useful results might be produced and the labourers themselves can be made to give their whole hearted support. Such a school in addition to teaching the pupils reading and writing should also train them in one or two of the various handicrafts. The education given should directly help them to earn their livelihood while at the same time conferring on them the benefits of a general education.

'The labourers in India can be divided into two classes, the Agriculturists and the Handicraftsmen. The needs of the two classes are different and one kind of school cannot be suitable to the two classes. Thus we will have to deal with two kinds of schools, the Agricultural and the Industrial."

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### Art in the Home

Dr Frank Crane's editorials in *Current Opinion* are a treat and are very wholesome for the mind. The Chicago Art Institute says he, is doing a work that is more fundamental in its nature and far-reaching in its effects than any work in the way of art which the world has ever seen.

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The artists are not to blame. They have to make a living. It is the public that is to blame. It is a great overgrown, good natured and ignorant democracy that is to blame, a vigorous but childish people that have not yet waked up to the fact that Beauty pays, Beauty is worth while, and Beauty is as necessary to the daily life of the common people as bread.

In other words and in plain language, artist ought to be making beautiful chairs, tables, beds, carpets, vases, cups, teapots, cradles, bookcases and cupboards for the millions instead of marble statues and rare landscapes for the few.

If it be objected that furniture is made by machinery the plain answer is: What of it? Cannot machinery be devised to make beautiful instead of hideous chairs by the hundred?

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## Prohibition and Local Option

### *Abstain records with pleasure that*

From all parts of India, and from every section of society, the welcome news is coming of the determination of the people to make an end of the liquor traffic. The columns of our present issue bear witness to the spontaneous uprising of all classes against the continuance of this evil in their midst. The movement finds its expression in two main directions. The power of the new Legislatures to reverse or modify the Executive policy of the Government has been recognised in every province. In nearly every case resolutions in favour of restriction, with Prohibition as the ultimate ideal, have been passed. Side by side with this action in the Councils there has been a widespread boycott of the liquor shops by the people, and an organised effort to dissuade the drinking classes from resorting to such places. We again disavow any sympathy with methods which are not strictly constitutional and we are glad to note that Mr. Gandhi, who has been the main inspirer of what is called non-co-operation has repeatedly condemned every departure from peaceful propaganda.

Whilst welcoming the voluntary abstinence of the people from strong drink we adhere to the view that legislative action will be necessary to give full effect to public opinion in this matter. We therefore rejoice to see that the principle of local option, as a means to Prohibition, finds increasing support throughout India.

The agitation against intoxicants should be carried on very vigorously, for the revenue derived by the Indian Government from the sale of intoxicants has risen from £1,561,000 in 1874-5 to £13,000,000 in 1919-20.

## What is National Education

Sir Michael Sadler's exposition of what National Education in its essence is, is worthy of attentive study. Says he in the *International Review of Missions*—

National education in the true sense is a spirit of living influence, a spiritual and intellectual atmosphere. It may, or it may not, exert much of its influence through some mechanism, new or old—through a mechanism expressly set up for the purpose or by traditional convenience employed for it. True, it comprises many material things, such as buildings, equipments, books, laboratories, as well as much systematic organization such as are rules for the order of studies, for the licensing of teachers, for the conduct of inspection and for the apportioning of money grants. But national education is not a mechanical fabric of codes and subsidies. It is a much more penetrating and subtle thing. Its chief influences are spiritual and atmospheric and therefore for the most part unorganizable. In their operation they are little subject to bureaucratic control. For the erection of a national system of education in any true sense of the word, there is required either a stable order of society on which to build (and a stable order of society implies

stable faith) or such a moment of ardent spiritual unity as sometimes, though not always, follows a collapse of the outer fabric of national life. The inner life of a people, its character and predisposition, determine the main lines of its education. No system of education, artificially constructed and imposed upon it, can permanently change the inward character of the people or, even under the arrogant name of *Kultur*, shape its life. National education is not a matter of schools alone. It requires schools: it requires the organized provision of good and tested teaching in all subjects necessary to be learnt. In this manner, intellectually, it knits the generations each with each. More than this, it must seek to furnish opportunities for the effective development and training of individual wills. But, essentially, it is a sort of envelope of varied influences (some direct, some social, some economic, some mental) which act on the sympathies, the imagination, the judgment and the will, stimulating all alike into activity but imparting no identity of belief or of ideal or of prejudice. All that it can do is to impart a certain uniformity of tone to the complexion of the mind, a certain predisposition to conform to a general type. And fortunate is the nation which by inbred power produces variations of type and has diversity in its unity. Such a nation may not be able to boast of a tidily organized 'system of national education,' but it may produce great poets and sages, great captains in war and in industry, great statesmen and divines, and unknown heroes and heroines. It may enrich the world with new discoveries and with creative ideas. It brooks no standardized culture. It has an instinctive dread of a system of education which makes people intellectually impressionable without at the same time increasing their reserve of moral strength. It suspects that it is possible to overstimulate the intellectual susceptibility of large numbers of people of mediocre talent, without adding much to the sound stock of critical and practical judgment. And, above all, while heartily admiring some of the achievements of modern state education and sorrowfully admitting its own shortcomings in regard to educational liberality and to educational technique, such a people realizes the fact that modern education has been on the whole a destructive force scouring away old traditions, disturbing old ways of life, breaking down former restrictions and discrediting old valuations. A critical and eliminatory force of this kind may have been needed by the modern world. Revolutions do not happen without cause. But our final judgment upon some modern educational ideas may be reserved until we have seen to what reconstruction of society they lead. As we are not inclined to admire what Dr. Rathenau calls 'an excitable and loquacious generation, prizing success and hostile to all superiority,' we may well continue to allow a certain variety in our educational influences and institutions, in order that temporarily unpopular or temporarily undervalued ways of life may still have shelter in some corners of our national education.

## The Crisis of Islam.

Paul Bruzon writes in *La Revue Mondiale*, a semi-monthly of Paris.—



We are told that the movement in Egypt is having a powerful effect in Tunis and farther West. It is true that the people of Tunis are demanding certain constitutional rights but those rights do not involve secession from France.

Mr Paul Bruzon's conclusion runs as follows,—

Pan Islamism, Nationalism, Bolshevism, are not powerful enough in themselves to unite that great mass of divergent and conflicting peoples which we call the Islamic world. Why then is that whole world in a ferment? A glance at the map is enough for an answer. Every Mohammedan nation is governed or threatened with government, by a Christian power. All of them have been killed by the war with an ardent longing for justice and fair play. That is the key to the puzzle. We need not seek it in the shade of the mosques and the tumult of public meetings. We shall find it in the universal resentment at foreign control in the universal desire to have a share in the work of rebuilding the world—a world which should hold forth equal promise and hope for the whole human race.

Are these legitimate aspirations? Can we deny that? Do they constitute a peril for old Europe? It is for old Europe to answer. Every thing depends on the course we take toward our dependencies. If we adopt a liberal policy Islam will open its heart to us. Let us not forget the costly lesson which the war has taught us: the fearful fallacy of trying to rule by force alone.

### The Turkish Side of the Armenian Massacres

A writer who was in active service with the Turks on the Caucasus front when the Armenian massacres occurred has tried to show in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* that the Turks alone were not to blame and that the massacres were not unprovoked. Turks and Armenians are not the only parties to be considered.

In the first place, it is misleading to talk only of Turks and Armenians. A veritable hodge-podge of races dwells in this region: Turks, Kurds, and Armenians are the most numerous but there are also many Greeks and members of various Caucasian tribes. The Armenians are scattered all over Anatolia as far as Constantinople and Smyrna. There are also great numbers of them in the Persian and Russian border districts.

The different races living together in Eastern Asia invariably hate each other. This hatred

is particularly keen between the Armenians and the Turks and the Armenians and the Kurds. One of our principal errors is leaving the Kurds out of account in discussing the Armenian question. The Kurds live by raising cattle and by robbery. The Armenians are shrewd merchants. Consequently, the two people are as different in character as it is possible to imagine and they have been enemies for ages. On the surface the Kurd seems a brave but barbarous warrior and the Armenian a righteous man who does no wrong. However, when the Armenians think they are in a majority they drop their righteousness and become as cruel as their neighbours.

Turko Armenian relations have not been bad always.

In direct contrast with this the relations between the Armenians and the Turks were remarkably good until a generation ago. The Armenians are not only shrewd traders, but also skilful artisans and excellent farmers. Armenian mechanics and peasants usually make an excellent impression upon European travelers but Armenian traders and merchants are not popular with Westerners. This explains why we get such contradictory opinions of these people. These judgments are determined largely by the class of Armenians with which the particular European in question has been associated. In former times, the Armenians were peaceful and popular subjects of the Turk. It is a very common belief but an utterly false one that the enmity between these two peoples is due to religious differences. The Turks are the most tolerant people in the world toward men of another faith so long as their own religion is not interfered with. The enmity which has grown up between the two races is due entirely to politics. It has been sedulously cultivated by the English and the Russians who used it to promote their own interests in Turkey.

The origin of the bad blood between the two races is thus explained —

Under the Treaty of St. Stefano, in 1878 the Turks were obligated to introduce certain reforms in the territories occupied by the Armenians. Naturally bad blood was engendered in carrying out these reforms, and the Armenians were misled into hostility toward the Turks. Their discontent was systematically encouraged by both the Russians and the English. No Turk will dispute Abdul Hamid's misgovernment but foreign trouble-makers prevailed even the well-intended measures of later Turkish rulers from accomplishing any good. When the Turks appointed Armenians to govern their own people, the claim was made that they purposely selected the worst kind of men for such offices but the fact that the Armenians were free to elect their own representa-

tives to the Turkish Parliament was passed over in utter silence.

The hatred that had been engendered under Abdul Hamid was the direct cause of the Armenian massacres in the nineties. When we discuss these massacres, we are apt to forget that the Armenians under the Russian flag suffered just as badly. It was not until after the Russian Revolution of 1905 that conditions were improved.

Conditions during the war have been thus described:—

When the war broke out, consequently, profound mutual distrust reigned between the Turks and the Armenians. As soon as mobilization began, it was discovered that the Armenians had Russian rifles. At the same time, a copy of an agreement between certain Turkish Armenians and the Russian General Staff fell into the hands of a high Turk commander. Under this agreement, the Armenians engaged to cut telegraph lines in Turkey, and to start revolts behind the Turkish lines as soon as the Russians advanced. They fulfilled this engagement to the letter.

The Armenians revolted. Their insurrection was not suppressed until the following August. In other words, they carried out their part of their agreement with Russia. They were repeatedly detected cutting telegraph lines, and admitted that they did this on Russian orders. Whenever the Russians attacked the Turkish lines, uprisings occurred in the Armenian villages immediately to the rear. A big insurrection even occurred far in the interior. Very few Turkish troops were left to garrison the back country. An Armenian conspiracy was discovered in Constantinople itself.

The Turks had given the Armenians no direct cause for revolting. It should be emphasized that the Armenians themselves invited the reprisals that followed. The situation of the Turkish army was extremely critical. It was not a time for nice measures. Moreover, the conduct of the Armenians was not that of valiant fighters for freedom, but rather of sly and treacherous intriguers.

Thereupon, the Turkish government resolved to take vigorous measures, to remove once for all this danger behind its back. It evacuated the whole Armenian population from that district. Naturally, this was a cruel thing for the Armenians, but it was precisely the sort of thing that Europeans were doing under similar conditions.

The author gives some instances of the atrocities of which the Armenians and the Russians were guilty.

We hear a great deal of massacred Armenians. We hear nothing of the great number of Turks who were slaughtered by the Armenians during their disastrous retreat, after the Rus-

sians captured Erzerum in February, 1910. We hear nothing of the cruelties that the Armenians habitually perpetrated on the Turks. For instance, we were constantly receiving reports that the Turkish inhabitants of a village had all been blinded. Now, one actual instance of how the Russians acted. When captured Turkish soldiers and other Turkish prisoners were sent to Russia, in the winter of 1914 and 1915, they were herded in locked freight-cars. The railway authorities forgot what the contents of these cars were. The cars were shunted about for two or three weeks, and, when they were finally opened, were found to be full of corpses. It was hardly natural to expect the Turks to act the part of loving kindness toward such enemies as these.

### The Balance Sheet of the Russian Revolution.

In the *Century Magazine* Moissaye J. Olgin, author of "The Soul of the Russian Revolution," gives credit to the Russian Revolution for the following achievements:—

1. It has consolidated the territory of the Russian nation and created a *modus vivendi* for its various nationalities. It created the federation, which gives an amount of sovereignty to minorities, however slight, and still keeps them as an integral part of the whole.
2. The Russian Revolution created a national army on a new basis.
3. The Russian Revolution created a new system of representation [ $1/2$ ], the soviet system of voting by production units and a new form of state administration.
4. Classes have not been abandoned by the revolution. The old absolutist bureaucracy is gone. The class of noble landlords is gone. The large banker and factory owner are gone. Old privileges and distinctions disappeared. "No work, no food", was made the slogan of the nation. Yet one line of division remains, that between workmen and peasants. The city workman, as a rule, is against private property and private management of economic concerns. The average peasant is more individualistic. He loves his piece of land, and would not share its produce with others.
5. The revolution created a strong disciplined force to conduct the business of the nation, the Communist party.
6. The Russian Revolution introduced national management of industrial production and of transportation.
7. The revolution in the village redistributed the land in a fashion to suit the ideal of the peasant masses.
8. The cultural advance of the Russian masses since the revolution is colossal. The number of schools, libraries, courses, colleges, lectures, excursions has rapidly grown. The number of new people attracted to use cultural institutions is enormous. The work of

abolishing illiteracy is progressing. The streams of new thought enlightenment, political understanding, have changed the physiognomy of the masses. *Unmodus vivendi* is gradually being established between the old middle-class intelligentsia and the new system. This group formerly the brains and the nervous tissue of Russia had failed to assume leadership in the crucial days after the collapse of the monarchy. It was opposed to the ideal of the October revolution. Consequently it was shoved aside by that revolution. A state of hostility ensued between the intelligentsia and the masses. The masses maltreated the men of learning and culture, as if culture and learning were Bourgeois in themselves. The educated despised the common men and their strivings. Great damage was done to spiritual progress by this feud. As time went on a readjustment became possible. The intellectuals realized that the new system is not a bubble likely to burst any instant. The masses realized the value of knowledge. At this moment co-operation between science, art, literature and technical knowledge and the new order is on the increase. The reward of talent is not only material but moral. *The country is becoming more educated* consequently the educated man becomes more of a *persona grata*. The latter however is growing used to the idea that he is not the one and only leader and that the masses have their own conceptions and a right to their own ways of organizing the life of the country.

A structure is being erected on the debris of the old. It is hardly finished in the rough. It has no window panes and its roof leaks. It does not shelter from storms. It is uncomfortable to live in. But multitudes realize that this is their only home. Multitudes are busily engaged in improving every part. Hosts are seeing the vision of a magnificent building in the midst of a peaceful landscape. The building harbors harmony, creative work and beauty.

The above is a bare summary of the article, giving the balance-sheet of the Russian Revolution in the first week of August, 1921.

### Bankruptcy of European Moral and Spiritual Resources

Mr A G Gardiner was for many years Editor of the London Daily News, during which time he not only directed the editorial policy, but was famous for his editorials on political questions. No man in England is more closely in touch with the political problems of his day. He has contributed to the October Century Magazine an article entitled 'Who

Will Succeed Lloyd George?' which he prefaces by the following description of the state of Europe at the present day —

Europe three years after the War is like a derelict ship left helpless on the face of the waters. The storm has passed and the waters have subsided but the ship is a wreck. Its timbers have parted its machinery is scrapped, helm and compass and all the mechanism of control are lost. Worst of all there is no captain.

When peace came the cohesive motive that made for the solidarity of the masses during the war disappeared. The simple issue of the war was dispersed into a thousand conflicting and fragmentary issues: national, economic, political, personal. The leap of Niagara was broken and scattered in the tumult of the whirlpool. Pre-War Society had gone to pieces in a paroxysm of violence and European civilisation lay stunned and disintegrating, all its traditions gone, all its land marks submerged. Faith in man had perished with faith in institutions and the moral sanctions of society were repudiated as frankly as its political bonds. A fierce egotism, descending from the race to the nation from the nation to the class and from the class to the individual person became the general note and the spirit of Prussianism crushed in Berlin took possession of the heaving masses of European Society. The old gospel with all its social contracts had gone in the whirlwind and the law of the jungle became the law of Europe. It is in these circumstances that the bankruptcy of our moral and spiritual sources has been manifest. An unprecedented challenge was issued to the statesmanship of Europe and it was issued in vain. We are without leadership and without a leader and no voice is heard above the ugly scramble of savage appetites in which nations are falling daily to even deeper levels of ruin. We look back to the past when Gladstone touched the whole life of Europe to finer issues, when the simple and sublime wisdom of Lincoln shone like a star for the guidance of men and we ask whether humanity has lost this great strain or whether it is that events have swelled to such vast dimensions that the human mind is no longer able to grasp them.

### Rule of the British North Borneo Company

Major E. Alexander Powell informs the reader in the Century Magazine that with the exception of Rhodesia and of certain territories in Portuguese Africa, North Borneo is the sole remaining region in the world that is owned and adminis-

tered by that political anachronism, a chartered company." Says he —

I found in that remote and neglected corner of the empire a condition of affairs which I supposed had passed from the world with Leopold's regime in the Congo, with Diaz's rule in Yucatan.

He gives us in a paragraph an idea of what the rule of the British North Borneo Company is like, which he describes in an article entitled "Where There Ain't No Ten Commandments."

Now the idea of turning over a great block of territory, with its inhabitants to a corporation whose sole aim is to earn dividends for its absentee stock holders is in itself abhorrent to most of us. We can get an idea of the situation if we imagine Porto Rico for example, which is only one tenth the size of British North Borneo, being handed over lock, stock and barrel, to the Standard Oil Company, with full authorization for that Company to make its own laws, establish its own courts, appoint its own officials, maintain its own army, and wield the power of life and death over the natives. Conceiving such a situation what would we say if the Standard Oil Company in order to swell its revenues not only permitted but officially encouraged opium smoking and gambling, if in order to obtain labor for the plantations it imported large numbers of ignorant blacks from Haiti and permitted the plantation owners to hold those laborers through indenture and indebtedness in a form of servitude not far removed from slavery if it authorized the punishment of recalcitrant laborers by flogging with the cat o' nine-tails if it denied to the natives as well as to the alien laborers a system of public education or a public health service or trial by jury and finally in the event of insurrection if it permitted its constabulary, largely recruited from savage tribes to decapitate their prisoners and to pile the ghastly trophies in a pyramid in the principal piazza of the capital. Yet that would be a fairly close parallel to what the British North Borneo Company is doing to-day in that forgotten corner of the world which it has taken for its own.

### The Struggle for Constantinople

Dr Herbert Adams Gibbons describes in the *Century Magazine* "The Struggle for Constantinople," which is many centuries long. In his opinion,

If a new Rip Van Winkle had gone to sleep at any time in the nineteenth century and awoke to-day one column in the morning newspaper would afford him no sensation of surprise. Were

his eyes to fall first upon a despatch from Constantinople he would read it without discovering his long sleep. Metternich and Castlereagh and Talleyrand, Palmerston and Napoleon III, Bismarck and Disraeli and Shushloff, would had history repeating itself with a vengeance in the Golden Horn. Throughout the World War and during the three years that have followed the collapse of Turkey European diplomacy has been running true to form in the near past. This is a peculiarly distressing and hopeless statement to make more than two years after the creation of the League of Nations. But the truth does not set us free unless we know the truth.

The nations struggling for the control of Constantinople are Turkey, Russia, Greece, Great Britain France and Italy.

The expulsion of Turkey from Europe was one of the war aims of the English powers as set forth in their reply to Mr Wilson's official request for information about what they were fighting for. Great Britain, France and Italy had agreed by a secret treaty, concluded in 1915, to give Constantinople to Russia as a part of Russia's war booty. But the Petrograd revolution and its aftermath led to a renunciation of the claim to Constantinople by the de facto Government in control of Russia at the time of the Turkish collapse. Consequently, the city was occupied by the other Entente powers, jointly. Three years later, British, French and Italians are still there.

So are the Turks. The Sultan goes to prayers on Fridays with all the show of former days. The sublime Porte functions at least as well as the League of Nations is functioning. Police authority is divided with the Allies but the Turks still distribute the mail and collect the taxes. If one European power were holding Constantinople with the certainty of remaining, the Turks would feel ill at ease. As they have three occupying powers, each hating the others and trying to oust the others, why should the Turks worry?

If the Turks are driven out of Constantinople, however, the strongest claimant is Russia.

It requires a remarkable ignorance of the spirit of Russia of Russian history, of Russia's economic needs and latent powers, to think that Russia is out of the running in the race for Constantinople.

### Wanted a Health Service for the Nation.

What Dr Glenn Frank considers necessary for America is much more necessary in India, where the larger portion of the country constituting the villages is practically without the services of trained medical men. He holds —

When we get around to the organization of a

real health service for the nation if we ever do we shall be forced I think to an agreement upon the following things as essential

First, the virtual elimination of the private practice of medicine with the substitution of a national health organization in which all doctors shall be servants of the state, with all or a basic part of their income guaranteed

Under the existing regime of the private practice of medicine we have no guaranty that doctors will be wisely strategically located no guaranty that every community in America will have access to the medical science and service that it must have if America is to keep at its physical maximum To-day doctors locate for practice exactly as tailors locate for tailoring in search of a privately profitable future with the result that in many communities are undersupplied while other communities are oversupplied with doctors In an intelligently organized world only one consideration would dictate the location of doctors, namely, the accurate supplying of medical counsel and service to every community in America and to every man woman and child in every community Some day we shall zone the country for medical purposes as we have zoned the country for our federal reserve banks

Under the existing system of the private practice of medicine doctors have a vested interest in ill health instead of a vested interest in good health I am not falling into the facile assumption that doctors habitually perform unnecessary operations and prolong sicknesses in order to run up a bill I shall leave that libel to Bernard Shaw and state flatly as he states it it is a libel up in the most unseemly set of professional men on the world But the fact remains that the existing system in its ultimate outworking does put a premium upon disease rather than upon health In the main doctors secure their income from curing sick folk not from advising well folk how to keep well

An intelligent state would see to it that every doctor in America received weekly bulletins that contained the latest and most authentic reports of the progress of medical science Thousands upon thousands of doctors simply cannot afford to attend lectures and clinics periodically Again an intelligent state would see to it that every doctor in America was not only enabled but required thus to refresh his knowledge from time to time

## International Congress for the Protection of Children

Charlotte Kellogg asks in *The Woman Citizen of America* —

Brussels 1921—International Congress for the Protection of Children

Does that headline stir you? Brussels streets aflame with red and yellow, and black—all one bright banner—and men and women from over

thirty quarters of the globe eagerly following them to ward a central meeting place—the Palais des Academies—there to talk and work for the children of the world To those of us who followed these same streets between 1913 and 1918, silent bannerless appalling threading our way between uncending lines of little children waiting for their daily bread—part of the threatened childhood of the world—the meeting of this Child Welfare Congress was of thrilling significance

It was in 1913 that Belgium called the first Congress to consider the protection of children of all countries of the world and there confidently set in motion a plan for a permanent international organization that would arrange for biennial meetings at Brussels

In the present year the Belgian Government through its child loving King Albert, called the second Infant Welfare Congress to Brussels

There were some seventy of us official delegates with other unofficial delegates, besides a large group of representatives of various private child welfare organizations

It was France that moved the adoption of the permanent organization. The only serious object on came from the British delegation led by Dr Arthur Norris Inspector of Industrial and Reform Schools in England

The sentiment of the large majority of the delegates was clearly that it was best to follow the road marked off in 1913 and to get forward as quickly as possible And the French resolution for the adoption of the plan was carried by a vote of 24 to 4 Great Britain India, South Africa and Australia voted negatively Denmark and Holland did not vote Once the resolution carried the British offered to do all they could to encourage their governments to participate

Following this decision, the Belgian Government through the regular diplomatic channels, is to invite the nations of the world to membership in the International Child Welfare Association The expense involved will be small for a nation of less than five million population an annual subscription of 3 000 francs or one with between five and ten million 6 000 francs and for nations counting over ten million 12 000 francs Private institutions and associations and individuals will pay fifty francs, international associations one hundred francs as a membership fee

I went from Section I (Preservation of the Morals of Childhood Juvenile Courts), to II (Treatment of Abnormal Children) and then to III (Child Hygiene) and IV (Protection of War Orphans) to try to find which was awakening greatest interest but I could not decide Each group seemed all eagerness

## Women in Public Health

We read in *The Woman Citizen* of America —

No limit has been placed on the activities of women in home health what are their opportunities in public health?

Every woman has been a recognized executive in keeping her family well, how many administrative positions are open to women in keeping the public well?

Some unusually interesting information answering these questions has been developed in a preliminary survey recently authorized by the United States Public Health Service.

Letters were accordingly sent to the state health officers, asking the names, titles and length of service of all women 'holding administrative positions' in the departments and what professional opportunity the state health officer considered that public health offered to women.

Of the 48 health officers 47 replied. It was a surprise even to public health experts themselves to find that instead of an expected 50 or 60 names nearly 200 names of women in official work were reported.

Of the 47 state health departments 39 employ women in professional administrative positions. These positions are in the order of the number of women employed:

Child Hygiene—chief or assistant 34, Venereal Disease Control—chief, assistant, social service worker, educational lecturer or writer, epidemiologist 23, Public Health Nursing—chief, assistant, district director, assistant district director, 'supervisor' 21, Laboratories—director, assistant director 21, Publicity—chief or assistant 14, Vital Statistics—chief, registrar, assistant 8, Special Positions 9.

The special positions are those of inspectors chiefly of food and drugs markets, boarding homes for children, or hotels—this being a recent and undoubtedly promising development.

## Are Unmarried Women "Superfluous"?

'No', answers V R in *The Woman Citizen*.

Fifteen million women in Europe are doomed to die unmarried and there are two million more women than men in England, according to recent estimates. Various persons commenting on this situation have been filled not only with dark foreboding for society but with gloomy pity for these 'superfluous women'. Some of the pity may be wanted, all of it would be if a general social attitude were to go with the word 'superfluous'. Fifteen million women all feeling superfluous would add up to a considerable total of piteous woe. But the day for that has come and it is high time the word 'superfluous' was dropped. The unmarried, went with the

Bitter economic hardships there will be, of course—women thrown on their own resources without training or equipment. But thousands of women formerly sheltered are finding it possible to tackle life for themselves and are enjoying it. Aside from these, too, there are those for whom the word 'superfluous' is simply insulting—the women who are helping to build up the broken life of their countries, especially through care of the children. Such women give their spirit of motherhood to great groups instead of to a small family and render a service that could otherwise not be given. As a final point sheer force of numbers, as the *New York World* points out, may give the women in certain of the European countries a social and political power they never had before.

Married life is normal and desirable, but it is too late in the day to assume that marriage is a woman's whole and only destiny, or that a spinster is any more superfluous than a bachelor.

## "With Husband's Consent"

All over the world including even India, the natural rights of women are receiving increasing recognition.

In a recent action of the Belgian Chamber there is a matter for congratulation to women and some matter, too, for mild mirth. (Incidentally, here is a point at which the unmarried woman has the clear advantage however she may be wept over as 'superfluous'.) Without debate a measure has been adopted permitting women to hold office as burgomaster or mayor. In a country like Belgium, where for centuries city and town autonomy has been preponderant the Burgomaster is extremely important. This officer is president of the municipal council, president of the council of charities and chief of the local police. For women to gain this right may well be looked upon as marking an important point in the progress of feminism.

But—a married woman may exercise these functions only upon the express authorization of her husband. Though it is true that 'such authorization is not required whenever a woman furnishes proof that husband is absent, is under suspension of his civil rights or is in such situation that he cannot make known his decision,' and a woman nominated to said office before contracting marriage may fill it during her term notwithstanding the refusal or recall of the marital authorization. Well—how long is that likely to last?

Granted that a woman would probably have a very unhappy time being a mayor if husband, in the background felt that she was neglecting him, how about the other way round? It may make a very sizable difference to the wife whether her husband is in the may or in a chair or in a home. Not the same kind of difference, seriously a most vital one.

does any one suggest that the male candidate for burgomaster should bring in his wife's written consent? Hardly.

The fact is that these family adjustments are really better made privately.

### An Unusual Will

The *Playground* quotes some passages from a will bequeathing idealism to the heir. The will of Nicholas Menikoff, attorney, which bequeaths his idealism to his children was filed for probate in the Surrogate's Court.

"Having disposed of my worldly affairs," he says, in the usual paragraph of his will, "I desire to express to my wife and children, as well as to my other criticising friends, that though I pass away poor in material possessions, I have no regret at having lived an unselfish life as an idealist. My conscience is clear."

I have done my best to secure the best ideals of mankind as I understand them. I was true to my principles at all times and my devotion to ideals was limited only by the lack of sufficient physical strength and want of sufficient faith in individuals striving or claiming to strive, to change our present social system to a better state of society.

I beg my children to respect ideals and idealists and dreamers for what are dreams to-day will be realistic to-morrow and what are called iridescent dreams by our practical men of affairs are the guiding stars of mankind.—from the *New York Herald*.

### "Junior Municipality."

#### The Playground records

One of the first organizations—of junior municipalities for boys and girls between sixteen and twenty-one—is that in Glen Ridge, New Jersey. The movement was started in Glen Ridge by the American Legion Post. Letters commending the movement have been received from Vice-President Coolidge, Assistant Secre-

tary of the Navy Roosevelt, Governor Allen of Kansas.

### Where Citizens are Made.

#### Detroit News reports —

To furnish the children of Detroit with more abundant opportunities for wholesome fun and play activities 60 playgrounds have begun this week to run full time. A playground as we conceive it to-day is not what it was when many of us who are now sending our children to it went there ourselves. Three or four decades ago it offered little attraction except as an open space cleared more or less of refuse and rubbish.

To-day this playground has been made inviting because it is equipped with a goodly supply of the things needed for games and contests of all kinds.

These play centers are in charge of a staff of 140 recreation workers. These individuals, men and women, have made a study of play and recreation. By training and experience they have acquired some knowledge of the child's needs on the playground; they know how to get the diffident and shy youngster into the game and they know also how to handle the boy who unless carefully handled develops easily into what is known as the bully.

For many years we have known about the educational and character moulding value of play, but only within recent years have we put it to use. We know and act to-day on the principle that on the playground there are to be learned lessons of loyalty and self-sacrifice and team play which are nowhere else more effectively learned. What is fair and unfair, what is right and wrong—in short, all the rules for the great game of life may be worked out. The girl who lacks confidence in herself, the bashful boy inclined to refrain from competitive exercises with his playmates—these may here be helped on the road to self-development.

On Detroit's playgrounds this summer there are at play the future citizens of Detroit. Let us help them to make the most of their opportunities.

### AN ANCIENT STATUE AT MUTTRA

LAST month I was led to find a statue with a pre-Maurya inscription at Muttra in a curious manner. The statue is of importance to the history of art and is a further proof which goes to destroy M. Foucault's theory that Hindus

learnt the art of making statues from the Greek residents of India. The statue is not noticed in any of the official reports.

There is a statue in the Mathura Museum kept in the open compound, known to the archaeologists as the "



The Inscription on a Pre-Mauryan Statue found near Mathura by Mr K. P. Jayaswal

Kushan statue. It was dug out at a place called Math outside Muttra, along with the statue of King Kanishka. Between the feet of the statue there is an inscription which was interpreted for the first time by Dr Vogel then an officer of the Archaeological Department. Some two years ago I had an occasion to study the inscription and I published my results in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, formulating on the strength of the inscription that the statue represents the predecessor of King Kanishka and formed the first figure of *Devakula* or Valhalla erected to the Kushan dynasty and that it commemorates the king known by his coins as *Wema Kadphises*. Dr Vogel wrote to me accepting my main conclusions but he demurred to my reading of the last portion which I had taken to give the date and he proposed a new reading. To arrive at a decision it was necessary for me to examine the stone again, and I was engaged in scrutinizing the disputed portion one morning in the last week of September last when a villager who had probably come to court close by approached me from the next compound and gave the information that in a particular village—the village of Sonaut—there was

a similar statue of a Devi with a similar *lekha* (writing=inscription). Next morning I started to find it out. I had to motor 12 miles down the Bharatpur Road and then after a little wandering I reached the village. Near the village there is a huge mound having Maurya bricks pointing to its Maurya or pre-Maurya age. Opposite the Maurya mound, there stands on a much smaller mound a temple—built, according to local tradition, under the 'Deccanis', i.e. the Marathas. Round about the temple sculptural remains of the Sunga, Gupta and later periods lie scattered or collected. In the temple is placed the statue—the subject matter of this note. The figure sits on a chair—throne like the Kushan one, but the chair of the Sonaut statue is round. The front portion of the statue is covered with vermillion by the modern votaries of the figure who call it 'Manasa Devi'. It is a female figure. The village zemindars hold a fair in her honour every year and derive some revenue. The back of the statue reveals beautiful *mekhla* (girdle) and decorations on the chair. The details are pure Hindu in the style of the Benares statue. Unfortunately they cannot be photographed without removing the



statue from its present base and it is not worth while to photograph the front as it shows no detail of artistic value. A little tact and some money to be dropped in the pocket of the priest and the proprietors would result in a permission to cleanse the stone and to take photographs from all sides. Speaking from the Hindu point of view the sculpture ought not to be worshipped, for its head is off, which has been replaced with a modern one made as ugly as possible. Between the feet of the figure there is an inscription in three lines. The first line has the name of the builder, the second line mentions Kunika and the third line ends the inscription preserving now only two letters in full. At the death of the Buddha Kunika was the King of Magadha with an empire whose limits are not yet definitely ascertained but it is probable that Mathura was under him. The Parkham statue found in the district of Mathura mentions Kunika's name and has been identified by me as his statue. Thanks to the Editor of the *Modern Review* I am in a position to publish a copy of the present inscription. This will enable scholars to form their own judgment on the find and stimulate interest in the statue itself. My tentative reading is as follows:

(Line 1)	Sini	Darsi	Adrit[ɾ]
	सिनि	दरसि	आरित (or दो)

Archaeological Department which has got so much on its hands the Provincial Government ought to turn its attention

to the buried treasures and make them available to the present generation.

Patna,  
17-10-21.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

## NOTES

### India's Political Goal.

Indians and Englishmen live far apart from one another geographically. That itself shows that there is no natural reason why they should form part of one and the same political unit. They are, moreover, separated by tradition, culture, race, language and religion. Even in the distant future there is no probability of racial fusion between Englishmen and Indians. Obviously, then, they ought to prepare themselves to be politically independent of one another.

There is one other important reason why India should be politically independent of Britain. Whatever the reason, India during her long history has never been an imperialising or exploiting nation, and if her past is a guide to her future, she will never be an imperialising and exploiting country. We are thus fit to live in amity with other peoples, if they themselves do not adopt towards us the attitude of aggressors and commercial and industrial exploiters. Such is not the case with an empire-building and exploiting country like Britain. She must necessarily have many rivals, many enemies and many victims. If India continues to form part of the same empire with Britain, India would be expected and compelled to treat Britain's enemies and rivals as her enemies and rivals, too, which cannot be always either natural or reasonable or just. To be obliged to treat a people as hostile to us because they are or suspected to be hostile to Britain, though they may have done us no wrong, is immoral, unrighteous and unspiritual. That is not all. It is also economically wasteful and may

be ruinous. Independent nations generally incur military expenditure with reference to their own needs. During the British period, India has had to incur military expenditure with reference to both her own and Britain's needs. This has been economically ruinous, and must be burdensome even in that future when she may obtain dominion home rule if she remains within the British Empire.

It is not clear how the conditions of the principle of self-determination can be satisfied by any kind of home rule. Unless a people can determine and control all their foreign relations also, home rule must be a farce. If India's foreign policy in politics, commerce and culture be dictated entirely, mainly or even partly by Britain, that policy must involve her in such superfluous expenditure or such avoidable loss or unnecessary sacrifice of revenue as to compel her to minimise her expenditure in the departments of sanitation, education, irrigation, agriculture and industrial development, as at present. India's railway policy has been dictated mainly by Britain's strategic needs and commercial policy of exploitation and the acquisitiveness of British ironmongers. Can any kind of home rule enable us to shake off the incubus of such a railway policy?

In order to prove that we should be politically free and independent, it is not necessary to prove that the British Government in India is Satanic. The Anglo-Indian bureaucrats' endeavours to prove that their rule is not satanic but angelic, are quite unnecessary so far as it bears on the question of the ultimate political goal of India. Not that we think that British rule

in India has been and is angelic. What we mean is, that even if that rule were and be quite unselfish it would still be necessary for us to be free and independent. The ultimate and only justification of any human institution, system, organization, method or machinery is that it helps and enables men to be and live like human beings. And the highest characteristic of human beings is that they can be masters of their internal and external lives, that they can be self-determining—within God appointed limits of course. Therefore even though a foreign people enable us to live in better houses and more sanitary towns and villages, to wear better clothes, to read and understand more books, to move about more quickly and with greater ease and comfort to eat more and better food etc., then if we were independent such a state of things would fall far short of the ideal life of human beings, namely, a life which is self-chosen, self-determined and self-regulated. From this point of view—and it is the only point of view consistent with the sense of dignity of a self-respecting nation,—primitive clothes and houses, coarse and simple food, primitive conveniences and implements etc. combined with freedom and independence are preferable by far to all the amenities of a 'civilized' life combined with political subjection. In one word, a primitive self-ruling group of human beings must be regarded as occupying a higher position in the scale of humanity than a human cattle-farm, clean, well-fed and comfortable. But facts as they are do not necessitate the assumption of two such hypothetical conditions for the purposes of comparison and contrast. In the past history of India there were independent Indian states which were as highly civilized as any contemporary foreign countries. In future too, an independent India will be in all probability as civilized, materially and spiritually, as the average civilized country in the world outside India. Therefore we need not have to make a choice between primitiveness *cum* independence and refinement and comfort *cum* subjection, though if we had to make such a choice we should choose the former

without the least hesitation. As regards the latter, it is patent to all that though our subjection is painfully evident, our food, housing, clothing, schooling, means of locomotion, etc., are very far removed from what the words refinement and comfort convey. But here again, even if the British rulers of India could in our state of subjection ensure us plenty of good food and clothing, adequate and comfortable housing accommodation, a sufficient number of efficient schools for literary and scientific training, good roads, etc., we should certainly not be reconciled to subjection.

Let us therefore make freedom and independence our goal. The surest way to reach that goal is to be fearless, pure, honest, truthful, dutiful, unselfish, self-respecting, industrious, educated and neighborly to all sects, races, and castes.

### Unemployment.

In England there is unemployment only occasionally as now. And yet what earnest endeavours are made by legislation and other means, to provide work for all able-bodied adults. And there are in addition various kinds of help and relief meant for the aged, the infirm and the sick. Here in India decades run into centuries during which millions have lived lives of unemployment and chronic semi-starvation. And yet who cares? Millions have grown so accustomed to famished idle lives that they do not seek for or desire employment. That is the worst of it. Lovers of humanity and statesmen have in India both to rouse the desire and habit of work and to provide work. Spinning is one such kind of work ready to hand. Even for beginners it is more remunerative and desirable than the work which has to be done in famine relief centres. But the sense of dignity of labour and of self-respect should be roused so that people may prefer any kind of honest work to begging and the receipt of doles.

With the extinction of many cottage industries, even those classes of people who formerly used to be busy all the year round with agriculture and handicrafts have grown accustomed to idle

ness for months combined with malnutrition. And it should be remembered that spinning and weaving were not the only kinds of cottage industries which have now disappeared to a very great extent. The blacksmiths were a numerous class of people whose occupation is now mostly gone. We should feel as guilty when using foreign cutlery and weapons and domestic and agricultural implements as when wearing foreign clothing. Brass-smiths, too, have been largely ousted by their foreign competitors. In pre-British India there were a thousand sea-ports, which kept busy thousands upon thousands of workmen, skilled and unskilled, in building, repairing and manning various sizes and sorts of river-crafts and sea-going vessels. Their occupation is gone.

Nothing but freedom and independence can build up again the bodies, minds and characters of the Indian people. This freedom and independence must not be thought of as merely political. In the social and religious spheres of our lives, too, we must be democratic, free and fraternal.

### Social Adaptability.

One reason why individuals fail in the struggle for existence is that they cannot adapt themselves to their environment. When they lose their adaptability, they grow weak, fall ill, decay, or die. What is true of individuals is true also of communities. Peoples, communities and groups become decadent if their adaptability diminishes or disappears. The decadence of Hindu society has for one of its causes this decrease or disappearance of adaptability. The many smritis, samhitas or lawbooks of the Hindus differ from one another in many respects, showing that they were composed in different ages or regions to suit different circumstances. The late Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vasu Vidyarnava was right in holding that the "Smritis are not like the Vedas, considered to be eternal and unchangeable. Every Yuga or Cycle had its own Smriti." They "were brought into existence as circumstances called for them. Thus there can be no doubt that

the Devala Smriti as printed in the collection of 27 Smritis published by the Anandasram of Poona was composed when Sindh was invaded by the Arabs in the 8th century A. D. The opening verses of that smriti bring out this fact very clearly." (Introduction to the English translation of Yajñavalkya Smriti by R. B. Srisachandra Vasu, Panini Office, Allahabad). In this same introduction Devala is identified with the sea-port of Daibul whose sieze and capture by Mohammad Kasim in 712 A. D. is described by Stanley Lane-Poole in Mediaeval India Under Mohammedan Rule. "Some of the inhabitants of Sindh either voluntarily embraced the religion of the invaders or were forcibly converted to it. It was necessary to bring back the lost men to the fold of Hinduism. The Devala Smriti shows not only the tolerant nature but statesman-like grasp of its author." This smriti contains only 90 verses, and prescribe the expiatory rites to be performed by the Hindu men and women who had been converted to Mohammedanism and wanted to be readmitted into the Hindu fold. Expiatory rites for the readmission even of such women as had borne children by Musalman fathers are prescribed therein. Such prescriptions are also to be found in Brihad-yama Smriti (V. 6).

Attempts are now being made to re-Hinduize those who have been converted by the Moplahs by force. There are precedents and prescriptions for such reconversion to be found in the smritis. If Hindu Society had been as vigorous to day as some centuries back, perhaps a new smriti would have been compiled from the old ones by some new law-giver. But as it has lost the power to give birth to new law-givers, its orthodox religious leaders will no doubt take advantage of the old smritis.

### Conversion and Proselytisation.

Properly speaking conversion is a radical change of heart by which a man is led to make righteousness the law of his life. The profession of a new creed by a person does not necessarily lead to conversion in this sense. Yet it is the only kind

of religious change that is worth while. The mere substitution of one sectarian name for another is valueless. Proselytisation which makes one spiritually arrogant, narrow in outlook, fanatical and unneighbourly, is highly undesirable.

Hindu Society presents a happy hunting ground for proselytising religions, to a very great extent, because of its notions of "untouchability" and the gradation of castes by which persons are ranked as pure or impure, worthy or unworthy of honour, qualified or unqualified for certain high or sacred functions, etc., merely because of their birth, not because of character and intellectual attainments and spiritual excellence.

#### "Pussyfoot" Johnson.

The two most numerous religious communities in India are the Hindus and the Musalmans. Drinking is forbidden in the scriptures of both. And neither among Hindus nor among Musalmans is drinking a generally prevalent social practice. In the Christian countries of Europe and America drinking is or recently was a generally prevalent social practice, and it is or in recent times was openly indulged in in respectable society. From one such country Mr. "Pussyfoot" Johnson came to India to strengthen the movement for the prohibition of liquor. In his country, where at one time the majority were drinkers, prohibition is the law of the land. In India even the enlightening contact of the West has not yet converted the majority into drinkers. Therefore, if the people could have their way, they would certainly put a stop to the liquor traffic. While, therefore, we thank Mr. Johnson for his friendly interest in India, we wish him to understand that one of the most effective means to put an end to the production and sale of intoxicating liquors is to place political power in the hands of the people. We know his visit had no political object. But it is because without political power in our hands what he and we desire cannot be brought about, we would urge him and his countrymen to actively sympathise with the movement for the complete political enfranchisement of India.

#### Repression.

In the long run repression has not been a successful policy in any country. Temporary success it has had in many, or most or all countries where it has been tried, with a view to curb or put down movements for the attainment of political freedom. The present campaign of repression may succeed or may not succeed; no definite prophecy can be made. What can be confidently and definitely said is that even if all the leaders and followers of the present day movement could be removed from the scene of their activities, that would produce only a temporary lull. A stronger and more widespread movement is sure to follow in the near future. Ultimate victory is certain. Though we are not among the sufferers, our sympathies are entirely with the innocent sufferers.

We have said above that it cannot be definitely prophesied whether the present campaign of repression will succeed or not. Judging from the signs of the times, however, it seems that it will fail. For, those who are being arrested and sent to jail are facing imprisonment unmoved, nay with joy, those who are given the option of giving bail or paying a fine or going to jail, prefer to go to jail; and those who are going to jail are receiving unusual honours from their countrymen; the Karachi Resolution which is one of the causes of the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and several other leaders has been repeatedly reaffirmed in public meetings in various places and by the All-India members of the Congress organisation; and the *fatwa* signed by 500 ulemas which was seized and proscribed by the Government has been reprinted and publicly distributed in various places.

Men dressed in a little brief authority have the blundering habit of doing the wrong thing. We recognise that there are only two ways of dealing with the situation, the right way being to enable the people to win the Swaraj or self-rule they long for, and the wrong way being to repress all those who have that desire. We recognise that, perhaps with one exception or a few exceptions, it is not in the

ness for months combined with malnutrition. And it should be remembered that spinning and weaving were not the only kinds of cottage industries which have now disappeared to a very great extent. The blacksmiths were a numerous class of people whose occupation is now mostly gone. We should feel as guilty when using foreign cutlery and weapons and domestic and agricultural implements as when wearing foreign clothing. Brass-smiths, too, have been largely ousted by their foreign competitors. In pre British India there were a thousand sea-ports, which kept busy thousands upon thousands of workmen, skilled and unskilled, in building, repairing and manning various sizes and sorts of river-crafts and sea-going vessels. Their occupation is gone.

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power of the executive servants of the British Government to adopt the right way, and therefore they are obliged to have recourse to the wrong method. It may be that most of them do this not wholly because they are obliged to do so, but partly because their preference and inclination be that way. But what we cannot understand is why they are so foolish as to seek unnecessarily to humiliate those whom they seek to repress. Men who, if they liked, could have furnished security or paid a fine but who prefer instead to go to jail, are certainly not in the least likely to try to escape from custody. They are, moreover, not murderers, robbers, housebreakers or dangerous criminals. Why then handcuff them or chain them together? If anything, instead of humiliating them in the eyes of their countrymen, it raises them in their esteem and enhances their sympathy. And handcuffs and chains will certainly not intimidate those for whom imprisonment has no terrors. Why speak of imprisonment? There are men whom the certainty of lifelong transportation will not deter from doing their duty. Even the fear of death is a vanishing quantity among the chosen spirits.

The situation being what it is, the position of those of our countrymen who, really or in name, are members of the provincial and imperial governments, cannot but excite a feeling of pity or revulsion. It is not difficult to believe that many, or most or all of them accepted their offices partly at least from a desire to serve their country. But may it be asked, what they are doing at the present juncture? Some of them have been journalists and most have had something to do with public life. Either in the pages of newspapers or from public platforms they have repeatedly given expression to the belief that repression never ultimately succeeds to which we are giving expression. Where is that belief gone? Was it the fantasy of a dream or a reality? If they are still urging that belief on their European colleagues, the effect is not apparent to the public. If they are not urging it, having given it up, will they make a

confession of change of faith, giving reasons for the new faith that is in them?

If our quondam public men had accepted office on the understanding that they would not accept any salary or would accept only an allowance of Rs. 1000 per mensem, according to a widely expressed public desire, their present position would not have been so odious or so pitiable. They cannot now convince the public that they have been incurring odium by continuing in office only from a sense of public duty; their big salaries prevent people from implicitly believing any such thing even though it be possibly true. If they had accepted office on the condition that it would be honorary or would carry monthly allowance of Rs. 1000, their present position would have been better. Moreover, the fact of our own countrymen doing onerous duties honestly at less than one-fifth the salaries of their European colleagues would have increased our self-respect and would have given us immense political leverage.

### The Balance of Studies

In the course of a speech which Principal Heramba Chandra Moitra delivered at the Congress of Universities at Oxford on July 5, 1921, and which has been printed in *The Inquirer* of London (September 17, 1921), he said—

It is nearly a century since Rammohun Roy urged the British Government to introduce a system of liberal Western education in India on the ground that his countrymen suffered from the want of a knowledge of the useful sciences, as Europe had suffered before the foundations of modern science were laid by Bacon. But only a small proportion of our students can find accommodation in the science classes of Indian universities. The New University Regulations, based on the recommendations of the Indian Universities Commission, have, we gratefully admit, given an impetus to the teaching of science by requiring students to go through a specified course of laboratory work under competent instructors and by the creation of degrees in science. And the Calcutta University, I rejoice in being able to say, has been enabled, by the generosity of two of our most distinguished countrymen, to establish a science college in Calcutta for those post graduate students who are unable to join either of the two Government colleges in Bengal which carry science teaching beyond the graduate stage. This new institu-



tion is rendering an invaluable service to our country by providing facilities for research for Indian professors who are not in Government service. But the demand in Bengal for a knowledge of some sciences—notably physics and chemistry—is far in excess of what the institutions working under the university are able to meet. The demand is perfectly legitimate and an earnest effort should be made by Government and by the educated public to meet it.

It was only to be expected that a thinker and a man of culture of the standing of Principal Moitra would not extol and strengthen the demand for scientific studies alone. He rightly stood up for all those other studies also which go to the making of men. Said he—

We cannot however ignore the fact that there is a tendency on the part of many both in the East and West to assume that a knowledge of science is the only knowledge worth seeking. The materialistic bent of the present age is reflected in this as in so many other aspects of the life and thought of these times.

It should be the aim of every great seat of learning to lay the utmost stress on the principle of the unity of knowledge and the variety as well as the vastness of the fields which await exploration—nay to impress upon the student the fact that there are regions of study and thought that now lie beyond the ken of the human mind. This can only be done not merely by providing a comprehensive scheme of studies in which every important branch of knowledge has its due place but by taking steps to make the student belonging to a particular department or section of a university realize that there is much to be known outside the limits of the particular branch of knowledge with which he is immediately concerned. About half a century ago an eminent educationist of this country said that while the older practice in education was to turn to the discipline of the mind, the modern seeks to store it with information. Every course of study provided by a university should be judged not merely as a means of storing the mind with information but as an instrument for maintaining the discipline of the mind. The value of instruction in the elements of science as a means of making the student acquire the habits of close attention to facts and careful reasoning is universally recognized and none would deny the necessity of including such instruction as an essential element in a scheme of university education. But the seekers of knowledge suffer as much from vanity and a tendency to do,matize on things about which they know nothing as from inattention to facts and illogical reasoning. Some continental universities have I learn come to realize the necessity of the study of philosophy as a means of

enabling science students to perceive the limits of science and recognize the existence of spheres of knowledge requiring the play of other faculties and the use of other apparatus than those that are needed in the study of material phenomena and they have accordingly made the study of philosophy compulsory. It is a question worthy of serious consideration whether those students of our universities who have not taken up philosophy as a subject of study before graduation should not be required to attend a course of lectures on that subject after they have passed their degree examination. There will of course be wide differences of opinion as to the means to be employed for the attainment of the object I have indicated. But all supporters of liberal education ought to accept the principle that every great seat of learning should aspire to make the seeker of knowledge realize that the fabric of culture is a house of many mansions.

India has been pre-eminently a land of meditation, contemplation, and thought. In Indian Universities the view point of Principal Moitra which is that of all sane thinkers, ought to receive due recognition.

### Commercial and Industrial Concessions

It was a very sane advice given to a Japanese gentleman by Herbert Spencer that the Japanese government should not give any commercial or industrial concessions to any European nation in Japan. The grant of such concessions ultimately leads to the annexation or what the modern Europeans call conquest of the country which grants them concessions. It is the introduction of the thin end of the wedge in the body politic of the concession giving country, which brings about its subversion and ruin. Very truly has an American author said—

The most effective method of annexation are through loans and railways. The weak nation borrows and the interest is not paid. The lender takes possession of the custom houses to collect the interest on the debt and it is very easy for custom house control to spread to the control of the towns and then the country. By the railway conquest the undeveloped nation agrees that a railway shall be built in its territory by representatives of some more powerful nation. Such were the Russian railways across Manchuria to Vladivostok and to Port Arthur. The railways and the workers thereon required protection. The

difference between police protection and an army is a line that has never been pointed out and Russian soldiers in great multitudes entered Manchuria which the whole world recognized in a few years as essentially a Russian province, as Egypt is an English province despite the sovereign claims of an ornate Khedive in Cairo and a despotic Sultan in Constantinople. By the war of 1904 Japan took the rights to some of the Manchurian railways from Russia by force. China was no less dismembered by the change in concessionaires who were really conquerors' \*

The ruin of Indian trades and industries as well as the political downfall of India may be said to have dated from the day when the Mogul Emperor with the generosity and magnanimity characteristic of an Asiatic Sovereign granted such terms to the foreign Christian merchants of the British nationality trading in India which no modern Christian power would ever think of giving to any Christian or non-Christian people. Under the guise of traders, the foreigners were conspiring for the conquest of India. Unfortunately the plot of the scheming and designing foreigners was not discovered, nay, not even suspected by the simple minded folks of that country. Whether the latter would have been able to avoid being entrapped in the net which the foreigners were weaving round them, had they discovered or even suspected it in time is a question which it is not necessary to consider here. But ever since the British required power in India, it has been their systematic policy not to develop and encourage the indigenous industries and trade of India and to paint Indians as lacking in energy and business capacity, incapable of organizing industries, hoarding their wealth and not investing the same for the creation and maintenance of new industries. All this animus against Indians is explained by the proverb which says that 'one hates the person whom he has injured'.

Even when India shall have won swaraj the foreign owned railways, industries and other business enterprises will most

probably be used successfully to keep India in economic bondage, which may again lead to political bondage.

### "On Some Matter Concerning the Andhan Inscriptions."

The *Calcutta Review* has published an article by Babu N G Majumdar with the above title. Therein the writer says —

In the June number of the *Modern Review* has appeared an editorial note publishing photographic facsimiles of Professor Luders and Professor Bhandarkar's remarks on the subject. And the note cunningly says there the two discoveries made and published previously in 1913 by Professor Luders are described by Mr D R Bhandarkar under the caption original research without any credit being given to the Berlin Professor, and adds 'We are unable to unravel the mystery whose original research is described in the page reproduced, Professor Luders or professor Bhandarkar's?'

Again —

The apparently well informed Editor remarks 'We understand that the Berlin Professor wrote a letter from Charlottenburg, dated the 21st February, 1913 to Mr D R Bhandarkar to make those discoveries known to him. I asked Professor Bhandarkar whether he was aware of any such letter. And he informed me that, although he could not vouch for the correctness of this date, he distinctly remembered that some such letter had been received from Professor Luders, etc.

The writer adds —

I then seized the opportunity of asking Professor Bhandarkar whose discovery it really was in regard to the initial compound letter in Castana's father's name and its equivalent to the Greek Z to represent some Scythian sound that is, *z* or *z* whether the credit for it was due to Professor Luders for announcing it in the *Sitzungsberichte* in 1913 or to Professor Bhandarkar himself for giving it out in the *Progress Report of the Western Circle* in 1915 exactly two years after Professor Luders paper appeared. And to my extreme surprise Professor Bhandarkar at once replied that the discovery was neither his nor Professor Luders, and that it was announced more than twenty years ago by no less an illustrious scholar than Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji.

We wanted to know whose original research it was. The writer says, according to Professor Bhandarkar, it was Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. It is clear then that Professor Bhandarkar claimed that to be his original research in 1915.

\* *Industrial and Commercial Geography* by J. Rusell Smith New York, Henry Holt and Co. 1913.

which was discovered according to his own admission, more than a decade before by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji.

The writer says that Dr Fleet and Mr R D Banerji have each in their writings mentioned or made use of a discovery by Prof Bhandarkar and a discovery by Mr R Chanda respectively without mentioning their names. We assume that the facts are as stated. But we are not told whether Dr Fleet and Mr Banerji have explicitly claimed these as their own original research or have only laid themselves open to the charge of carelessness in not giving full references. In any case, it is no defence to say that because others have not been accused of plagiarism therefore Mr R D Bhandarkar should not be accused of plagiarism even when he admits that the discovery was made by another scholar years before he proclaimed it as his own original research. That is a plain man's conclusion whatever the Calcutta University antiquarian view may be.

### Aditya Ram Bhattacharya

Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Adityaram Bhattacharya M A passed away last month at the age of 74 in his residence at Daraganj Allahabad. In him Allahabad has lost one of its worthiest sons. He was a Bengali and was born and received his education in the United Provinces and spent all his life there. He was, for the greater part of his active career, Professor of Sanskrit in the Muir Central College Allahabad though he also for some time taught English History and Philosophy in that institution. He was a distinguished educationist and did excellent work as a professor examiner Fellow of the Allahabad University and member of its syndicate and member of the text book committee. As a Fellow he was quite outspoken whenever he felt it necessary to give expression to his independent views. After retirement from Government service he held high office at the Benares Hindu University and rendered it good service. At his residence in Allahabad he used to help students of Sanskrit in their studies. In recognition of his Sanskrit scholarship

Government conferred on him the title of Mahamahopadhyay.

He and his eldest brother, the late Babu Benimadhab Bhattacharya, tried their best to protect pilgrims to Allahabad from the harassments of the local priests and they also relieved the distress of helpless pilgrims at the cost of much sacrifice and labour. He occasionally wrote letters to the Pioneer to bring the troubles and inconveniences of pilgrims to the Kumbha Mela to the notice of the authorities. In consequence many of their grievances were redressed. He had extensive knowledge of the antiquities and glory of Prayag (the Hindu name of Allahabad). The historical portion of the book entitled *Prayag or Allahabad* was mainly and practically written by him. The Pandit urged the recovery and publication of little known Sanskrit books and rescued from oblivion and published at his own cost *Śrīnandanaś Varasudeva Rāsanandanaś Saragadharasā Santarasaś nirdeśaś* and other old Sanskrit works. He was a lover and promoter of the Hindi language and literature and was a member of the Vagart Pracharini Sabha of Benares.

He was a congressman of the old school. Mr A O Hume sent him for his perusal many confidential letters. Congressmen like Panit Madan Mohan Malaviya one of his most distinguished pupils used occasionally to consult him to have the advantage of his mature opinions and ripe judgment. For his patriotism was genuine though unobtrusive. He sincerely respected and praised Mr M K Gandhi.

He was one of the earliest band of enthusiastic theosophists of the days of Colonel Olcott.

He was a sincerely orthodox and devout Hindu deeply attached to the religion of his forefathers. He was tolerant and liberal minded. He did not bear any ill will towards any sect. He had friends among Hindus, Muslims, Christians, and the followers of other religions. His was quite natural for his love for all men and all creatures his spirituality and his high character could not but make those who knew him love and respect him.



Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Aditya Prasad Bhattacharya

He was respected by Hindu fanatics and Bengalis alike. The present writer though not an orthodox Hindu deeply loved and revered him, and looked forward with pleasure to a visit to the Pandit whenever at long intervals he happened to be in Allahabad. He particularly valued and felt encouraged by the Pandit's approval of anything written by him.

It is stated in 'Banger, Bharat'

by Babu Jnanendra Mohan Das that the Pandit loved and revered Rammohun Roy and used to call him the prince of Bengalis. The same author also writes of the Pandit: "We have heard from some friends of his that in his opinion in Maharshi Devendranath Tagore's Brahma Dharma the essence of Hindu Dharma has been brought together. He does not rest content with saying merely that it is the duty of Indians to make arrangements for the spiritual instruction and all round welfare of those Indian laborers and traders who have gone to South Africa, Mauritius, Demarara, Trinidad, etc. to earn a living, but he also adds that the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj ought to be entrusted with this duty for orthodox Hindus are less likely to undertake this duty for fear of losing caste [by crossing the seas]." (Translation)

The Pandit leaves behind his widow, a son and a daughter with her children. During his life time he established a Sanskrit library. He housed it in a durable building specially built by him for the purpose and named it Dhanyagopi Pustakalaya after his mother who was herself a Sanskrit scholar and was the first teacher of him.

By his will the Pandit has left a sum for the maintenance of his

widow and his son during their lives, left all his property, worth more than a lakh, for the above named library, for the education of a number of poor students, for a Sanskrit school and for the promotion of the cause of education and learning in other ways

### The Army and the Press.

For some time past, the military authorities in India have been trying to cultivate good relations with the conductors of Indian newspapers in India. We do not want to assume that this endeavour is not sincere. On the contrary taking it for granted that it is a genuine attempt we wish to observe that the only right way to win the good opinion and disarm the criticism of independent and patriotic Indian journalists is to Indianise and nationalise the Indian army as fast as possible to make its numerical strength strictly commensurate with India's needs and to make it as efficient as the army of Japan at the same proportionate cost as the Japanese people have to bear bearing in mind the fact that the Japanese are a richer people than the Indians. It will not do for some English military officers merely to be polite and smooth spoken in their visits to Indian editors. It will not do merely to say, as a military officer is reported to have done in Bombay, that it will take at least 25 years to officer the Indian army with competent Indian military leaders and make it sufficient for the defence of the country. A real, sincere and adequate beginning must at once be made. The distinction between military and non military races must be given up in practice. The choice of candidates for training as military officers should not be practically confined to the effete so-called aristocracy. The class which moulds and leads thought in the country should also be drawn upon.

If all the officers of the Indian army are to be Indians in 25 years let the present total number of English officers in the Indian army be made known and let the number of Indians receiving the king's commission every year be equal to at least five per cent of this total number. This is the minimum which ought to be done.

In addition whenever an Indian officer dies or is disabled or retires, his successor should be an Indian.

Let not the army absorb the greater portion of India's revenues. Sanitation, agriculture industries irrigation, and education have been hitherto woefully neglected. Let these receive as much of the care, encouragement and revenues of the state as the Japanese Government, for example has bestowed on these departments in Japan in proportion to her total revenues. It will be said that India's present rate of military expenditure is necessary to make her army efficient and up-to-date. In reply it may be observed that the Japanese army was made as efficient as any European army in less than fifty years since the commencement of its organisation and training on Western lines and it defeated during that period one of the most powerful of European warlike nations but that even after 150 years of British training and equipment of her army at the expenditure of untold wealth, India is practically told to be afraid of Afghanistan a country which contains one-fiftieth or one-sixtieth of the population of India. If after spending crores upon crores for 150 years English military officers have not been able to make the Indian army respected or feared by Afghanistan how can we have faith in their ability or their intention to make our army really efficient by spending additional countless crores? The conclusion is irresistible that for more than 150 years the military authorities in this country either have not wanted to make the Indian army equal in fighting ability, strength and equipment to European armies and therefore squandered our revenues in pampering themselves and their kith and kin or that though they had the intention they had not the capacity to give our men the useful training and equipment. Great Britain has derived great advantage from her connection with India. She has not spent a pice of her own in establishing and extending her empire in India. Outside India too India's blood and treasure has helped to extend the British

for private consumption. Bearing these facts in mind and because food is more indispensable for existence than even clothing, one may say that those who have the means and the opportunity of producing food, may partly prevent the drain of India's wealth by producing food and also serve humanity thereby.

### The Law of Productive Physical Labour

Though, as we have said, we believe in the general applicability of the law of productive physical labour we do not assume that there can be no exceptions to its general applicability. To illustrate what we mean, we quote below verse selections entitled "The Teacher a Farmer" from Mr K J Saunders' *The Heart of Buddhism* in the *Heritage of India* series. They are from the *Sutta Nipata*, *Uravagga*.

Thus have I heard

The Blessed One was dwelling in Magadha at Dakkhinagiri in the Brahman village Pkanala where the Brahman Kasibhavadraga had five hundred ploughs at work for it was the time of ploughing. One morning the Blessed One taking robe and bowl came to the field where they were working. Now it was the time for breaking the fast and he awaiting his turn stood on one side.

The Brahman saw him striding there and thus accosted him: 'I O recluse plough and sow and then only do I eat. So shouldst thou O recluse plough and sow and thereafter eat.'

'I also O Brahman plough and sow' said he, 'nor do I eat till I have ploughed and sown. Nay, but I see no yoke nor plough nor ploughshare nor goad nor beasts of burden belonging to the Reverend Gautama.'

Then up spake the Blessed One again: 'I also O Brahman plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown I eat. To whom the Brahman made answer in these verses:

O Gautama, if farmer thou  
As thou so brazenly declarest  
Where are thy oxen and thy plough  
Come idle braggart show us how  
The field for harvest thou preparest?

To him the Blessed one made answer —

'A farmer I, good sir indeed  
Right view is my very fruitful seed  
The rain that waters it is Discipline  
Wisdom herself my yoke and plough  
(Brahman do not take my meaning now?)  
Fleecy pole is maiden Modesty  
And Mindfulness the steed  
Alertness is my goad and ploughshare keen

Guarded in thought and act and speech  
With Truthfulness I weed the ground  
In gentle kindness I found  
The Way of Salvation I preach  
My ox is Endeavour  
Which beareth me ever  
Where Grief cometh never,  
To Nirvana, the Goal I reach

Such good Brahman, is my farming,  
And it bears ambrosial crops,  
Whoso follows out my Teaching  
Straight for him all sorrow stops.

Then the Brahman Kasibhavadraga poured rice-milk into a golden bowl and offered it to the Blessed One saying —

A Farmer thou in very sooth  
Ambrosial is thy crop of Truth!  
Drink the rice milk, sir I pray thee,  
Gladly do I now obey thee!

The problem of culture *versus* activity has exercised some of the best minds in ancient India and ancient Greece, as also some of the deepest thinkers in modern times. We read in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* vol IV, p 361, article Culture —

When contrasted with the outer life of activity the interior and contemplative character of culture assumes the form of an intense problem of values especially in an age where naturalism is exalted by science and where industrialism deafens the ear to the know thyself of intellectualism. Hence society has scruples against culture which it is urged unites man for the life in the outer world amongst men and things. The antinomy between intellect and will has long affected the Indo-Germanic consciousness and as far back as the days of Vedanta philosophy it has sought to reconcile the conflicting claims of the Sankhya of thought and the Yoga of action by declaring that the pursuit of knowledge and the performance of work were both necessary to bring man to the highest spiritual state of workless contemplation (*Bhagavat Gita Chapter V*).

### Mr Gandhi's Appeal and the Khilafat

In Mr Gandhi's appeal in the event of his arrest, he exhorts Hindus not to release their efforts for the Khilafat or barter it away for a so-called Swaraj, for Swaraj without the conciliation of Musalmans is in his opinion an inconceivable thing. We, too think that only that kind of Swaraj can be attained, can be permanent, and is worth struggling for which is considered desirable and is sought by Hindus, inclu

matter that the burden of cow protection has been taken over almost entirely by the Muslim workers? Was it not a soul stirring thing for Hindus to witness Messrs Chhagan and Khatri of Bombay, rescuing hundreds of cows from their co-religionists and presenting them to the grateful Hindus?

We are glad and encouraged to have the assurance from the Mahatma, whose knowledge of these things is far greater than ours, that the appeal of the Khilafat associations against cow killing has had wonderful success in almost all the parts of India. But we, too, can assure him that what we wrote was based on actual and stern facts. We are emboldened to think that the Mahatma will allow that we did not draw upon our imagination in writing what we did, because he writes that "the appeal has had wonderful success in almost all the parts of India." The places we had in mind and which we do not think it right to name, are the parts where the appeal has not had any or much success. Our observation was not of universal application. We did not say that it was true of all places.

The Mahatma devotes a large portion of his article to proving that the unity between himself and the Ali brothers is very real. He need not have taken so much pains to prove the reality of the union of their hearts, so far as they themselves are concerned, for we never questioned it.

The admission made in the second paragraph of his article, which we have already quoted, is not the only one made by the Mahatma. For he writes

*It is unfortunately true that there are still Hindus and Muslims who out of fear of one another consider fore go domination a necessity. And that has not a little to do with the delay in the attainment of our goal.*

This is one of the facts which has led us to consider Hindu Moslem unity partly a camouflage. But while saying this, we declare our acceptance of the following opinions of the Mahatma —

We do not yet clearly perceive that the possibility of a free fight between the two communities is a lesser evil than the existence of fore go domination. And if it is the interposition of the British Government which keeps us from fighting one another, the sooner we

are left free to fight, the better for our manhood, our respective religions and our country. It will not be a new phenomenon if we fought our way into unity. The English carried on internecine warfare for twenty one years before they settled down to peaceful work. The French fought among themselves with a savage ferocity hardly excelled during recent times. The Americans did nothing better before they evolved their commonwealth. Let us not hug our unmanliness for fear of fighting amongst ourselves.

There is one other passage in the Mahatma's article on which we wish to make a few observations. He writes —

The able writer of the notes loves unity as much as any of us and suggests that there must be a root and branch change, a radical transformation and reconstruction from the foundation. But he leaves the reader to guess the remedy. It would have been better if he had made concrete suggestions. He would evidently have us intermarry and interline if only by way of a beginning. If that is the radical transformation desired by him and if it is a condition precedent to the attainment of Swaraj, I very much fear that we would have to wait at least for a century. It is tantamount to asking Hindus to give up their religion. I do not say that it is wrong to do so, but I do suggest that it is reformation outside practical politics. And when that transformation comes if it is ever to come it will not be Hindu Muslim unity. And what the present movement is aiming at is to achieve unity even whilst a devout Muslim man retains his faith intact and a devout Hindu his. I have therefore often said to my auditors that the Ali Brothers and I serve as an object lesson to all Hindus and Muslims in Hindu Muslim unity.

Mr Gandhi is right when he says

It would have been better if he had made concrete suggestions for 'a root and branch change, a radical transformation and reconstruction from the foundation.' But it is not always possible, in writing what are mere 'Notes' to deal exhaustively with such difficult and vast subjects, as for example, national reconstruction. Most probably the Mahatma does not usually read the *Modern Review* or *Prabasi*. Therefore we may be excused for pointing out that we have more than once written that it would be better if he described in detail what he meant by the removal of untouchability, on which he has written so often, and which is not so vast a subject as national reconstruction, but unfortunately no such detailed treatment

of the subject by the Mahatma, mentioning all the disabilities, disqualifications, unjust and insulting customs, etc., which required to be done away with, has met our eyes. It is possible we have missed it. If so, we are sorry. But if not, the fact will enable Mr. Gandhi to perceive that writers are not always able to deal exhaustively with a subject or make concrete suggestions relating thereto.

Whilst we admit that we did not make any definite concrete suggestions, we did not leave the readers entirely in the dark. For we wrote:

"In fact, sectarian prejudices and religious bigotry are still so rife in both the communities that none will regard the other with frank confidence. Only when emphasis will be laid on a common Indian culture and historical associations and geographical propinquity, rather than on religious creed, will there be a real change of heart; but it will take years of rationalistic education, and a fair degree of equality in knowledge, intelligence, ability, wealth and social position among the middle classes of both the communities, to eradicate mutual jealousies and misunderstandings and bigotries."

Perhaps the last sentence in our note entitled "Camouflage" has led Mr. Gandhi to think that we prescribe interdining and intermarriage to begin with. So, we think, we should express briefly our views on interdining and intermarriage. Just as some Hindu castes are considered "untouchable" by other Hindu castes to this extent that water and food touched, prepared or offered by the former are not partaken of by the latter, so all Musalmans are considered by all orthodox Hindus "untouchable" exactly to the above extent. This untouchability should be at once removed. Unless this is done, whatever a chosen few like the Ali brothers may not feel, the bulk of the Moslems cannot but feel that they are looked upon by the Hindus as impure, unclean, or "untouchable". This cannot make for real national unity but must hinder national solidarity. We do not suggest or assume that meat eating Hindus should eat "forbidden" meat with or prepared by Moslems, or that vegetarian Hindus should eat meat of any

kind prepared by or with Moslems. We have been ourselves vegetarians for 36 years and even when we ate meat or dined with Musalmans and Indian and European Christians and Hindus of various castes, we never ate beef; we only desire that Hindus should drink water offered by Musalmans and eat such food as they usually take, even when it is offered or prepared by Musalmans.

Some are afraid that this will lead to inter-marriage between Hindus and Musalmans. We do not think so. In Bengal, large numbers of educated Hindus openly inter-dine irrespective of their castes; but they do not intermarry. In this province, many Hindus dine with Musalmans and Christians and many keep Musalman cooks, but they do not intermarry with Christians and Musalmans.

We do not contemplate intermarriage between Hindus and Musalmans "by way of a beginning", though we think all Hindu castes and sub castes may and should intermarry. We hold that whilst there should be no legal bar to the marriage of persons of opposite sexes, whatever their race, language, creed or caste, it is best, generally speaking, that there should be no intermarriage between communities which differ in race, creed, language, traditions, culture, and social and family organisation. As there is such difference between Hindus and Moslems in creed, traditions, culture and social and family organisation, and in some cases in race and language, too, it is better, generally speaking, that there should not be intermarriage between Hindus and Musalmans as they are at present. But though we do not contemplate such intermarriage "by way of a beginning", we do certainly think that in the long run there will be and should be intermarriage between all sections and classes of the inhabitants of India. By the time this takes place, Hindus and Moslems will have been transformed, though they may not cease to be Hindus and Moslems, as feared by Mr. Gandhi.

As regards Hindu-Moslem unity in the present social, religious and cultural conditions of India, it is certainly possible, as it is already a reality in the case of



some persons, if we all breathe the tolerant, loving, patriotic and God fearing spirit which inspires Mr Gandhi and many others. Credal and caste bigotries are certainly great obstacles, but they are not insuperable obstacles in the way of national freedom and independence. They can and must, however, be got rid of.

### The Moplah Rising.

Mr. M K Gandhi writes on the Moplah rising —

A correspondent from Scotland takes me to task for not dealing sufficiently with the Moplah rising in these columns. The result he says, has been that those in Great Britain who are in the habit of studying Indian affairs have been induced to believe that an Islamic kingdom is established in India. The reproach is not wholly undeserved, but I have not shirked duty in the matter. I have been simply helpless. I wanted to go to Calicut and reach the bottom of the trouble as I believed I could have. But the Government had willed it other wise. I am sorry to believe but it is my belief that the men on the spot do not want to end the trouble. They certainly do not wish to give non-co-operators the credit for peacefully ending the trouble. They are desirous of showing once more, that it is only the British soldier who can maintain peace in India. And I could not then give battle to the Government by disregarding the instructions not to enter the disturbed area.

Though we had no intention to go to Malabar, we, too have been prevented from writing at length on the Moplah rising, because most or almost all of the information relating thereto has come from official sources, and is therefore one sided and not quite reliable.

The Mahatma writes "I feel the Moplah revolt has come as a blessing to a system that is crumbling to pieces by the weight of its own enormity." With a similar feeling in our heart we wrote in a previous number that the Moplah rising must not be allowed to be exploited by the bureaucracy to widen the cleavage between Hindus and Moslems or to destroy whatever unity between them has been already achieved.

Mr Gandhi believes, and we, too, believe with him, that—

The Moplah revolt is a test for Hindus and Muslims. Can Hindu friendship survive the strain put upon it? Can Muslims in the

deepest recesses of their hearts approve of the conduct of the Moplah? Time alone can show the reality. A verbal and forced philosophic acceptance of the inevitable is no test of Hindu friendship. The Hindus must have the courage and the faith to feel that they can protect their religion in spite of such fanatical eruptions. A verbal disapproval by the Muslims of Moplah madness is no test of Muslim friendship. The Muslims must naturally feel the shame and humiliation of the Moplah conduct about forcible conversions and looting, and they must work away so silently and effectively that such things might become impossible even on the part of the most fanatical among them. My belief is that the Hindus as a body have received the Moplah madness with equanimity and that the cultured Muslims are sincerely sorry for the Moplah's perversion of the teachings of the Prophet.

The second lesson which he draws from it is also very important and timely.

The Moplah revolt teaches another lesson, viz that each individual must be taught the art of self defence. It is more a mental state that has to be inculcated than that our bodies should be trained for retaliation. Our mental training has been one of feeling helpless. Bravery is not a quality of the body it is of the soul. I have seen cowards encased in tough muscle, and rare courage in the feeblest body. I have seen big, lithe and muscular /ulus covering before an English lad and turning tail if they saw a loaded revolver pointed at them. I have seen lady nobles with a paralysed body exhibiting courage of the highest order. She was the one noble woman who kept up the drooping spirits of brave Boer generals and equally brave Boer women. The weakest of us physically must be taught the art of facing dangers and giving a good account of ourselves. What was more detestable the ignorant fanaticism of the Moplah brother, or the cowardliness of the Hindu brother who helplessly muttered the Islamic formula or allowed his tuft of hair to be cut or his vest to be changed? Let me not be misunderstood. I want both the Hindus and Muslims to cultivate the cool courage to die without killing. But if one has not that courage I want him to cultivate the art of killing and being killed, rather than in a cowardly manner flee from danger. For the latter in spite of his flight does commit mental homicide. He flees because he has not the courage to be killed in the act of killing.

"There is yet another lesson the Moplah outbreak teaches us."

We dare not leave any section of our countrymen in utter darkness and I expect not to be overtaken by it ourselves. Our English masters' were uninterested in the Moplah becoming orderly citizens and learning the virtue of toleration and the truth of Islam. But we too have

neglected our ignorant countrymen all these long centuries. We have not felt the call of love to see that no one was left ignorant of the necessity of humaneness or remained in want of food or clothing for no fault of his own. If we do not wake up betimes we shall find a similar tragedy enacted by all the submerged classes. The present awakening is affecting all classes. The untouchables and all the so-called semi-savage tribes will presently bear witness to our wrongs against them if we do not do penance and render tardy justice to them.

### Hand-spun Yarn and Hand-woven Cloth

We hope our notes in our last number on 'Constructive Swadeshi: How to Revive Cottage Industries Permanently' and on 'How to Make the Charkha Permanent', have attracted the attention of lovers of Swadeshi and of the economic independence of India. We wrote in the latter note—

The crux of the matter is to bring the spinner and the weaver close together and to so control—we prefer to say arrange—things that (a) the spinner may have adequate and prompt supplies of raw cotton from the new crop and at fair prices, (b) the supply of yarn may adjust itself to the demand so that neither may the spinner have a surplus of unsaleable stock on hand nor may the weaver remain idle for lack of yarn and (c) the cloth woven may be rapidly sold without forming a drag on the hands of the weavers—who are naturally very poor. A national agency must undertake the labour and cost of maintaining a commodity exchange (if we may coin a phrase on the analogy of labour exchange) between the cotton grower, the Charkha spinner, the handloom weaver and the purchaser of Swadeshi cloth—if the first three classes are not to become the slaves of capitalists and money lenders. In every province our leaders must undertake this task if Swadeshi is to be permanent.

We described in it the scheme adopted in the province of Bihar, and hope it is being energetically worked out. In Allahabad the Congress Office buys up all hand-spun yarn brought to it and there is also a band of volunteers to collect such yarn from spinners whose addresses are known. The yarn collected is given to the students of the Tilak Vidyalyay to be woven into cloth. The Allahabad Congress Office also buys and sells hand-woven cloth.

If the Bihar scheme, or any better one

be adopted and carried out everywhere and if all unemployed or leisured persons take to spinning and weaving as they ought to, the Swadeshi campaign and with it, that of non-cooperation can march forward to an assured victory. At the present juncture, persons who do no work should take to spinning in preference to any other kind of work, and those also who do some useful work but have some leisure for some kind of productive work, should spin during leisure hours, *because a battle has to be won*.

A new danger to the hand-spinning movement has appeared in the attempt made in many places to corner cotton, so that it may not be available for working the spinning wheel. This danger must be combated.

### The Visit of the Prince of Wales

The Prince of Wales has given evidence of his humane instincts and his statesmanship by expressing a desire that all wasteful expenditure on mere shows connected with arrangements for giving him welcome should be avoided. But we have no hope that waste will be avoided in consequence.

In the budget of the Nizam's Dominions eight lakhs of rupees have been provided for the welcome. It will be lucky if this figure be not greatly exceeded. A friend learns from a private letter that the Baroda Government intends to spend seventy-five lakhs for giving the Prince a "right royal welcome." This, if true, would be waste pure and simple. No ruler has the right to squander the hard-earned money of his subjects in this fashion. It may be mentioned incidentally that the same friend has learnt from the same source that when the Prince will visit the Kala Bhavan or Technical Institute at Baroda the Bengali students of that institution will be removed therefrom and left apart at a segregation camp at some distance from it. It is to be hoped someone will either contradict or confirm this report. No one need express surprise or indignation at it. But the question may be asked, where will the entire population of Baroda, or at least the entire

student population of Bengal, be segregated when the Prince visits Bengal? Our students are patriotic, no doubt, but they bear the Prince no ill will though they may be in sympathy with the movement for taking no part in arrangements for welcoming him. They also know that it is not the Prince or any other single human being who is responsible for keeping us down, and therefore they would not be foolish enough to seek to free the country by sending any individual to the next world.

The Government of India, it is said, will spend only twenty lakhs. But when all the separate amounts spent by the Government of India, the provincial Governments, municipalities and the Indian states to be visited by the Prince, are added up, there can be no doubt that it will be found that the reputation of British ruled India for loyalty and lavish waste was quite safe.

### Non-payment of Tax in Contai

Mr Birendranath Sasmal has informed the public through letters to the *Servant* and the *Imrita Bazar Patrika* that in many villages in the Contai subdivision of the Midnapur district the villagers numbering several thousands have refused to pay the sevenfold increased tax levied on them under the Bengal Village Self Government Act. The main reason for this movement of passive resistance is that there is no real self government and the tax is excessive. The moveable goods of the villagers are being attached and sold. They offer no resistance but part with them cheerfully.

When there was a similar movement in Kaira district in Gujarat Mr M K Gandhi kept the press fully informed of all that happened day after day by a regular supply of news. When he worked in Champaran, from there, too, he supplied the press with news regularly. There is no leader in India who understands the value of publicity more than Mr Gandhi. Mr Sasmal and his colleagues should undertake a publicity campaign for the regular supply of news in English and if possible in Bengali, too, to all the principal Indian newspapers and to all district papers in Bengal. The news bulletins should be put

to tell the story from the very beginning of the movement, briefly and accurately. The Bengal Congress organization should supply the funds required. But if this cannot be done according to the constitution, and if subscriptions be needed for the purpose, we shall be glad to subscribe.

### Press Laws

We have said before in a previous number and we repeat that if it be necessary for the editor or the publisher of a newspaper to register himself as such (it is called making a declaration) this should be done before an ordinary registrar of deeds. We do not see why any one connected with a newspaper should be compelled to place himself in the dock as it were before a criminal magistrate and make a declaration. The worry and the humiliation involved in this process of declaration has been well brought out in a humorous note in the latest number of the *Hindu* *Review*. We can vouch for the faithfulness of the picture. What is most enjoyable is that before a man (we mean one who is not a European or an Anglo Indian or a notoriously 'loyal' Indian) is allowed to make an effective declaration the police are asked by the magistrate to enquire into his and his paper's antecedents and submit a report. So the whole thing is redolent of a criminal trial. We do not know of any other profession whose followers are treated as potential criminals in this way. It is true that journalists scatter ideas and some ideas are more explosive than any material explosives known to chemists. But as chemists are not treated as potential criminals, as chemistry classes in universities and colleges comprising both professors and students, are not required by law to declare themselves as potential criminals before criminal magistrates and as the police are not asked to submit reports after enquiry into their antecedents why not treat journalists also with equal charity and courtesy? Journalists do of fend bureaucrats and magistrates no doubt by criticising them. But why take revenge in anticipation?

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## THE MODERN AGE

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

( 1 )

WHEREVER man meets man in a living relationship, the meeting finds its natural expression in works of art, the signatures of beauty in which the mingling of the personal touch leaves its memorial.

In the other hand the relationship of pure utility humiliates man: it ignores the rights and needs of his deeper nature: it feels no compunction in maltreating and killing things of beauty that can never be restored.

Some years ago when I set out from Calcutta on my voyage to Japan, the first thing that shocked me, with a sense of personal injury, was the ruthless intrusion of the factories for making gunny bags on both banks of the Ganges. The blow it gave to me was owing to the precious memory of the days of my boyhood when the scenery of this river was the only great thing near my birthplace reminding me of the existence of a world which had its direct communication with our innermost spirit. You all know that Calcutta is an upstart town with no depth of sentiment in her face and in her manners. It may truly be said about her genesis, in the beginning there was the spirit of the Shop which uttered through its megaphone, "Let there be the Office!" and there was Calcutta. She brought with her no dower of distinction, no majesty of noble or ro-

mantic origin. She never gathered around her any great historical association, annals of brave sufferings or memory of mighty deeds. The only thing which gave her the sacred baptism of beauty was the river. I was fortunate enough to be born before the smoke-belching iron dragon had devoured the greater part of the life of its banks, when the landing stairs descending into its waters caressed by its tides, appeared to me like the loving arms of the villages clinging to it, when Calcutta, with her tilted up nose and stony stare, had not completely disowned her foster-mother, rural Bengal, and had not surrendered body and soul to her wealthy paramour, the spirit of the ledger, bound in dead leather.

But as an instance of the contrast of the different ideal of a different age incarnated in the form of a town, the memory of my last visit to Benares comes to my mind. What impressed me most deeply, while I was there, was the mother call of the river Ganges which ever filled the atmosphere with an 'unheard melody', attracting the whole population to its bosom every hour of the day. I am proud of the fact, that India has felt a most profound love for this river, which nourishes her civilisation on its banks, guiding its course from the silence of the hills to the sea with its myriad voices of . . . The love of this river, which has

one with the love of the best in man, has given rise to this town as an expression of reverence. This is to show, that there are sentiments in us which are creative, which do not clamour for gain, but overflow in gifts, in spontaneous generosity of self-sacrifice.

But our minds will nevermore cease to be haunted by the perturbed spirit of the question,—"What about gunny bags?" I admit they are indispensable, and am willing to allow them a place in society, if my opponent will only admit that even gunny bags should have their limits, and will acknowledge the importance of leisure to man, with space for joy and worship, and a home of wholesale privacy, with associations of chaste love and mutual service. But if this concession to humanity be denied or curtailed, and if profit and production are allowed to run amuck then they play havoc with our love of beauty, of truth, of justice, and also with our love for our fellow-beings. So it comes about that the cultivators of jute, who live on the brink of everlasting famine, are combined against, and driven to lower the price of their labours to the point of blank despair, by those who earn more than cent per cent profit and wallow in the infamy of their wealth. The facts that man is brave and kind, that he is social and generous and self-sacrificing, have some aspect of the complete in them; but the fact that he is a manufacturer of gunny bags is too ridiculously small to claim the right of reducing his higher nature to insignificance. The fragmentariness of utility should never forget its subordinate position in human affairs. It must not be permitted to occupy more than its legitimate place and power in society, nor to have the liberty to desecrate the poetry of life, to deaden our sensitiveness to ideals, bragging of its own coarseness as a sign of virility. The pity is that when in the centre of our activities we acknowledge, by some proud name, the supremacy of wanton destructiveness, or productiveness, not less wanton, we shut out all the lights of our souls, and in that darkness our conscience, and consciousness of shame, are hidden and our love of freedom is killed.

I do not for a moment mean to imply that in any particular period of history men were free from the disturbance of their lower passions. Selfishness ever had its share in their government and trade. Yet there was a struggle to maintain a balance of forces in society; and our passions cherished no delusions about their own rank and value. They contrived no clever devices to hoodwink our moral nature. For, in these days our intellect was not tempted to put its weight into the balance on the side of over-greed.

But in recent centuries a devastating change has come in our mentality with regard to the acquisition of money. Whereas in former ages men treated it with condescension, even with disrespect, now they bend their knees to it. That it should be allowed a sufficiently large place in society, there can be no question; but it becomes an outrage when it occupies those seats which are specially reserved for the immortals, by bribing us, by tampering with our moral pride, by recruiting the best strength of society on its side in a traitor's campaign against human ideals, disguising, with the help of pageantry and pomp, its true insignificance. Such a state of things has come to pass, because, with the help of science, the possibilities of profit have suddenly become immoderate. The whole of the human world, throughout its length and breadth, has felt the gravitational pull of a giant planet of greed, with its concentric rings of innumerable satellites, causing to our society a marked deviation from its moral orbit. In former times, the intellectual and spiritual powers of this earth upheld their dignity of independence and were not giddily rocked on the tides of the money market. But, as in the last fatal stages of disease, so this fatal influence of money has got into our brain and affected our heart. It has like a usurper, occupied the throne of higher social ideals, using every means, by menace and threat, to take away our right and by offer of temptation even the desire to judge it. It has not only science for its ally, but other forces also that have some semblance of religion, such as nation-worship and the idealizing

of organised selfishness. Its methods are far reaching and sure. Like the claws of a tiger's paw they are softly sheathed. Its massacres are invisible, because they are fundamental, attacking the very roots of life. Its plunder is ruthless behind a scientific system of screens, which have the formal appearance of openness and responsibility to enjoiners. By whitewashing its own stains it keeps respectability unblemished. It makes a liberal use of falsehood in diplomacy, only feeling embarrassed when its evidence is disclosed by others of the trade. An unscrupulous system of propaganda paves the way for widespread misrepresentation. It works up the crowd psychology through regulated hypnotic doses at repeated intervals administered in bottles with moral labels upon them of soothing colours. In fact man has been able to make his pursuit of power easier today by his art of mitigating the obstructive forces that come from the higher region of his humanity. With his cult of power and his idolatry of money he has in a great measure reverted to his primitive barbarism—a barbarism whose path is lit up by the lurid light of intellect. For, barbarism is the simplicity of a superficial life. It may be bewildering in its surface adornments and complexities but it lacks the ideal to impart to it the depth of moral responsibility.

( 2 )

Society suffers from a profound feeling of unhappiness, not so much when it is in material poverty, as when its members are deprived of a large part of their humanity. This unhappiness goes on smouldering in the subconscious mind of the community till its life is reduced to ashes, or a sudden combustion is produced. The repressed personality of man generates an inflammable moral gas deadly in its explosive force.

We have seen in the late war, and also in some of the still more modern events of history, how human individuals freed from moral and spiritual bonds, find a boisterous joy in a debauchery of destruction. There is generated a disinterested passion of ravage. Through such catastrophe we

can realize what formidable forces of annihilation are kept in check in our communities by bonds of social ideas, nay, made into multitudinous manifestations of beauty and fruitfulness. Thus we know that evils are, like meteors, stray fragments of life, which need the attraction of some great ideal in order to be assimilated with the wholesomeness of creation. The evil forces are literally outlaws: they only need the control and evidence of spiritual laws to change them into good. The true goodness is not in the negation of badness, it is in the mastery of it. Goodness is the miracle which turns the tumult of chaos into a dance of beauty.

In modern society the ideal of wholeness has lost its force. Therefore its different sections have become detached and resolved into their elemental character of forces. Labour is a force, so also is Capital so are the Government and the People so are Man and Woman. It is said that when the forces lying latent in even a handful of dust are liberated from their bond of unity they can lift the buildings of a whole neighbourhood to the height of a mountain. Such disfranchised forces irresponsible freebooters may be useful to us for certain purposes, but human habitations standing secure on their foundations are better for us. To own the secret of utilizing these forces is a proud fact for us, but the power of self-control and self-dedication of love is a truer subject for the exaltation of mankind. The genius of the Arabian Nights may have in their magic their lure and fascination for us. But the consciousness of God is of another order and infinitely more precious in imparting to our minds ideas of the spiritual power of creation. Yet these geniuses are abroad everywhere, and even now, after the late war, their devotees are getting ready to ply further tricks upon humanity by suddenly spiriting it away to some hill top of desolation.

( 3 )

We know that when at first any large body of people in their history became aware of their unity they expressed it in some popular symbol of divinity. For they

felt that their combination was not an arithmetical one, its truth was deeper than the truth of number. They felt that their community was not a mere agglutination, but a creation, having upon it the living touch of the infinite Person. The realisation of this truth having been an end in itself—a fulfilment,—gave meaning to self sacrifice, to acceptance even of death.

But our modern education is producing a habit of mind which is ever weakening in us the spiritual apprehension of truth, the truth of a person as the ultimate reality of existence. Science has its true sphere in analysing this world as a construction just as grammar has its legitimate office in analysing the syntax of a poem. But the world as a creation is not a construction—it is also more than a syntax. It is a poem, which we are apt to forget when grammar takes exclusive hold of our minds.

Upon the loss of this sense of a universal personality, which is religion, the reign of the machine and of method has been firmly established, and man, humanly speaking, has been made a homeless tramp. And, as nomads, ravenous and restless, the men from the West have come to us. They have exploited Eastern humanity for sheer gain of power. This meeting of men has not yet received the blessing of God. For it has kept us apart, though railway lines are laid far and wide and ships are plying from shore to shore to bring us together.

It has been said in the Upanishads —  
Yastu sarvaṁ bhūtāṁ ātmanyeva nupa-  
shyati  
Sarva bhūteshu ch'ātmanam na tato  
vijugupsate

"He who sees all things in Ātmā, in the infinite spirit, and the infinite spirit, in all beings, remains no longer unrevealed."

In the modern civilization, for which an enormous number of men are used as materials and human relationships have in a large measure become utilitarian, man is imperfectly revealed. His revelation does not lie in the fact that he is a power but that he is a spirit. The prevalence of the theory which realises the power of the

machine in the universe, and organizes men into a machine, is like the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius, tremendous in its force, in the outburst of fire and fume, but its creeping lava covers up human shelters made by the ages and its ashes smother life.

( 1 )

The terribly efficient method of repressing personality in the individuals and the races who have failed to resist it, has in the present scientific age spread all over the world, and in consequence there have appeared signs of a universal disruption which seems not far off. Faced with the possibility of such a disaster, one which is sure to affect the successful peoples of the world in their intemperate prosperity,—the great Powers of the West are seeking peace, not by curbing their greed, or by giving up the exclusive advantages which they have unjustly acquired, but by concentrating their forces for mutual security.

But can powers find their equilibrium in themselves? Power has to be made secure not only against power, but also against weakness, for there lies the peril of its losing balance. The weak are as great a danger for the strong, as quick sands for an elephant. They do not assist progress, because they do not resist, they only drag down. The people who grow accustomed to wield absolute power over others are apt to forget that by doing so they generate an unseen force which some day rends that power into pieces. The dumb fury of the down trodden finds its awful support from the universal law of moral balance. The air, which is so thin and unsubstantial, gives birth to storms that nothing can resist. This has been proved in history over and over again, and stormy forces arising from the revolt of insulted humanity are openly gathering in the air at the present time. Yet the psychology of the strong stubbornly refuses the lesson and despises to take count of the terribleness of the weak. This is the latent ignorance, that, like an unsuspected worm, burrows under the bulk of the prosperous. Have we never read of the castle of power, securely buttressed on all sides, in a moment dissolving in air, at the explosion

caused by the weak and outraged besiegers? Politicians calculate upon the number of mailed hands that are kept on the sword hilts, they do not possess the third eye to see the great invisible hand that clasps in silence the hand of the helpless, and waits its time. The strong form their league by a combination of powers, driving the weak to form their own league alone with their God. I know I am crying in the wilderness, when I raise the voice of warning and while the West is busy with its organisation of a machine made peace, it will still continue to nourish with its iniquities the underground forces of earthquake in the Eastern Continent. The West seems unconscious that science by providing it with more and more power is tempting it to suicide, encouraging it to accept the challenge of the disarmed not knowing that the challenge comes from a higher source.

Two prophecies about the world's salvation are cherished in the hearts of the two great religions of the world. They represent the highest expectation of man thereby indicating his faith in a truth which he instinctively considers as ultimate, the truth of love. These prophecies have not for their vision the fettering of the world, and reducing it to tameness, with the closelinked power forged in the factory of a political steel trust. One of these religions has for its meditation the image of Buddha who is to come

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Maitreya, the Buddha of love. And he is to bring peace. The other religion waits for the coming of Christ. For Christ preached peace when he preached love, when he preached the oneness of the Father with the brothers who are many. And this was the truth of peace. He never held that peace was the best policy. For policy is not truth. The calculation of self interest can never successfully fight the irrational force of passion, the passion which is perversion of love, and which can only be set right by the truth of love. So long as the powers build a league on the foundation of their desire for safety and the securest enjoyment of gains, for the consolation of past injustice for putting off the reparation of wrongs, while their fingers still wriggle for greed, and still reek of blood rifts will appear in their union, and conflicts in future will take greater force and magnitude. It is the political and commercial egoism which is the evil harbinger of war. By different combinations it changes its shape and dimensions but not its nature. This egoism is still held almost as sacred as religion, and such a religion by a mere change of temple and by new committees of priests, will never save men. We must know that, as, through science and commerce, the realisation of the unity of the material world gives us power, so the realisation of the great spiritual Unity of Man alone can give us peace.

## LETTERS FROM ABROAD

Antwerp,

October 3rd, 1920

You must have heard by this time, from different sources that our American tour has been cancelled. The atmosphere of our mind has been cleared, at a sweep of the dense fog of the contemplation of securing money. This is deliverance. In the meanwhile I have spent about a fortnight in Holland. This fortnight has been most

generous of its gifts to me. It has condensed the love and fellowship of fifteen years into fifteen days and has made it mine. It is so wonderful to think that I had so completely occupied the heart of this people before I had ever known them. Yet, by nature, they are not quick in their mind and not easily moved. They are phlegmatic, but they have their idealism protected and kept pure by this external



covering of something insensitive and thick. This you may be sure of, that a communication of heart has been opened up between this little country and Shantiniketan, and it remains with us to widen it and make use of it for the interchange of spiritual wealth. Altogether has Europe come closer to us by this visit of ours. I only wish all my friends in Shantiniketan could realise how true it is and what a wealth it represents. Now I know more clearly than ever before that Shantiniketan belongs to all the world and we shall have to be worthy of this great fact. It is extremely difficult for us Indians to forget all the irritations that ever keep our consciousness concentrated on our own daily annoyances. But emancipation of consciousness is the means and end of spiritual life and therefore Shantiniketan must be saved from the whirlwind of our dusty politics. Our one Mantra for meditation is 'Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam.' I am writing this letter from Antwerp where I came yesterday morning and I am getting ready to go to Brussels where I have invitation. And then I go to Paris.

London,  
October 8, 1920.

We are about to sail for Norway and Sweden, and for some weeks you may not hear from me. Never imagine any disaster happening to us; for if it does happen, the news will reach you without any effort on my part. The weather is wet and cold, and your people are trying to convince me that it is unusual for this time of the year, but that brings me no consolation. The last wet summer when I was in Europe I heard the same remark; this makes me suspect that the wetness and the remark on it are both usual for your July. There is a settled atmosphere of pessimistic gloom in the minds of all Indians we meet,—including Lord Sinha and Bhupendranath,—which makes me feel hopeful of a change of psychology in our country which is greatly needed. All our attention must come back to our own resources and the insults and disappointments which give a proper direction to our straying energies are welcome.

I am going to read my lecture on the Baul sect next Thursday. I hope my audience will understand me. Unfortunately the season is nearly over and very few people of any consequence are left in London. I am writing a short lecture expressing my gratitude to Sweden which will be needed when I go there. I must finish it this morning.

P. S. The enclosed letter I wrote to a great Russian Artist. Show it to Nanda Lal and give him my blessings.

"Your pictures which I saw in your room in London and some reproductions of your pictures which appeared in some Art Journal, profoundly moved me. They made me realise one thing which is obvious and yet which one needs to discover for oneself over and over again; it is that Truth is infinite. When I tried to find words to describe to myself what were the ideas which your pictures suggested, I failed. It was because the language of words can only express a particular aspect of truth, and the language of pictures finds its domain in truth where words have no access. Each art achieves its perfection when it opens for our mind the special gate of the infinite, whose key is in its exclusive possession. When a picture is great, we should not be able to say what it is, yet we should see it and know. It is the same with music. When one art can fully be explained by another, then it is a failure. Your pictures are distinct and yet are not definable by words. Your art is jealous of its independence, because it is great."

Paris,  
October 12, 1920.

I had not even a distant idea before I came to the continent what welcome had been waiting for me in Europe. I find that the West has accepted me wholeheartedly, yet I had never sought for this recognition. The preparation has been going on without my knowing it and this only convinces me that my mission in life is in the hands of a higher power. I see clearer every day what is asked of me and what is the meaning of my Shantiniketan.

The West and the East are to meet in the coming age, and the East must be seen ready for such meeting. Let Shantiniketan answer her call through me for this union of spirits. I feel that response will come. If all my friends of the Ashram were with me they could have no doubt about this and they would have felt that it would give greater glory to India, if she could bring men from all parts of the world to realise that true patriotism is the patriotism for the spiritual kingdom than any crumb of favour thrown to her from the table of her political masters. This was the reason which made me change my mind and decide to go to the Americans. For they must listen to the appeal of the East and a procession of pilgrims must be formed in all Western countries to take their journey to the great meeting of humanity which must take place in the present age. I am leaving Paris tomorrow for London to make preparations to sail across the Atlantic. For some weeks to come you will receive no letters from me but keep this in mind that not to be able to return to our Ashram and to be in the midst of you, when it was about to happen is a pain which I hope will be accepted by my Providence as a fit price for the great object to which I aspire.

London  
October 18, 1920

Our vision of truth varies according to its perspective. I feel certain that this perspective has become narrow in India owing to the density of mental atmosphere caused by the political unrest. There are politicians who must make hasty decisions and act without delay. It is their function to take short cuts to immediate success and dash through blunders with their lumbering tanks of political organisations. But there are needs that belong to all mankind and to all time. Those have to be satisfied through rise and fall of empires. We all know that there is a vast difference between journalism and literature. Journalism is necessary and there are multitudes of men eager to carry it out. But if it

suppresses the light of literature, then it will produce the London fog of November which substitutes gaslight for the sun. Light. Shantiniketan is there for giving expression to the prayer of the Eternal Man,—*asato ma sad gamaya*,—the prayer that will ring clearer as the ages roll on even when the geographical names of all countries will be changed and will lose their meaning. My experience through my travels in a few continental countries has been revelation to me. I have felt that somehow in my utterances I have been able to strike the chord that has its place in the symphony of the Eternal and therefore has found response in the hearts of men and women across all barriers of race, language and religion. I feel that through me the mission of India finds some realisation and it is a great responsibility for myself. If I give way to the passion of the moment and the claims of the crowd then it will be like speculating with my Master's money for a purpose which is not his own. I know that my countrymen will clamour to borrow from this capital entrusted to me and exploit me for the needs which they believe to be more urgent than anything else. But, all the same, you must know that I have to be true to my trust. Shantiniketan must treasure that *shruti* in all circumstances which is in the bosom of the Infinite. With begging and scrambling we find very little, but with being true to ourselves we find great deal more than we desire. The best reward that I have gained in my life is through the spontaneous and disinterested expression of truth in me and never through straining for a result whatever high sounding name it might have carried. A difficult time is before us but let our friends in the Ashram never forget their Mantra.

Shantam Shivam Advaitam

New York,  
October 28, 1920

Our steamer has arrived at the port—too late for us to land to night. Between one shore and the other there are tossings on the angry waves and menaces of the shrieking winds, but peace comes at the

end and shelter when the desolation that divides the world appears unreal and is forgotten. This crossing of the sea has not yet been completed by those who are voyagers from one age to another. Storms have raged and the moaning of the salt sea has haunted their days and nights. But the haven is not very far distant and the new continent of time is ready with its greeting of light and life and with its invitation to the unexplored. I already feel the breath of that future and see birds from that shore bringing songs of hope. You must know that our Shantiniketan belongs to that future. We have not yet reached it. We need stronger faith and clearer vision to direct our course towards its hill of sunrise. There are chains which still keep our boat clinging to the sheltered cove of the past. We must leave it behind. Our loyalty must not be for any land of a limited geography. It should be for the nationality of the common idea to which are born individuals belonging to various nations whose who are carrying their gifts of sacrifice to the one great shrine of Humanity.

— New York

November 4 1920

There is one thing about which I wish to speak to you. Keep Shantiniketan away from the turmoils of politics. I know that the political problem is growing in intensity in India and its encroachment is difficult to resist. But all the same, we must never forget that our mission is not political. Where I have my politics I do not belong to Shantiniketan, I do not mean to say that there is anything wrong in politics but only that it is out of harmony with our Ashram.

We must clearly realise this fact that the name Shantiniketan has a meaning for us and that will have to be made true. I am anxious and afraid lest the surrounding forces may become too strong for us and we succumb to the onslaught of the present time. Because the time is troubled and minds of men distracted we must through our Ashram maintain our faith in Shantam Shivam Advaitam.

New York,  
November 25, 1920

My lecture arrangement at this moment is like a derelict ship floating without crew or captain. Fortunately for me, the most important part of my programme this time is to come into touch with individuals who are likely to be of help to me. If I am carried away by my engagements too fast and too far from the centres where my friends are working, then that will be a hindrance rather than a help. Things are working well, and I have cause to be sanguine of success,—and yet I must not allow the lure of a possible success to dominate my imagination too strongly. I must maintain my utmost faith in the idea itself and the power of truth in our own personality. The gravitation of outward success has such a tremendous pull upon our mind, it is difficult to resist it, especially in an environment where success has the most prominent throne assigned to it by the amount of whose favour the value of our ideals is judged. That success may be defilement, and failure may be the fire of purification through which our aspiration has to reach its goal of truth, is extremely hard to believe where success has built her towers so high that the lights of the sky are obscured. A friend of mine who is actively interested in my cause is a Quaker, and he takes me every Sunday morning to Quakers meetings. There in the silence of meditation, I am able to find the eternal perspective of truth where the vision of outward success dwindles away to its infinitesimal minuteness. What is needed of me is sacrifice. Our payment is for success, our sacrifice is for truth. If the spirit of my sacrifice is pure in quality, then its reward will be more than can be counted and proved. And let my gift to my country and to the world be a life of sacrifice. But my earnest request to you is to keep your minds high above politics. The problem of this new age is to help to build the world anew. Let us accept that great task. Shantiniketan is to make accommodation for the workers from all parts of the world. All other works can wait. We

must make room for Man the guest of this age, and let not the nation obstruct his path. I am afraid lest the cry of our own sufferings and humiliations should drown the announcement of His coming. For His sake we shall set aside our grievances and shall say that whatever may happen to us let His cause triumph for the future is His.

New York,

November 30, 1920

Kathi and Bau ma have come at last. I am greatly relieved. For the ideas that float in my mind's sky in a vaporous condition are attracted and precipitated into showers by the concrete thought power of Kathi. It is a great responsibility we are taking the carrying out of this idea of an International University where students from East and West are to meet and work together. There are occasions when it terrifies me. But then the assurance comes to my mind that it is not we, the individuals who are to bear this responsibility but it belongs to the age itself and it will come to its fulfilment not because we are strong and worthy but because it is true. I am often reminded of my Gitanjali poem in which the woman tells how she found God's sword when she had been seeking for a petal from God's flower garland. All through my life I have been seeking for such a petal and I stand puzzled at the sight of the gift waiting for me. This gift has not been my choice but my God has chosen me for this gift. And now I say to myself that we prove our worthiness for God's gift of responsibility by acceptance of it and not by success or anything else. *The past has been for men the future is for Man. Those men are still fighting for the possession of this world the din and the clash are deafening the air is obscured with the dust rising from the trampled earth. Standing in the heart of this struggle we have to build a sent for the one God revealed in all human races. We may be mocked and pushed away by the crowd but the fact will remain and in visibly grow into truth that we have believed. I was born a poet, and it is difficult for*

me to suffer myself to be rudely hustled in my path by busy men who have no leisure for ideas. I am not an athlete. I do not belong to the arena. The stare of the curious crowd scorches my soul. And yet I of all persons am called upon to force my way into the thick of the Western public with a mission for which I have never been trained. What is impossible has to be done by individuals who are incapable. Truth fashions its own arrows out of reeds that are light and frail.

New York,

December 13 1920

Our Seventh Paush Festival is near at hand. I cannot tell you how my heart is thirsting to join you in your festival. I am trying to console myself with the thought that something very big and great is going to be the outcome of the effort I am making. But deep in my heart I know that simplicity of life and endeavor makes for real happiness. When we realise in some measure our ideal of perfection in our work it matters very little what its dimension is. Our trust in bigness very often betrays our want of faith in truth. The Kingdom of the earth boasts of the magnitude of its possessions but the Kingdom of Heaven is content with the depth of its self-realisation. There are some institutions which have for their object some external success. But Shantiniketan is there for giving us opportunity to realise ourselves in truth. This can never be done through big funds, but through dedication of our life in love. In this country I live in the dungeon of the Castle of Bigness. My heart is starved. Day and night I dream of Shantiniketan which blossoms like a flower in the atmosphere of the unbounded freedom of simplicity. I know how truly great it is, when I view it from this land of arithmetical multitude. Here I feel every day what a terrible nightmare it is for human soul this burden of the Monster Arithmetic. It incessantly drives its victims and yet leads them to nowhere. It raises storms of battle which are for sowing broadcast

When I left you to start for Europe, I was labouring under the delusion that my mission was to build an Indian University in which Indian cultures would be represented in all their variety. But when I came to the continental Europe and fully realised that I had been accepted by the Western people, as one of themselves, I realised that my mission was the mission of the present age. It was to make the meeting of the East and West fruitful in truth. I felt that the call of Shantiniketan was the invitation of India to the rest of the world. A picture needs its background.

for its meaning. The idea is great. I accept it. I fully believe in it. It is leading me on in an unknown path. Yet how ludicrously small we are! The petty complications of our daily life, how insignificant and yet how obstructive! We have our path across the mountains, but rubbish heaps made of daily refuse of life lying scattered on our path cause trouble and delay and produce fatigue. But the sun is shining overhead, and God's blessing is in my heart, the call is clear and help is waiting by road side.

## THE FIRST LORD MINTO'S INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

**D**URING the month of February, 1809 when Metcalfe was in Amritsar the anniversary of the Maharram occurred which the Shia Mohammedans of his escort celebrated as usual with the public demonstrations of passionate sorrow and religious fervour. Since the ascendancy of the power of the Sikhs this celebration of the Maharram had been stopped and so the conduct and behavior of Metcalfe's escort gave great offence to the population of Amritsar a place which is sacred to all Sikhs. The Akalis a sect of Sikh fanatics who are half soldiers and half saints attacked the camp of Metcalfe. A little tact and ordinary courtesy would have dictated that Christian Lavois not to have allowed the Shia Mohammedans of his escort to celebrate the Moharram in the sacred city of the Sikhs without the special permission of Ranjit Singh. Of course the Akalis were fanatics and were no match for the trained soldiers of Metcalfe's escort. The steady discipline of the latter prevailed and the Akalis broke and fled. Ranjit Singh came up at the close of the affray and assisted in quelling the tumult. Metcalfe's camp was removed to a greater distance from the town.

This incident is said by the British writers to have made a great impression on Ranjit's mind. Sir John Kaye writes that Ranjit

saw clearly that the English who could make such good soldiers of men not naturally warlike were a people not to be despised.

How much truth there is in this assertion it is impossible to say for the incident above referred to rests solely on the authority of the Christian Lavois and Christian writer whose testimony could hardly be relied upon since they are the interested party in the affair. This

incident occurred in February and from the fact that the English did not demand any satisfaction from Ranjit Singh for his subjects attacking the escort of a friendly foreign mission and also when we remember the fact that Ranjit Singh did not at once after its occurrence conclude a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with the British tend to show that this incident did not influence the conduct of Ranjit towards the English.

The British Government in order to carry on the negotiations to a satisfactory termination had moved the troops and threatened Ranjit with hostilities. But as waging war against the princes of India was strictly forbidden by the authorities in England it does not appear that Lord Minto was serious as to going to war with the Sikh Prince. The negotiations dragged on from month to month till the 20th April 1809 when a treaty was concluded which placed all the petty Sikh chieftains in the territory between the rivers Sutledge and Jumna under the protection of the British. But

In his history of the Sikhs Captain Cunningham does not allude to this incident influencing his conduct toward the English. In a footnote (page 138 2nd ed.) he writes—

Moorcraft ascertained that Ranjeet Singh had serious thoughts of appealing to the sword so unpalatable was English interference. The well known Luiker Uzeerooddeen was one of the two persons who dissuaded him from war.

† Captain Cunningham writes—

In the beginning of February 1809 Sir David Ochterlony had issued a proclamation declaring the C's Sutledge states to be under British protection and that any aggressions of the chiefs of the C's would be resisted with arms. Ranjit Singh then perceived

distracted state and, indeed, the best advice he could give to the English gentlemen was, that they should go home as fast as they could unless they were inclined to help him against his enemies. When a man's own house is on fire, it is no time to alarm him on the score of remote dangers, and he soon found that the British Government would not help him to extinguish these domestic flames."

Poor deluded Shah Sujā! Had he known that it was the British Government which was at the bottom in enkindling these domestic flames, for it was the interest of that Government to do so, and for the avowed object of which it had sent an embassy to Persia and paid a subsidy in money to the Persian Government, he would not have expected the British Government to help him to extinguish these domestic flames.

To quote Sir John Kaye again —

"The Afghan Ministers, it must be admitted argued the case acutely and not without some amount of fairness. They could not see why if the English wished the King of Cabul to help them against their enemies, they should not in the return help the King to resist his but as it was, they said, all the advantage was on our side and all the danger on the side of the King. They stated wrote Mr. Elphinstone in a letter to Lord Minto, that an alliance for the purpose of repelling our enemy was imperfect and the true friendship between two states could only be maintained by identifying their interests in all cases that Shah Mahmud had no influence over the Douranees and would be obliged — if he obtained the crown — to put himself under the protection of the Persians to maintain his authority *that he had before come into with that people, and was naturally inclined to them and that from the moment of his restoration to the Government of this country we might consider the French and Persians as already on the Indian*

The importance of the words put in italics will be easily understood when the fact is remembered that Sir John Malcolm was sent in 1799 to Persia by the Marquess Wellesley to instigate the king to create distractions in Afghanistan. As said before, a subsidy even was paid to the Persian King to carry out this atrocious piece of business. The object of the British Government was gained, for Shah Mahmud with the help of the Persians raised the standard of revolt in Afghanistan, seized the Afghan monarch Zemaun Shah who was his half brother, deposed him, put out his eyes and placed him in close confinement in the Balla Hissar at Cabul. But Shah Mahmud did not retain his ill-gotten power very long. He was dethroned by Shah Sujā in 1803.

So the deposition and blindness of Zemaun Shah relieved the British Government of the incubus of the invasion of India with which the Afghan monarch had threatened them so often. The domestic dissensions and internecine feuds in Afghanistan brought about through the instrumentality of the Persian King

prevented the successors of Zemaun Shah from ever carrying out his threat into execution."

To keep Persia and Afghanistan always at war with one another and never to unite and make a common cause seemed to have been the object of Elphinstone's mission. As said before, Malcolm had succeeded in playing off Persia against Afghanistan, and now Elphinstone was trying to pit the Afghan ruler against the Persian monarch. But no treaty of any definite character was concluded with the Afghan sovereign to instigate him to invade or create distractions in the territory of Persia. There are two reasons to be assigned to the English refraining from any assistance to the Afghan ruler in extinguishing his domestic flames. The first reason was that they did not want to have a prosperous and happy Afghanistan ruled over by Shah Sujā the brother of Zemaun Shah who had so often threatened them with the invasion of India. They were afraid that Shah Sujā might carry into execution the often repeated threat of his brother and invade India, if his subjects in Afghanistan were happy and contented and did not rise in revolt against their ruler. The second reason which influenced the English in refusing to contract a defensive alliance with the Afghan ruler is to

\* "Two years before Malcolm went to Persia a Persian nobleman naturalised in India, named Mahdi Ali Khan had been sent to Teheran by the Governor of Bombay with instructions to take measures for inducing the Court of Persia to keep Shah Zemaun in perpetual check (so as to preclude him from returning to India) but without any decided act of hostility. His envoy found, on his arrival, that the Shah was disposed to assist two refugee Afghan Princes, Mahmud and Piruzuddin without the additional inducement of an English subsidy, which he had been authorised to offer. He, therefore took upon himself a considerable amount of responsibility and by suppressing his credentials, and by leaving well alone, hid the satisfaction of seeing the Afghan Princes marching towards Herat supported by Persian troops. This expedition failed and shortly afterwards Zemaun Shah sent an imperious message to the Shah of Persia demanding the cession of Khorasan. Lutich Ali Shah replied that it was his intention to restore to Persia the territories which it had possessed at the time of the Safavide dynasty, and following up the threat by act or, he in 1799 took the field in person and marched into Khorasan. By this movement Zemaun Shah threatened with loss of his Western provinces was forced to withdraw from Lahore. This expedition however, lasted but a short time and when Lutich Ali Shah returned to his capital in the autumn of 1799, the Afghan ruler once more turned his attention towards the East. In the following spring, however the Shah of Persia marched into Khorasan and Zemaun Shah was again obliged to move westwards to watch Herat. Thus when Malcolm reached Teheran, he found that Persian ambition had done all that was required to give India from the danger of an Afghan invasion. (Rustam March towards India vol I page 65)

## INDIAN "NATIONAL" EDUCATION

THE educational system in India pleases neither the Indian nor the English man, therefore it is doomed. The question as to what sort of education is to take its place is the question exercising the minds of some Indian politicians and the word national is freely used—to my thinking wrongly used—is its essential characteristic. I am trying to clear my thoughts on the subject with the aid of Mr Lajpat Rai whose book 'The Problem of National Education in India' I have recently read. We cannot live our lives complacently from day to day in our characteristic ways be they humdrum or frivolous or full of activity ignoring the problems that seethe around us the comprehension of which is the first step towards their solution. The whole world is in a state of turmoil and rapid change and India's part in this turmoil and rapid change concerns us very nearly we who have made of her land the scene of our working days and of her soil the soil on which our homesteads rest. India's problems are our problems. We stand or fall together. Willy nilly we are compatriots with the Indian. The solution of the problem of education in any country has results beyond its own shores and more over, in the world synthesis that is taking place we are no longer either Britishers or Indians, but *Humans*.

According to Mr Lajpat Rai, in his very clear exposition of the problem, the kind of education Nationalists such as he want is mainly education as a means to a livelihood and an education that will develop patriotism. Also he wishes to reform present-day educational methods in India, which he avers are fifty years behind the times. These three objects could surely be accomplished by co-operation between Indian politicians and the educational machinery at hand. English educationists in India are not so well pleased

with the present system nor so unaccommodating but that they would eagerly welcome constructive ideas and co-operation towards the fulfilment of these objects. But national education? What does Mr Lajpat Rai mean by that? For, the objects above amount to no more than rational education. I understand that by the national element Mr Lajpat Rai means the doing of it for themelves unhampered by foreign dominance free of Government aid and of affiliation to the existing Government Universities.

With all deference to Mr Lajpat Rai I see no more in his national than political. National education is a very much bigger thing than education as a means to a livelihood or even to the development of patriotism. Hear what Ruskin says:

For that is another of our grand popular mistakes people are always thinking of education as a means to a livelihood. Education is not a profitable business but a costly one—unprofitable in the terms of common sense on ever mind is broadened by its great arts or its great wisdoms. By its minor arts by its practical knowledges ye but its noble scholarship its noble philosophy and its noble art are always to be bought as a treasure not sold for a livelihood. You are to spend on national education and to be spent for it and to make by it not more money but better men to get into this British Island the greatest possible number of good and brave Englishmen. They are to be your money's worth.

In this passage Ruskin suggests that it is national education that produces great arts and great wisdoms, noble scholarships and noble philosophy. The minor arts and practical knowledges are taught by ordinary education, the national education, in fact that Mr Lajpat Rai advocates and that every civilised country is endeavouring to procure for its children.

In his proposed educational methods Mr Lajpat Rai would not go back to the past to be more truly national, that would be folly. Nor does he believe in the ordinate praise of India and he stigmatises some of the modern poems and songs

on India as "full of soft sentimentality" and the writers of them as "either idiots or traitors." To avoid misunderstanding he parenthetically exempts the poet Tagore from the charge. To discourage the study and dissemination of European languages would in his opinion be "folly and madness." Truth, he asserts, is "neither local or national nor even international. It is simply truth." The education that he advocates shall open its doors wide to truth from whatever source it comes and in whatever language. He would teach patriotism as it is taught in France and other countries. In primary schools the love of India, its rivers, its hills, landscapes and scenes should be inculcated in choice and simple language. The function of education, he tells us, in the eyes of the dominant class is to produce "skilled but obedient men", whereas national (or, as I prefer to call it, *rational*) education would aim at producing "self-thinking and self-reliant men". Then he tells us that because of the phenomenal poverty of India,

"The first aim of all publicly imparted education in India should be to increase the productive capacity of its citizens. This is only possible by a general widespread system of vocational education, and by a general dissemination of practical, scientific knowledge applicable to the ordinary needs of life and vocational efficiency."

The medium of instruction would be Hindustani, in either Persian or Deva Nagri characters, or both. English as the medium is dismissed at once as it would hinder the speedy dissemination of knowledge so earnestly desired. English, however, should be compulsory in the last three years of the elementary school period. "The object should be to lay the foundations of a working knowledge of the language, as distinguished from its literary side." In any case, he believes, that every Indian should know at least one European language, have European tools in his hands, and be able easily to manipulate European mechanical appliances.

"The country must be brought to the level of most modern countries not only in politics and economics, but even in thought and life. It is true we do not want India to become England or France or Japan or

America. We want it to remain India. We would not be Indians if we did not want to remain Indians. But let us understand once for all, that under modern conditions of life, the distinction between this country and the other is destined to be much less than it used to be before the introduction of steam and electricity in human affairs. The world is tending to become one family. Any one who aspires or plans to obstruct the process is a traitor to his country as well as to humanity at large."

The objects of Mr. Lajpat Rai's educational reform are obviously rationalistic and there is no earthly reason why the existing educational authorities should not embody these reforms, creating good citizens and good patriots and raising the efficiency of the people by widespread vocational training increasing thereby their productive capacity. The political element as to Government aid and disaffiliation must be fought out by the politicians, among whom British and Indians predominate, Humans being in the minority.

I note my own reflections for what they are worth. University education, that is to say "Arts" education, by which after due examination men are entitled to add the letters of B. A., M. A., etc., to their names, should be limited to two classes of men and women: the *moneyed class* and the *intellectual class*. The fees should be increased, *considerably increased*, but candidates who are not moneyed could gain admittance to the Halls of Learning by submitting to a really stiff test of their mental equipment, and be admitted *as an honour* and not *as a concession*, at the present rate of fees. Thus, Arts colleges would be for the pick of the nation's intelligence and for her rich men. It goes without saying that side by side with this drastic reform, vocational colleges should exist and be ready to train those who have neither the mental nor the money qualification for admittance to the Arts colleges. For them there would be clerical, commercial and industrial diplomas. In Lahore, for instance, two Arts colleges might easily accommodate the candidates for Arts degrees, and the remaining colleges should be scrapped as Arts colleges and be turned into commercial and industrial training centres. The vocational colleges of Law and Medicine would remain unchanged. B. A. and M. A. degrees



should become *dis* qualifications for clerical and commercial posts instead of, as now, qualifications. The 'failed B A' qualification should for ever disappear. The intelligences that achieve the latter result would gain in self respect and in clerical or commercial usefulness if the *kucha* 'failed B A' qualification was replaced by a *pukka* clerical or commercial diploma. Along with the lessening of the Arts colleges and the increasing of the vocational ones, it would be essential that primary education was made universal compulsory and free and that secondary education was made more on a par with the standard of the intermediate stage of the present Arts course.

Thus, "the minor arts and practical knowledges" would evolve out of primary, secondary and vocational education and would represent money value in the increased efficiency of the labourer the clerk the *commercial man* and the *industrial man*. The Arts and Science colleges would represent not money value but intellectual value in the efficiency of the learned professions, and resulting in scientists, writers, thinkers and public men. Law and Medical colleges would represent in addition to money value, social value in the increase of public health and law and order.

Let us not forget in passing that all direct authoritative teaching is elementary, and that the really educated man is he who educates himself with the instruments his schools and colleges have placed in his hands. Figuratively speaking, primary and secondary education but represent the A B C and words of more than one syllable, and higher education but

represents a vocabulary to be used for the acquisition of knowledge, and of scientific facts to build upon. *Life*, and well spent leisure, are the real educators of man.

The question now arises—What is national education?

Patriotic education is local and utilitarian. It leads to the development of good citizenship, city pride, home industries, public health. It is concerned, in fact, with production of the great persons. "Produce great persons," says Walt Whitman and the rest follows."

National education is universal. It leads among other things, to the development of *noble art* *noble scholarships* and *noble philosophy*. It does not and cannot mean money value, its values are spiritual. Patriotic education provides growing conditions for the body, but national education provides these same conditions for the soul. Patriotic education is a national necessity, but national education is a world necessity. Patriotism to nationalism is as handicraft to fine art. Roughly speaking the schools produce the patriots and the colleges the nationalists. National education is contained in great literature: it is housed in public halls, in temples of art and of religion. The idea was implicit in Mr. Lajpat Rai when he said "All social barriers must be removed and the school, the college the court and the council must be open temples for all to enter and worship regardless of caste, colour and creed."

The true educators of a nation are its great writers, its great artists, its great scientists and its great thinkers.

NORAH RICHARDS,

## SUGGESTED INDIAN COLONISATION IN AMERICA

Much thought and discussion have been evoked by the material aspects and results of the world war. We have heard and read a great deal about the loss of life the destruction of property the financial burdens the political readjustments the new economic relations which the war has occasioned. But the most

important change wrought by the great conflict seemingly has been accorded scant consideration namely that the world of ideas has been shattered even more ruthlessly and completely than the world of material things. If Marx has been the breaker of material pre-war idols he has also been the iconoclast of pre-war

And in a large sense, the world cannot be reconstructed, it must be built anew, and not upon the old foundation but upon new basis. An economist of international reputation has it that "As a result of the war the economic development of the world, has been impelled forward by at least two generations."

Students of our ancient history of India, are aware of the fact that our ancestors colonised in different parts of the world and everywhere spread their civilization in various forms and ways. With the dawn of this new era let us be up and doing, and marching forward in the footsteps of our forefathers, colonise in suitable places to carry far and wide their message of peace and self-advancement. This is the time and this is the opportunity, God's call to all is to set to work.

To my mind one of the solutions out of our present difficulties is for our enterprising young men to go forth into unexplored regions,—fresh fields and pastures new, where the climate is suitable and healthful, the soil fertile and resourceful, and land and other facilities may be had cheap.

#### POSSIBILITIES OF FLORIDA

In the course of my investigations, it has appeared that the state of Florida in the U S A is pre-eminently suitable for the purpose, as will be found from the information detailed below.

With regard to Indians buying lands and settling in Florida as citizens, I have received many alluring letters from my American friends. One of them writes

"I referred your letter to His Excellency the Governor of Florida and he instructed his Commissioner of Agriculture to correspond with me. The Commissioner has sent to you direct printed matters concerning Florida."

"There is no objection to your owning lands there. Every law-abiding citizen who desires to get along is appreciated. A Hindu or any other race would be respected in his rights here, absolutely. He would be expected to marry in his own caste or class because the mixture of the race is resented very much, but otherwise there is nothing that I know to prevent your people coming and living just as the Syrian, or Jew or Serb or Italian, if he wants."

Mr. McRae, the Commissioner of Agriculture of the State of Florida, writes

Your letter stating that you are interested in the Florida lands and asking if our Government will allow you to buy and remain here as a citizen, has been referred to me for reply.

"In reply I am enclosing herewith a Circular of information with reference to securing state lands and am mailing you under separate cover a map of Florida."

"We will sell you lands in this state and you can become a citizen if you so desire."

I prefer the State of Florida as a place for our colonisation, on account of its surprisingly low

price of land, its marvelous climatic advantages its rich and fertile soil, its abundant supply of home raised vegetables, its picturesque scenery, its Sugar cane, Tobacco, Cotton and all kinds of fruits, food grains including rice, its oil, coal and other mineral products.

#### FLORIDA'S GREATEST ASSET IS CLIMATE

A leading journal of America calls Florida, "Florida, the blessed," and writes —

"When once the country has fully realised Florida's wealth of climate and its other wonderful resources, the time will come, when, as one New-Yorker, who has been living in the state for three years lately, said 'The only difficulty with Florida is that there is only one of it and in the future years, it will be so over crowded that there will not be room enough for the people, who will want to flock here."

"We Floridians are perfectly willing to acknowledge that climate is Florida's greatest and leading asset, a treasure that we have grounds to be very proud of. In the first place, every rational human possessing that most uncommon essential—"common sense," will be forced to concede that climate plays a very important and fundamental part in human activity and success, as it is the groundwork on which health is largely founded."

Agriculturally considered on a decimal basis, we can analyse success in farming, fruit raising and livestock activities, approximately as follows, allowing 100 points for the whole. Climate, 80 points, brains 15 points, soil 5 points.

Without doubt, Florida has the best all the year round climate to be found in America, with a frostless growing season ranging from about 8½ months in the northern part of the State to practically 12 months in South Florida having a normal annual rainfall amounting to approximately 57 inches more than double average for the United States. Our rainfall on the Florida mainland ranges from 50 to 70 inches with unusually good distribution throughout the year, and with all inequalities of distribution occurring during the summer months coincident with the greatest crop vegetative period. The optimum temperature for Florida is approximately 71 degrees F., with but few extremes of either heat or cold, in fact, a bona fide case of sunstroke is unknown in Florida and we experience a bad freeze in Florida an average of only once in 22 years. Scientists tell us that the optimum temperature for the average in plant and animal life is approximately 71 degrees F., that is the environmental temperature at which both plant and animal life functions most advantageously. Florida is the only State in the Union that can claim the distinction of having an optimum climate temperature, coinciding with that temperature best for the maintenance of life, both animal and vegetable.

Granting this as being accurate and truthful, we are forced to allow the 80 points to Florida for climate as given in the above mathematical statement, and, allow 15 points for brains leaves a balance of only 5 points for soil, which we are sure can be corrected and adjusted perfectly by the proper use of brains. On the other hand we find it an extremely difficult matter to correct disadvantageous climate conditions by artificial human agencies.

## FLORIDA'S NUMEROUS SOIL TYPES

"While Florida can boast the first European civilisation, she is really the last State in the Union to be discovered from a productive and industrial standpoint. In fact, we firmly believe that there will be as much actual progress in Florida during the coming five years as we have experienced during any previous 50 years period. We have room in Florida for tremendous expansion, as only some 3 per cent of our land area is developed, leaving 97 per cent for settlement purposes. This makes a veritable empire when we consider that the total area of the State of Florida is close to 60,000 square miles.

"With over 25 years of practical Florida experience in agricultural engineering work covering all portions of the State of Florida years ago we came to the conclusion that, due to our unusually fine climate and location conditions in Florida there is not one square foot of Florida land subject to economic drainage that has not got some good and profitable agricultural or horticultural use. This claim we believe cannot be duplicated by any other State in the Union.

"One of our poorest soil series as types found in Florida, from a standpoint of fertility, is the St. Lucie fine sand. This soil on a dry basis may be virtually considered to be chemically pure silica, the writer having made numerous analysis of this type showing over 90 per cent silica. Anywhere else but in Florida this land would be considered worthless though in well located South Florida areas with favorable atmospheric drainage conditions, giving frost and freeze protection advantages, this land has high horticultural values in the growing of the very finest grade and quality of pineapples. This same soil type found farther north in the State is well adapted to the commercial growing of camphor trees with the intention of distilling the leaves and twig prunings for the recovery of camphor. This latter venture though, requires a large acreage and considerable capital to insure good profits, as the extraction and distillation plant requires considerable capital.

"Similar infertile lands in lower middle and South Florida can also be used to large commercial advantage in the growing of the Yucatan sisal hemp, a fiber that has proven to be indispensable in the manufacture of binder twine, universally used by our grain growers.

"The basis of successful production in Florida is dependent on the intelligent selection of crops adapted to individual soil and climatic conditions.

## GRASSES AND LEGUMES.

"In regard to the livestock carrying capacity of Florida lands intelligently tilled, we would like to make a few statements. Napier grass, a recent introduction from Africa, locally known in that country as elephant grass, a nonsaccharine sorghum, is destined to be one of Florida's leading forage crops. The amount of valuable forage that can be produced on one acre of well selected and properly tilled land in Florida planted to Napier grass is almost beyond comprehension.

"Carpet grass has proven to be our best permanent pasture grass. On our flatwoods land it should carry at least 1000 pounds of livestock to the acre through a period of not less than eight or nine months of the year. This grass spreads very rapidly

in Florida when protected against fire, in fact, is so aggressive in its growth that it rapidly replaces all other grasses common throughout the State. Carpet grass is a native of the West Indies, and was introduced into Florida many years ago. In many cases it grows wild where protected against fire.

"All of the legumes common to the North can be grown successfully in Florida when planted at the proper time on well prepared land, properly stocked with humus, with one possible exception, namely, Alfalfa.

"We are just in receipt of a letter from a progressive Florida live-stock breeder, farming in Jefferson County and he states that he is producing Japanese Kudzu hay (which is far superior to Alfalfa) on his farm at a total cost of only 2 1/4 per ton at the present time. With him kudzu gives an annual yield of six tons of hay per acre, and in addition he gets valuable pasturage on the same land. He also writes us that he is growing winter leguminous pasture crops as follows on his farm successfully, the new annual and old biennial sweet clover, white clover, bur clover, crimson clover, hairy vetch and red clover. After much experimenting he now depends on Japanese kudzu entirely as a summer leguminous forage hay and pasture crop though he has been getting excellent results with Florida beggar weed, cowpeas, soy bean and Florida velvet bean. We may state though that he still depends on the velvet bean as a main source for stock feed concentrate, using ground velvet beans in the pod with corn and cob meal.

Self flowing artesian water is available over a large portion of central and South Florida, in many places it being only necessary to put down a well from 2, to 200 feet. This asset is a possession above value for either the livestock farmer, trucker, general farmer or horticulturalist."

## HOW TO SECURE STATE LANDS.

I give below extracts from the instructions with reference to securing State Lands (the sale of which is subject to certain reservations as to mines, canals, etc., which are not pertinent here) received from the Commissioner of Agriculture, Florida —

State lands will not be reserved from sale for the benefit of any applicant. Any application not accompanied with the full amount of purchase money does not give priority or secure the land.

We have no special information in this department showing the character of the State lands of the amount and kind of timber on them. Personal inspection is advised before purchasing.

The better way to make a satisfactory purchase of any lands in this State would be to visit the State and go to the locality in which you may be interested, and you can, as a rule, secure information as to the character of the land from the Clerk of the Circuit Court or the Tax Collector or Tax Assessor of the County in which the land is located.

Under Acts of the Legislature of 1909-1911 1913, no sales of more than 320 acres of land can be made without first advertising the lands for thirty days in some newspaper published in the County or Counties where the said lands to be sold are situated, also such other papers as may be deemed advisable.

Therefore, should anyone wish to purchase more

than 320 acres, the lands desired would have to be advertised. The land will not be advertised unless the party desiring it will deposit a certified check payable to the State Treasurer, in the sum of 10 p c of the price he is willing to pay for the said land, as a guarantee that he will pay, not exceeding 1500 for expenses of advertising and will submit a bid for the amount he is willing to pay, on the date bids for said land are to be considered by the Board. Should another party be successful, the certified check of the unsuccessful bidder will be immediately returned, the successful bidder in that case paying the cost of advertising. The Board, in all cases, reserves the right to reject any and all bids.

As stated, however, the above requirements apply only to purchases of more than 320 acres.

A list of State lands, in any special townships will be sent to anyone who will write, stating the number of acres desired, the locality in which he desires the lands and the very best price he will give therefor.

There are no fixed prices now on State lands, and all officers for State lands are presented to the Board controlling the prices of the lands desired, and the applicant is advised of their action thereon. The State lands in the Everglades have been selling at from 30 to 175 dollars per acre, other State lands from 4 to 25 dollars per acre.

The original field notes of the United States Surveys of this State are in this office. The usual price of copies of same is 50 cents per section and 800 to 1200 dollars per township, which only pays for actual time taken up in making copies.

All inquiries, offers and remittances for State lands should be made direct to W. A. McRAE, Commissioner of Agriculture.

#### PRODUCTS OF THE STATE AND WHERE PRODUCED

Corn, sweet potatoes, oats, field peas and sugar cane are grown in every county in the State, and are the staple crops; rice, hay and peanuts are grown in all parts of the State, but not in every county; not because these crops will not grow in the other counties, but because the people do not care to grow them. Cotton, the principal commercial crop, is grown in the

northerly counties of East Florida, and in all counties in the northern and western parts of the State, and some of the central counties.

Of the fruits, peaches, plums, pears, and some minor fruits, grow in all counties except the extreme southern, citrus fruits grow in most of the counties of East and all of Southern Florida. The commercial vegetable crops are grown in all the eastern and southern counties, and some in the northern and western counties.

Vegetables and fruits of many sorts are grown abundantly for home use in every county in the State. Tobacco is principally grown for commerce in Gadsden, Leon, Jefferson, Madison, Pasco and one or two other counties.

Livestock of all kinds are raised and thrive in every county in the State.

Bulletins on above and all statistical subjects can be obtained by anyone on application to this Department. Soil survey maps are to be had only by application to the U. S. Department of Agriculture at Washington, D. C.

The Naval Stores and Timber Business, Phosphate Mining and Cattle Raising are among the important industries in this State.

For further information concerning State lands, its products and resources, address -

W. A. McRAE,  
Commissioner of Agriculture,  
Tallahassee, Florida.

I trust that my young educated friends will take a proper interest in this matter and consider these valuable possibilities with promptness and earnestness from a practical point of view. These are also eminently worth the consideration of the Indian National Congress authorities and other public bodies in our country.

PRABODH CHANDRA GHOSH.

[Those who wish to correspond with the writer on the subject of this article, may write to him c/o Mr. S. N. Tagore, 6 Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta.]

### TECHNOLOGICAL EDUCATION

FOR many years we have been hearing about organising technological education in India, and one commission after the other has submitted its report, but unfortunately nothing worth mentioning has resulted as yet. Any number of young Indian students are coming over every year to England and other countries for technical training and the majority of them have to spend a tremendous amount

of money and time for going through elementary subjects like Mechanics, Physics, Chemistry, Geometry, Drawing, etc., which can and should be taught properly in our institutions in India. Our aim should be to send our boys only for that part of their training which it will be very difficult for us to arrange at present.

It is a scandal that in a country like India there is as yet not a single properly

equipped technological institute. It seems that there has been a great curse lying on us in this matter. Although everybody in India knows that only a properly trained medical man should talk about medical education or only a properly trained lawyer should have a voice in matters of legal training, still we find rich Indians if they have motor-cars or a few electric fans think themselves competent to organise technical education. A person who may be a very clever engineer is not always fit to talk of technical education as a shrewd business man in Calcutta who may have succeeded in earning lacs of rupees in trade is not always the best person to be in charge of our School of Commerce.

In England there are many Rule of thumb engineers of the old school who are exceedingly clever and capable still we find England is now very much convinced of the necessity of scientific technical training, and almost in every country they are spending large sums for running well equipped polytechnics. In India also the organisation of such institutes should be in the hands of only such persons who are scientifically trained technical men and have good varied practical experience. Our lawyers and medical men would help the country very much if they extended their co-operation in every other way excepting in matters which are specifically technical.

The difficulty has been firstly to get good qualified men and secondly money. If we want our institutes to be as efficient as the institutes in Europe and America I do not see how we can do it without spending sufficient money. Unless we can fit up our laboratories as well as those in Europe we cannot give our boys the same training, and this of course means money. But according to my opinion the first difficulty is still greater. I have not

seen any country where they have a superfluity of such men as we would like to have as our technical teachers, not even in Germany. In all these countries they always find it very difficult to find a suitable man when a chair falls vacant and it will be folly for us to expect that really qualified men would go out to India as professors of technical subjects. Such men have generally better chances in England and they will never be tempted to go out.

Our only solution lies and should lie in getting our own men trained. We have got excellent material in our young men, and there is absolutely no reason to despair. But this will be a slow process. We may be quite satisfied if after ten years of arduous work we can get a well manned technological institute. We should start modestly only with such subjects for which we have already a few men, subjects like mechanical and electrical engineering, and start gradually other departments as soon as our men get thoroughly trained.

Under the present constitution of our Universities I would hesitate very much to associate our technological institutes with the Universities. Such an institute should be run only by the teaching staff undisturbed by outside people who not having gone through the necessary special training are not competent to have a voice in the management. This is not at all an unusual course. All the Technical High Schools in Germany each with many thousands of students have *absolutely nothing to do with the Universities*. These High Schools are managed by the teaching staff alone without any disturbance from outsiders. That these schools have worked satisfactorily and have helped forward the industry of Germany considerably, nobody can doubt.

SARAT KUMAR DUTTA

## BENGAL POLICE EXPENDITURE

THE recent appointment of a Committee, in pursuance of a resolution moved by Babu Jadu Bhushan Datta in the Bengal Legislative Council to consider the possibility of reducing the police expenditure without impairing the efficiency of the force is a step in the right direction. The problem which the Committee will be required to solve is one of considerable intricacy and importance, because while on the one hand the maintenance of law and order and the prevention and detection of crime are among the primary duties of all civilized Governments on the other hand there is a strong popular feeling that a huge amount of public money is being wasted by a mismanagement of the department under a pretence of efficiency. As matters stand at present, the Police Department absorbs nearly one sixth of the total provincial revenues, thus retarding the growth of important nation building departments. Let us hope that in dealing with the subject the Committee will not fail to exhibit boldness and imagination and a proper sense of proportion and foresight, which the importance of the subject deserves. Already the Government has stolen a march on the Committee and has forced it to accept an additional official member in the shape of President, and although some reduction of cost was inevitable even without a Committee owing to the position of bankruptcy in which the Bengal Government has placed itself through its reckless policy of extravagance, it will not, after the fierce struggle it has made year after year in the Legislative Council and outside it in defence of its actions, easily acknowledge defeat but will yet struggle hard to maintain the position it has hitherto taken up.

At the same time a word of caution appears to be necessary. A properly organized police department is undoubtedly a boon to the people and it is obvious that to maintain the force in a state of efficiency it is essential that the staff, and more particularly the subordinate ranks, should be properly remunerated, which means, according to modern conditions of living, a considerable increase of expenditure for the department. Again the progress of Western civilization, bringing in its train better facilities of communication and locomotion and progressive ideas in the art of the criminals, renders the task of the Police Service increasingly difficult, and in European countries, specially in Germany and Austria, all that science and human industry can devise are being applied to the solution of detective problems. What is, therefore, expected of the Committee is not mere iconoclasm and reckless demolition of all existing edifices but the enunciation of a prudent and economic policy which will be consistent with the present financial resources of Government and in keeping with the policy of the future Indianization of Imperial Services.

It is not possible in the course of a magazine article to discuss exhaustively all the details of the police administration and our present object is only to

draw attention to some of the main points of the subject. We will not deal with the Calcutta Police at present and as regards the Bengal Police it will be convenient for our purpose if we begin with the year 1904, first, because that was practically the last year up to which the police worked under the old system (as the policy laid down by the Police Commission began to be introduced from 1905) and, secondly, because the Eastern Bengal districts were separated from Bengal in 1905 and were not re-united with it till 1912. In 1904 the cost of the civil police for Bengal as now constituted was Rs 36,60,000 in 1920 it rose to Rs. 1,27,00,000; that is, in spite of the fact that owing to the separation of Behar districts the head quarters work was reduced and the length of railway line under police control decreased, the cost increased nearly 350 per cent. The cost of the Military Police during this period increased from Rs 36,156 to Rs 3,87,128 or over 1,000 per cent. It has been stated in the recent Government Resolution on Police administration that the pay of all the ranks was increased during 1920 and it is therefore obvious that the cost during 1921 will be still higher.

Has the result justified this increased expenditure? If the prevention of crime is taken as one of the surest tests of police efficiency then the Bengal Police has signally failed by this test, as there has been rather an increase of cognizable crime during this period. Again, if the number of convictions secured be regarded as one of these tests, then also there has been no improvement, as in 1904 convictions were obtained in 44 per cent of cases tried and 51 per cent of persons arrested, whereas in 1919 (the last year for which figures are available) the percentages respectively were 52 and 44. In 1901 Sir John Woodburn characterised the Bengal Police as dishonest and tyrannical and in 1903 the Police Commission emphatically concurred in this view. Has the Bengal Police yet succeeded in removing this stigma? Even making proper allowance for the fact that a portion of the increased expenditure is due to the increase of the pay of the force, the conclusion is irresistible that a wrong policy is being followed and that public money is being wasted.

We shall now try to indicate some of the causes of this huge increase of police expenditure so far as these can be ascertained from published records and make certain suggestions for the consideration of the Committee.

The Indian Police Commission of 1902-03, presided over by Sir Andrew Fraser, found that one of the main defects of police administration in India was inadequate supervision. The Commission decided that the superior supervising staff should be strengthened and composed mainly of Europeans. In 1904 there were 34 officers in the higher ranks consisting of the Inspector General, Deputy and Assistant Inspectors General and Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents, and according to the Commission's

proposals this number was to be raised to 82 consisting of 1 Inspector General, 3 Deputy Inspectors General, 32 Superintendents, 27 Assistant Superintendents and 19 Deputy Superintendents. The present number of officers employed in the Bengal Police is, however, no less than 140 and appears to be distributed as below—

Inspector General	1
Superintendents as I. G.'s assistants	2
Deputy Inspectors General for Ranges	5
3 D I G., 3 S P., 1 Asst. S P., and 7 D S P. for C. I. D. and I. B.	13
Railway Police Superintendents	3
River Police Superintendent	1
2 Superintendents and 2 Deputy Superintendents for Training Schools	4
39 S P., 26 A S P., & 21 D S P. for districts	86
A. S P.'s for leave vacancies	25

From the above table the top-heavy character of the administration is at once apparent. A suggestion was made to the Police Commission that the Inspector General should be made a Secretary to Government but the Commission rejected it because it necessitated his being too much at head quarters. The Commission obviously expected that the Inspector General by frequent touring throughout his jurisdiction would solve by personal discussion many of the questions coming up to him for decision and would thus minimise the work both at headquarters and at districts. How far this expectation has been realized will be apparent from the fact that whereas in 1904 Sir Robert Carlyle and Sir Charles Stevenson Moore were on tour for 119 days during a period of 9 months of their incumbency, their successor in 1919 was on tour for 58 days only (the figure for 1920 is not yet known). Not only so, but whereas the Inspector General of those days could manage the work of 43 districts with the assistance of one personal assistant, the present day Inspectors General require two such officers for 26 districts. There is ample justification here to cut down one of the two appointments.

According to the Police Commission's recommendation there were to be only two Range Deputy Inspectors General in Bengal, whereas we have now got five. They have very little real power or control over the administration of the department and their function is to inspect, criticise and co-ordinate the work of districts. They form a fifth wheel to the car like the Divisional Commissioners with this difference that while the latter are concerned with numerous departments, including the police, the former keep themselves busy with police work only. There would have been some justification for their existence had they ever taken any effective part in the control of crime or detection of criminals but one would look in vain through the records of the department to find out a single instance of such activity. One of the main reasons of the failure of the present system is that the Department is over-ridden by inspecting officers. A thana Sub-Inspector's work comes under the review of his Inspector, Assistant or Deputy Superintendent and D I G. and when there are so many officers to find fault with one man's work it is no wonder that more time and attention is devoted to writing reports and returns and dancing attendance on inspecting officers than to solid police work. It has been stated year after year that Inspectors are now-a-days more alive to the responsibilities

of their position and there are also highly paid Superintendents to guide the staff under them and a D I G. is now an unnecessary appendage. The work of the different districts can be co-ordinated by Superintendents themselves by periodical meetings and exchange of ideas and one of the principal duties of the Committee ought to be to examine whether the appointments of Deputy Inspectors General cannot be entirely abolished, if necessary by transferring some of their duties to the Inspector General and by vesting Superintendents with more powers over routine matters.

In respect of the C I D. and I B. we find from the report of 1917 that in that year the Deputy Inspector General of the C I D. was relieved of his control of the Railway and River Police 'in order that he might devote his whole time and attention to criminal work and to the working of the Criminal Tribes Act. This is not the first relief given to this officer but he was long ago also relieved of the control of political crime and this process of relief has made it possible for the holder of this appointment to take up an additional appointment in the Munitions Board for which he draws extra remuneration. No one can deny that the C I D. offers unlimited scope for the development of scientific investigations and it was in Bengal that Sir Edward Henry until recently the Commissioner of the London Metropolitan Police developed the fingerprint system which has now been accepted throughout the world as the surest process of identification of criminals but the trouble with the D I G., C I D. is not so much the lack of time or opportunity as the vicious system under which frequent changes are made in the personnel of the appointment. During the last seven years seven officers have filled this important post and it is obvious that under such circumstances it is impossible to follow any systematic policy and that each new incumbent should find the work embarrassing for him.

There is no other Province in India where a separate Deputy Inspector General is employed for the I B. work alone. This is a part of the duties of the Deputy Inspector General of the C I D. but in Bengal, for reasons yet unrevealed, it was thought necessary to create a special appointment which serves only the purpose of giving an opportunity to a junior member of the service to draw more pay than he has earned. So far as we can trace, except on one occasion for a very short period the post has always been held by Superintendents, many of whom belonged only to the third or fourth grade, and at present an officer of 12 years service only is working as the D I G. in addition to his duties as a Deputy Commissioner of the Calcutta Police. More change of designation cannot increase the efficiency of an officer and if long meritorious service be regarded as the essential qualification for promotion to the rank of D I G. then these officers had no moral right to draw the higher salary of a D I G. At any rate the above facts clearly demonstrate that a highly paid appointment is unnecessary and can be safely abolished, the work being transferred to the D I G. of the C I D. Moreover according to the Government's own admission political crime has steadily decreased and there was no such case during the last year. The Government have announced from time to time that owing to this improved condition of the staff of the department has been substantially reduced. This is untrue. What

matter should be re-examined. The Committee ought to consider this point, especially whether the leave vacancies of Imperial service officers cannot be filled by temporary promotion from the provincial service. If this is done the necessity of maintaining a permanent leave reserve will not remain.

The question of employing more Indian officers in the Imperial Police ought to be boldly taken up by the Committee, because this is no longer a racial or administrative but a purely economic question. As the provincial expenditure has exceeded the revenue, all means of economy must be enforced before fresh taxation is attempted. In the case of the police service each European officer costs Rs 200 more than an Indian officer of the same rank and doing the same duties.

In the case of the subordinate police, the points to be particularly examined are the distribution and number of police stations and the strength of the town police and of the armed reserves. In the matter of police stations, the recent U P Police Committee have recommended the abolition of a large number of outposts which were being used as thanas and perhaps if a close scrutiny were made the same result could be obtained here but some caution is necessary as the convenience of the local people is to be considered. The question of armed police is mixed up with that of the Military Police and will be considered separately.

There are several other points regarding the civil police to be considered. For instance, nearly 2½ millions of rupees are now spent annually on police buildings and yet it is said that the police suffers from want of decent accommodation. The plan of police buildings ought to be thoroughly revised because it is too ambitious and expensive. A new police station, with the prices of materials at current rates, costs nearly Rs 40,000 each. Sub-Inspector's quarters cost Rs 10,000 and a police barrack at headquarters costs several lakhs. If buildings of the railway type having cemented floor and Raneganj tile roofs and *kutchapacca* walls are supplied they will be equally decent and comfortable and at the same time half as costly.

The system of paying rewards ought to be considered. Why should the police get reward for good work, which is not given to any other service? Every employee is expected to do his utmost for the pay he draws, but in the Police, he is to be bribed for this. The absurdity of the system will be manifest when it is stated that even wives are presented with jewellery for their husbands' work.

Some check also ought to be introduced on the purchase of stores and the expenditure on contingencies and travelling allowance.

The strength and location of the Military Police and armed reserves will be one of the important points for decision. Military Police is maintained in Assam and Burma because there they have to guard their frontier against hill tribes but this argument does not apply to Pongal in nor other province in India except in Behar (where the military police is a relic of the old Bengal system) a force of this class is kept. The apparent justification for retaining it is the necessity of dealing with outbreaks of disorder, but ordinarily the armed police is quite enough for this purpose and for special areas *e.g.* where a large number of up-country labourers are employed, there are the regular army and auxiliary force to rely upon. In Bengal such places are very few in comparison with Bombay and they are all located in or near Calcutta where both troops and auxiliary force are handy. There are now seven Companies of Military Police, five of which are stationed in Dacca, one in Alipore Dairs and one in Hooghly. The one at Alipore Dairs is simply unnecessary but if it is required for any strategic purpose the Imperial Government ought to pay for it. There is also no special reason for retaining Military Police at Dacca as the people of the neighbouring areas are not of an aggressive character. The best arrangement apparently would be to disband this force and substitute it, if necessary by central police reserves at a few important places. The achievements of the Gurkhas in the past have struck terror in the province and the sooner they are got rid of the better. The system of subdivisional reserve is costly, as each such reserve requires separate arrangement for guarding the magazine. X.

## AHILYA-UTSAV

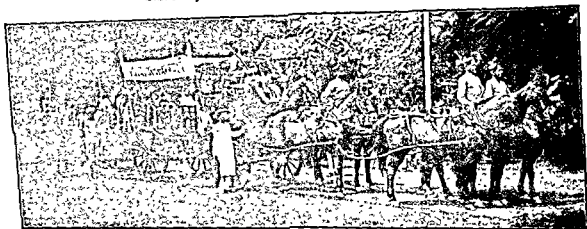
**D**EVI Ahilyabai was a remarkable woman in Maratha History. Daughter-in-law of Malhar Rao Holkar, the founder of the Holkar dynasty, she became a widow early and thought of immolating herself when her husband the heir-apparent to the Holkar Gadi, Prince Khande Rao, died whilst fighting with the Jats. Her father-in-law who had a high regard for her, prevailed upon the young widow with great difficulty to

give up the idea of going Sati. Ahilyabai realising how the warlike Malhar Rao Holkar, who was fighting in North India, would be handicapped in administering and consolidating the Holkar State, complied with his request and in 1763 on the death of Malhar Rao after installing her minor son Maloji Rao on the Gadi and soon after his death took up the whole administration in her own hands. Her son died in a few months and AL.





Shri Ahilyabai's Palanquin with Bhajan Party.

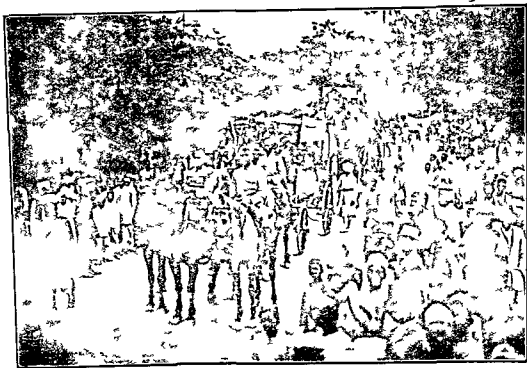


The Brake with the Scroll "Raghoba Dada Invasion."

without resorting to adoption notwithstanding the machinations of her Brahman Minister Gangadhar Yeshwant continued her rule in Malwa and Central India.

In the history of India Shri Ahilyabai's reign has become unparalleled and it is natural that the subjects of Indore State should be proud of such a noble Queen and

try to keep her memory alive in their midst by annual celebrations. Since these last five years under the lead of Sirdar Bolia Sahab, Sirdar Changan and others who are closely related to His Highness the Maharaja Holkar and with the co-operation of the public of Indore organised the Ahilya Utsav demonstration in honour



Shr Ahilyaba Female Soldiers



Shr Ahilyaba's Mounted Female Battalion

of the anniversary of Ahilyabai. The fifth anniversary celebration took place on 31st August at Indore under the presidency of Mr H A Talcherkar Barrister at Law Legal Remembrancer of Indore State.

In his inaugural address the president after giving a resume of the life of

this saintly Maratha Queen pointed out by quoting instances from Maratha history how she had anticipated the spirit of modern philanthropy and also that of the still modern social service. The President narrated her munificent and cosmopolitan charities which are scattered all over India and pointed out

now she put forth her noblest efforts to reclaim to honest and peaceful paths of life such criminal tribes as Bhils and Gonds which infested the Narbada districts, and of her dwelling upon her unique method of dispensation of justice and her life ideals which were far in advance of her own times, emphasised that the memory of this saintly woman deserved to be celebrated not only in Holkar territories but at every centre of culture and advancement throughout India specially at a time when women were coming forward and claiming equal political rights with men.



Devi Shri Ahilyabai Holkar

The anniversary day, 31st August, was observed as a holiday at Indore and the poor and decrepit were fed and in the evening a gathering in the Town Hall presided over by Mr. Talcherkar was held. At the close of the Presidential address there was a procession in which a pro-

fusely garlanded portrait of Shri Ahilyabai was carried in a palanquin throughout the city. This year's procession was a gorgeous pageant in which were exhibited in a tableau form some scenes from the life of Ahilyabai. One of these represented the counter-invasion of Rani Ahilyabai against the wily Raghoba Dada who at the instigation of the treacherous Brahman Minister Gaugadhar wanted to annex Holkar territories. To his utter discomfiture and surprise the young widow ruler lonely and unaided as she was banded together a company of 500 women and with this strange force proceeded to meet Raghoba in open battle. As a warning she sent him a word that woman as she was it would not be a disgrace to her if she was vanquished by his men, but what a crushing disgrace for him if her female army defeated him. This had the desired effect on Raghoba Dada who taken up by the tact and shrewdness of the Great Ahilyabai gave up his wicked project. This historical incident was most cleverly worked out and a tableau depicted the invasion, led by 30 Maratha girls dressed up as soldiers sporting their swords and riding on horseback in the Amazonian fashion. This battalion of female soldiers was followed by an open brake drawn by four horses in which were seated a number of young ladies in warlike costume and each with a sword in her right hand. The whole presentation of this historic incident was original and novel and it was all the more significant because all the young girls taking part in the tableau were from the families of local Sirdars and Mankaris.

Dhangar Somaj volunteers carried several scrolls in this procession on which were painted some choicest and stirring maxims in Marathi, the utterances of Shri Ahilyabai which depicted both her religious and martial spirit.

The photos illustrating the procession were taken by Messrs. Ramchandra Rao and Pratap Rao of Indore.

DAGDOOJI P. GHUNE,  
Joint Secretary,  
Ahilya Utsav Committee, Indore,

## RUSSIAN TREATY WITH TURKEY

[The treaty, while effective politically, has resulted in no material help for Turkey. The Turks had been promised much military help in their war against the Greek forces. But they have received nothing, and have fought alone. Agreements, secret and open, have aided them not in the least. Some persons have discussed the question with Turkish representatives and they are disillusioned. But the Treaty, in itself, is of interest, and at least has given peace to the two countries.]

The full text of the treaty, signed at Moscow, on March 16, 1921, by the Governments of Russia and Turkey follows:

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Republic and the Government of the Great National Assembly of Turkey, which adhere to the principles of brotherly relations between nations and the self-determination of peoples, and which recognize the solidarity existing between them in the struggle against imperialism as well as the fact that difficulties of any kind affecting one of the two peoples will endanger also the situation of the other, and which are fully and wholly animated by the desire to bring about permanent friendly relations and an unswerving upright friendship, based on mutual interest, between the two parties, have decided to conclude a treaty of amity and brotherhood between them, and have appointed for this purpose the following fully empowered representatives:

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic: *George Vasilyevich Chicherin*, people's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and Member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and *Djilal Eddin Korkmassov*, Member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and,

The Government of the Great National Assembly of Turkey: *Yusuf Kemal Bey*, People's Commissar for National Economy of the Great National Assembly of Turkey, and a delegate from Kastamuni, in the above named Assembly: *Dr. Risa Nur Bey*, People's Commissar for Education of the Great National Assembly of Turkey, delegate from Sinope in the above mentioned Assembly and *Ali Fuad Pasha*, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Great National Assembly of Turkey, and a delegate from Angora to the National Assembly.

The above named representatives, after mutual examination of their credentials, all of which were found to be correct and executed in the proper form, agree upon the following articles:

## Article I

Each of the parties to the treaty declares its readiness to refuse to recognize any treaties of peace or other international agreements to which either of the contracting parties may have been obliged by force to put its signature. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic declares its readiness to refrain from recognizing any international documents touching Turkey, which have not been approved

by the National Government of Turkey, at present represented by the Great National Assembly.

The name of Turkey is here used as covering the territory included in the National Turkish Agreement of January 28, 1936 (1920), which was elaborated and proclaimed by the Ottoman Chamber of Delegates in Constantinople and published both in the press and to all foreign powers.

The north eastern boundary of Turkey is determined by a line beginning at the village of Sark on the Black Sea, passing over the mountain Khedis Mta and along the ridge of the watershed of the mountain Shavshet Danni-Dat. Its further course pursues the Northern Administration boundary of the Sandjaks of Ardansk and Karsk, the beds of the river Arpa-Chai and Arax up to the mouth of the lower Kara-Su (a precise indication of the boundaries and of the questions relating to them will be found in Appendix I, A and B and on the map signed by both signatory parties.)

## Article II

Turkey declares its readiness to cede to Georgia sovereignty over the port of the city of Batum as well as over the territory lying to the north of the boundary designated in Article I of this treaty, which was once a portion of the District of Batum, with the condition that:

- 1) The population of the localities mentioned in this article shall enjoy a far reaching local autonomy in administrative matters, which shall guarantee to each community its cultural and religious rights, and that the population shall have an opportunity to draw up an agrarian law in accordance with its own desires.
- 2) That Turkey shall be granted free transit facilities for all commodities passing by way of the port of Batum, to or from Turkey, without duty, with no hindrance, and without any impost whatsoever, Turkey also having the privilege of utilizing the port of Batum without making any special payments for such privilege.

## Article III

Both contracting parties herewith agree that the territory of Nakhichevan shall constitute, within the boundaries designated in Appendix I (B) of this treaty, an autonomous territory under the protectorate of Azerbaijan, with the condition that Azerbaijan shall not transfer its protectorate to any third state.

In the zone of the district of Nakhichevan having the following boundary of triangular shape from the bed of the river Arax and the ridge of the Gagna Mountains (3829) to Voh Daag (4121) to Bagarsik (6587) to Kemurlu Dag (6930), the boundary line of the above territory, beginning at Kemu (6930) and passing across the mountain Serai Bulak (8071), and the station of Ararat and ending at the confluence of the Kara-Su and Arax Rivers, to the boundary established by a Commission consisting of delegates of Turkey, Azerbaijan and Armenia.

## Article IV

Both contracting parties recognize many points of contact between the movement for national liberation of

*Appendix I (A)*

The northern boundary line of Turkey shall be drawn as follows. In accordance with the map of the Russian General Staff, Scale 1 : 210,000, of 5 versts in one inch.

Beginning with the village of Sarp on the Black Sea, across mountain Khar Shavar (5,114), it crosses the Choroch north of the village of Miradidi—runs north of the village of Sabur, to the mountain Chedimga (7052)—the mountain Kwa-Kube, the village of Kaytarel—the water-shed line of the mountain Medsibna Gori Gerat Kessun (6468) again follows the water-shed line of the mountain Korda (7910) and follows the western portion of the mountain ridge Shavshet up to the former treaty border line of the former Artvin District, runs along the ridge of Shavshet to the mountain Saary Chai (Kara Isal 8478)—attains the Kwaralsk summit and thence proceeds to the former administrative boundary of the former district of Ardoga at Mount Kara-Dag thence it proceeds to the north, to Tili Mountain (German 8337), and, following the former boundary of Ardagoz reaches the River Poskhov Chai, north-east of the village of Badjel and proceeds to the south along this river to a point north of the village of Tshenshakhi there it leaves the river and follows the watershed line to the Mountain Aritjan-Baschi (8512), runs along the Kelle-Tapo Mountains (9709), reaches Mount Kasr Seri (9681) and follows the River Karsmet Chai to the River Kura. Thence the line runs along the bed of the River Kura to a point lying to the east of the village of Kartanakev, where it leaves the River Kura and follows the watershed line of mount Kara Ogly (7259). Thence it proceeds to height 7350—to Mount Gek Dag (9152)—runs along the Lch Tapaljar Mountains (9783)—Gila Kala (9716)—height 9065, where it leaves the former boundary of Ardagan District and proceeds along the Mountains Ach Baba (9963)—8828 (8827)—7602 runs to the north of the village of Ish reaches height 7518, and thence goes to Mount Kisil Dash (74397) (440)—to the village of Novy Kisil Dash (Kisil Dash) and proceeding to the west of Karamemed reaches the River Dshembush-Chai, to the east of the villages of Delaver B Kumly and Tikhms proceeds by way of the villages of Vartanly and Bashi, following the above-named river, to the River Arpa Chai, to the north of Kdjala, continues definitively to follow the bed of the Arpa Chai until it reaches the River Arax, and then follows the bed of the Arax up to the point where the Nuzhny Harass flows into the Arax.

N.B.—It is understood of course that the boundary line is to run along the watershed line of the above-mentioned altitudes.)

*Appendix I (B)*

In view of the fact that the beds of the Rivers Arpa Chai and Arax, as indicated in Appendix I (A) constitutes the boundary line, the Government of the

Great National Assembly undertakes to withdraw the block house line from its present course in the Arpa-Chai region to a distance of four versts from the above-mentioned railroad tract in the Arax region. The lines bounding the above-mentioned districts are given below for the zone of Arpa-Chai (points A and B of paragraph 1), and for the zone of Arax in paragraph 2.

*1. The Zone of Arpa Chai.*

a) The line runs to the southeast from Vartanla, to the east of Usun Kulissa, across the Mountain Boyar (5096) 5082—5047,—to the East of Kirmir-Vank Uchi-Tan (5578), to the east of Aras Oglu, to the east of Ani, and reaches Arpa Chai to the east of Yeni Kei.

b) Proceeding from Arpa Chai the line runs to the east of the height 5019, directly to the height 5481—four and one half versts to the east of Kysyl-Kula—two versts to the east of Boylala then along the River Digor Chai. It runs along this river to the village of Dus-Ketchut and continues on directly to the north of the ruins of Karabag, to Arpa Chai.

*2. The Arax Zone.*

A straight line between Khraba Alibjan and the village of Suleiman (Disa).

The Government of the National Assembly undertakes the obligation to build no fortifications of any kind in the zones bounded on the west side by the railroad line from Alexandropol to Erivan, and on the other side by lines situated eight or four versts respectively from the above-mentioned railroad lines (these limiting lines lie outside of the above described zones) and to maintain no regular troops in these zones. The Government shall however, reserve the right to retain in the above mentioned zones such troops as may be necessary for the maintenance of order and security as well as for administrative purposes.

Signed GEORGE CHICHERIN  
DJILAL KOREMASSOV  
YUSSUF KEMAL  
DR RIZA NUR  
ALI FUAD

*Note to Appendix 1 (B)**The Territory of Nakhichevan*

The station of Ararat Gora Sarai Bulak (8071), Kemurlu Dag (6830) (6930) 3080-Sayat-Dag (7868)—the village of Kurt Kulag (Kyurt Kulak)—Gamessur-Dag (8160) Height 8022 Kuri-Dag (10282) and the western administrative line of the former district of Nakhichevan.

Signed GEORGE CHICHERIN  
DJILAL-EDDIN KOREMASSOV  
YUSSUF KEMAL  
DR RIZA NUR  
ALI FUAD.

## SYLVAIN LÉVI AND THE SCIENCE OF INDOLOGY

Part I requires no apology to try to claim the title of Science on behalf of the systematic study of Indian culture and antiquities. The 19th century had witnessed the enfranchisement of a few more "ologies" in her already bulky list of Sciences. Along with Egyptology, Assyriology and Sinology, Indology also claims her place in the scale of the comparative culture history of humanity. Without entering into a discussion about the relative importance of these branches of studies we may simply state that Indology is the veritable mother of two of the most important branches of modern culture history, viz., Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology. As such she may claim a patient hearing and earnest study.

Like every other Science, Indology now presents a long list of devoted workers. In as much as Prof. Sylvain Lévi's career epitomises and symbolises the progress of this new Science, we presume to present an outline of the life and activities of this *grand savant* of France for the benefit of the fresh recruits in the field of Indology. For over a quarter of a century Lévi had been working quietly as a master teacher in the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes* (since 1886) and in the *Collège de France* (since 1894)—two of the foremost institutions of France. For nearly half a century Lévi is on active service on the field of Indian research, ever conquering new grounds and consolidating fresh conquests in the realm of truth. But the *man* Lévi has barricaded himself with such a stupendous silence that none but a very few of his intimate associates can ever know what he has been doing. We consider it rather high time to break through his barricade of silence and consequently tender him no apology for this most necessary sacrilege.

Sylvain Lévi entered the arena of Indian studies just one century after its inauguration. 1784 witnessed the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal under the initiative of Sir William Jones and in 1884 we find Sylvain Lévi sitting at the feet of Abel Bergaigne, one of the rarest type of the

teachers of Sanskrit in Europe. Thus a hurried glance across the list of Lévi's predecessors and contemporaries would help us to have a correct perspective and to ascertain the specific character of Lévi's contribution to the development of the Science.

India attracted the attention of the world through ages. Alexander to Albuquerque, Kadphises to Nadir Shah—what a history of feverish search for the *wealth* of India! As late as the mid 17th century we find Milton singing of "the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind" in his *Paradise Lost*—no doubt a poetic paraphrase of the history of Portuguese exploitation. A century after we notice a curious phenomenon. The foremost intellect of France, the arch rationalist Voltaire eagerly searching for the *honor* Védam of the Hindus not knowing that the papers were forgeries of a Portuguese Jesuit priest. What is more wonderful is that France in another of her sons offers the first audacious discoverer of the genuine records of Indian culture. Anquetil Duperron eager to discover the Vedas of the Hindus joined the service of the French East India Company in 1754, and succeeded in offering to the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of his country, the first nucleus of an Oriental Library in the form of the manuscripts of the Vedas and the Avesta. Duperron signalled a new departure in the history of Europe's quest for India. It is no longer the physical wealth but the cultural and spiritual legacy of India that is attracting Europe. This *orientation* (in the literal and metaphorical sense of the term) of the occidental outlook is as mysterious as, and coincides strikingly with, the startling declaration of American Independence and the epoch-making phenomenon of the French Revolution. The West suddenly felt the need of the East—a need which, as future history would show, is deeper than Economics and wider than Politics. The pioneers of Indian studies like Jones and Chezy were passionate admirers of Sakuntala. That masterpiece of immortal Kalidasa by a characteristic touch of poetic justice secured

the co operation of the English, the French and the German Schools of Indology. Thus the new science went on gaining fresh votaries to her temple. After the *superficial grazing* of the ground by dilettante pioneers like Jones and Chezy came *systematic explorers* like Colebrooke and Burnouf—both remarkable for their intensity of study and variety of achievements. Colebrooke studied the Vedas and Indian Philosophy, the lexicon and Indian law with equally fruitful results, while Burnouf proved himself to be a veritable prodigy—the first great genius of the science of Indology. Not satisfied with an extensive study of Sanskrit and Pali Burnouf applied himself to the mastery of Thibetan, Siamese, Burmese and Avestan languages thereby attaining a maturity of judgment and accuracy of intuition rarely equalled. *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien* still stands as a marvel of scholarship and a deathless monument to his genius. Working at the Duperron MSS on the one hand and the Hodgeson MSS on the other Burnouf sounded the keynote for the French School of Indologists not narrow specialisation in one particular branch but the opening up of ever widening vistas of Indian Culture History. Hence it is as it were in the fitness of things that Burnouf should bless the pioneers of the forthcoming generations of workers by his personal initiation. Both Bopp and Max Müller sat at the feet of Burnouf while Christian Lassen was deeply influenced by him. Thus gradually we reach the period of *scientific excavations* when in Germany appear workers like Bopp and Weber Bothing and Roth and in France Regnaud and Bergaigne Barth and Senart whose appearance is characterised by Lévi as *La naissance d'une pléiade d'Indénistes* \*

It is when this pléiade is shining bright on the firmament of the French School that Sylvain Lévi appears on the horizon. Thus his career stretching as it does across the 19th to the 20th century touches the luminous line radiating between Burnouf and Bergaigne on the one hand and luminaries of the coming generation like Paul Pelliot and Jules Bloch on the other. Hence his career is of immense historic interest to all students of Indology.

Born in Paris March 28, 1863, Sylvain Lévi seemed to have finished undergoing

the university discipline with such a phenomenal rapidity that we almost miss Lévi the maturing student in Lévi the finished savant! He was a *Licencié* (1882) and an *agrégé des lettres* (1883) when he was barely twenty. The stiffest examinations of the Paris University he passed with an ease that surprised his contemporaries and impressed his superiors deeply. Men like Ernest Renan and James Darmesteter had always an eye on this remarkable young scholar. Lévi manifested at this time a strong predilection for the Classics. In fact he was meditating to join the French School at Athens when Renan rendered unconsciously a signal service to the cause of Indology by dealing the decisive push which won Lévi permanently for the Indian science. Lévi was brought in touch with Abel Bergaigne, one of the greatest teachers of Sanskrit in Europe. It is an irony of fate no doubt that almost immediately after Lévi's affiliation into the classes of Bergaigne James Darmesteter the great Avestan Scholar, paid him a visit to win him as an assistant to his Avestan studies. But India and not Iran was the predestined sphere of Lévi's work. And thus we find him preparing himself for his memorable researches under the instruction of the great personality of his master, Bergaigne. This great scholar had then been publishing his researches into the Vedic literature and the documents of Cambodian history published in *Journal Asiatique*, (1882-83). Lévi learned his elements of Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody not from academic Indian treatises on the subject but from concrete epigraphical documents discovered in Cambodia. Thus from the very beginning Lévi had a vision of Indian history and culture not circumscribed by the *modern political delimitations of India*. We thankfully remember the names of Burnouf and Bergaigne who were responsible for this grand vision of *Magna India* which radiates from every page of Lévi. Here Lévi proved a worthy disciple of worthy masters and continued the grand traditions of the French School of Indologists ever expanding the frontiers of the new science ever widening the horizon of Indian history. Towards the end of the year 1885 the first paper of Lévi was honoured with a place in the foremost oriental journal of France. *La Brâhmatîa Manjari de Kshemendra* was published in *Journal Asiatique* (1885-86). Lévi was appointed

maître des conférences of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes on the retirement of Hauvette Eesnault. To the conferences of this professor prodigy of twenty-three were attracted men who have left their mark on many departments of research—men illustrious in the later history of French scholarship—to mention among others, A Meillet (one of the earliest pupils and at present the ablest collaborator of Lévi) the great philologist and A Foucher the illustrious writer on Buddhist art and archæology. While Lévi was thus continuing his work with an unique devotion and passion, Bergaigne, who was a great lover of the supernal heights of Switzerland met his tragic death in course of one of his excursions (1889). The loss of his beloved *Guru* was an awful blow to the youthful enthusiasm of Lévi. Everyone knew how he used to adore his master. M. Emil Senart paid a personal visit to Lévi to cheer him up. Gradually Lévi accepted this new challenge of fate in a spirit at once characteristic and admirable. The master is gone but his work remains. He devoted his whole energy to the perpetuation of that noble work of interpreting India to Europe. The Société Asiatique requested Lévi to fill up the place of his late lamented master in the Council (1889) and in 1890 we notice his second paper—Abel Bergaigne et l'Indienisme (*Revue Bleue* 1890)—a noble tribute to the memory of a noble master.

In 1890 Lévi became a full fledged Docteur ès lettres presenting two theses: one in Latin—*Quid de Graecis Veterum Indorum Monumenta Tradiderint* (What About Greece Ancient Indian Monuments conserved) and another in French, *Le Theatre Indien*—which still stands as the most authoritative treatise on Hindu drama. Almost at the same period he was honoured with a place in Faculté des Lettres of the University of Paris and was promoted to the rank of the directeur adjoint of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes (1892–93) working with brilliant pupils like Meillet, Finot, Foucher and La Vellée Poussin. 1894 witnessed the appointment of Lévi to the Chair of Sanskrit in the College de France, nearly 80 years after the first French Professor of Sanskrit Chezy. This was the crowning of his academic career. A young man of thirty started his works on Indology as the colleague of Darmesteter, Maspero and Gaston Paris.

This is undoubt

of departure

in the career of Lévi. He is lecturing on Vedānta-Sūtra and Uttara-Charita, he is discussing the inscriptions of Piyadasi and contributing valuable articles on India in the *Grande Encyclopédie*. Not satisfied with these he organised a class for a systematic study of Chinese and Tibetan along with Sanskrit and Pali texts under the direction of M. Specht. At the same time he had been dreaming of the possibility of founding a French School of Indology in Chandernagar, and in consultation with M. Guicysse the then minister of Colonies, entrusted Foucher (in course of his first mission) to enquire about the foundation of the School. This scheme however matured when Lévi himself visited India (1897–98) and laid the foundation of Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient with the help of Leon Bourgeois (a former pupil of M. Bergaigne) the then Governor-General of Indo China.

Thus the Greater India loomed large on the horizon of Lévi. He had already published his first studies on the *Buddha-Charita* of Asvaghosha (J A 1892) and soon discovered and transliterated 150 stanzas of the hymns of Matricheta. But the most important event at this period is his friendship with Edward Chavannes, the great French Sinologue through their common friend of the Ecole Normale M. Foucher. That friendship was fruitful with several years of most important publications in collaboration—the earliest being the *Itinéraires Ou-K'ong* (J A 1895). Within two years we find Lévi sent on a mission to the Extrême Orient (1897–98), in course of which he visited India, Nepal, Indo China and Japan. This tour widened his sphere of research to such an extent that in spite of his isolated monograph on *La Doctrine du Sacrifice dans les Brahmanas* (1895), Lévi might be said to have settled down on the broader and far more complicated problems of extra-Indian Indology. On his return from the East he was elevated to the rank of the directeur of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes (1898), working with brilliant young savants like Mauss, Huber Pelliot and Jules Bloch. Soon after the Bulletin Ecole Française Extrême Orient was founded under the direction of Finaud and the T'oung Pao came under the editorship of Lévi's friend Chavannes and these important journals evoked some of the most original papers of Lévi on Sino Indian culture. This is the branch of study which the French



scholars have made their own from the time of Ramusat and St Julien to that of Chavannes and Pelliot there is a continuity of tradition about the parallel study of the document of two of the oldest and yet living nations of Asia. This study has revolutionised our conception of Asiatic history. Levi is the first Indologist who brought his marvellous knowledge of Indian things to bear on the elucidation of many intricate problems of the forgotten history. His collaboration with Chavannes has more than mere academic significance: it symbolises the inauguration of the comparative study of Sino-Indian life and culture. But he is ever close to his India. The same year that he lectures (while Bergson opens his inaugural lecture on *Volonté* in College de France 1907) on *Dharmapada* in its Sanskrit and Chinese recensions he lectures also on *Sakuntala* and while he discusses the *Kotikarna Avadana* in its Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan versions Levi analyses the beauty and sublimity of the great *Lpics*.

1908 saw the maturity of his studies on the history of Nepal in three grand volumes in the *Annals of the Musée Guimet*. The very same year Pelliot started on his mission of exploration in Central Asia. Just as the archaeological mission of Chavannes threw a flood of light on the history of ancient China so Pelliot's mission brought to light a collection of MSS. the value of which we are just beginning to realise. Levi was the first to give his attention to this rich collection. While busy editing and translating the *Sutralankara* of Asanga and giving Tibetan lessons to young *avants* like Facot Hackin Gauthiot Levi formed a small seminar for an intensive study of the documents of the Pelliot Mission (1910). In course of this investigation he found in his former pupil and friend M. Meil let a noble collaborator and thus ensued his brilliant contribution to the decipherment of the Tokharian and Koutchean dialects of Central Asia. Thus for a while the greatest living Indologist of France joined hands with her greatest Sinologue Chavannes and her greatest living Philologist Meillet. But the premature death of Chavannes was a great blow to this momentous union. Levi however continued with Meillet to render signal service to the study of Central Asian languages. No wonder Levi was honoured with the place of the president of the *Société Linguistique* of which Meillet was the prime mover. Apart

from these prodigious activities in the line of scholarship Levi is a lay worker of quite inexhaustible energy. How many public institutions of France are indebted to him for his unstinted service! Moreover he bears the heavy burden of responsibility as the president elect of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* which has hundreds of educational and philanthropic institutions in the old as well as in the new world. Even at this advanced age Levi shows an enthusiasm for work and capacity to work almost phenomenal. That is why he has undertaken the noble task of training in India some of the Indian scholars in the science of which he is the accredited master. It is a happy augury indeed that he is occupying the seat of the Acharya in a truly national institution like the *Santiniketan Visvabharati* of Rabindranath Tagore joined hands with Levi. The East collaborates with the West for the cause of Truth and Humanity and we may express our hope (with apologies to Kipling) in the language of our poet Kalidasa that through this spiritual co-operation

अन्योन्यं पादममभ्युदयं उभयस्य सुमत्

Each served as a purifying factor to the other.

Series of studies are necessary to do justice to Levi the savant. The bibliography of his works which we publish for the first time will suffice to demonstrate how almost every branch of Indology feels the impress of his genius. In this short article we have tried only to supply a commentary to this bibliography for the convenience of Indian students. We shall conclude by giving two extracts from Levi's writing illustrating his attitude towards Indian History. In 1890 he concluded his article on *Abel Bergaigne and Indianism* with these words: From Persia to the Chinese Sea from the icy regions of Siberia to the islands of Java and Borneo from the Oceania to Socotra India has propagated her beliefs her genius her tales and her civilization. She has left indestructible imprints on one fourth of the human race in course of a long succession of centuries. She has the right to reclaim in universal history the rank that ignorance has refused her for a long time and to hold her place amongst the great nations summarising and symbolising the spirit of Humanity.

By the side of this observation of the greatest living Indologist of France

place the verdict of the official historian of Oxford on the history of India. Mr Vincent Smith after writing his *Early History of India and History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon* could discover no "unity" in the evolution of Indian history before the advent of the British. It is exactly here on this aspect of unity and continuity that Sylvain Lévi lays the strongest emphasis. This apparent paradox explained by the fact that while Smith, in spite of his services to the cause of systematising Indian studies, remain to the last only a decent compiler always relying on the researches of others and seldom exhibiting familiarity with originals (numismatic records being excepted) and therefore totally lacking in historical perspective, while Sylvain Lévi devoting forty years of his life in reading the original documents about Indian civilisation through Sanskrit and Pali, through Tibetan and Koutchean, through Tokharian and Chinese—has come to gain a point of view that is beyond the reach of the cut and dried *numismatist* of England. In spite of his anxiety to preserve historical impartiality he could not help passing summary judgments thereby distorting the history of India. It may not be a case of conscious mutilation but one of unconscious falsification due to wrong emphasis which is hardly less dangerous. The best corrective of this defect engendered in the mentality of Indian youths reading Mr Smith's writings would be to know a scholar who knows India probably too well to write a handbook history of India, and who satisfied himself with elucidating the vast literature the unrivalled tales and moral fables, the rich geographical data, the commercial and colonial ventures as found in ancient Indian records. Thus Lévi has by his noble life dedicated to the science pointed out to the Indians the safest though certainly not the easiest way of studying their history. As a pupil of the great Vedic scholar Bergaigne, Lévi has given us his studies on the Vedic rituals, as a master teacher of the Sanskrit language he has given us a history of the Hindu theatre as an intellectual descendant of Burnouf he has given us invaluable studies on Buddhism, as an exponent of scientific method in historical composition he has given us three splendid volumes on Nepal, as an audacious seeker of the relics of Indian genius outside India he has given us the *Sutralankara* of Asanga and the collation of Dharmapada texts—yet all these are side

issues and bye products. Lévi the silent worker is probably greater than his works. This is a fact which can only be attested by those who have the privilege of knowing him intimately. By his life of silent Tapasya dedicated to the resuscitation of Indian history he gained a synthetic vision of that history rarely found in writers on India. It is exactly here that Sylvain Lévi stands as an aspiration and a dream for the young school of Indian Indologists whom he blessed unconsciously through his noble utterances on the mission of India in the scheme of universal history. 'The multiplicity of the manifestations of Indian genius as well as their *fundamental unity* gives India the right to figure on the first rank in the history of civilised nations. Her civilisation, spontaneous and original, unrolls itself in a continuous time across at least thirty centuries, without interruption, without deviation. Ceaselessly in contact with *foreign elements* which threatened to strangle her, she persevered victoriously in absorbing them, assimilating them and enriching herself with them. Thus she has seen the Greeks, the Scythians, the Afghans the Mongols to pass before her eyes in succession and is regarding with indifference the Englishmen—confident to pursue under the accident of the surface the normal course of her high destiny.' (Lévi's article on India in the *Grande Encyclopédie*)

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## ABBREVIATIONS —

- J A — Journal Asiatique  
B E F E O — Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient  
F P — Foung Pao  
H B L — Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes  
C M G — Conférences de Musée Guimet ]  
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K. VIDAS NAG

## NON CO OPERATION—ITS SUCCESS AND FAILURE

by DURGDAS B. ADWANI

THE Reform Act of 1919 fell far short of the demands made by the Indian National Congress at Delhi in 1918. The Rowlatt Act was then passed by the Government with the apparent object of silencing extreme opposition and of keeping the country tied down to the rate of progress provided in the Reform Act. The universal public opposition to which the passing of the Rowlatt Act gave rise, provided Mahatma Gandhi with an excellent opportunity for trying conclusions with the Government. The starting of the Satyagraha movement as a consequence, and its suspension on account of the Punjab disturbances are matters of history.

Another opportunity to lead India to Swaraj along the path of Non Violence arose over the Khilafat question. It was Mahatma Gandhi's mandate that made the Khilafat a general political issue, but the movement became broad based after the Punjab atrocities were tagged on to it. The two questions have now become identical with the attainment of Swaraj, for which purpose the non co operation movement has been set on foot.

This movement has gathered force, but an examination of its practical aspects discloses some weak points which require consideration at this stage.

The extreme difficulty of creating a

united national will in the case of a very large country is only heightened by the existence in our body politic of elements of disruption, the strength of which our present and past history has demonstrated and which the policy underlying British rule during the past many decades has done everything to foster. When this fact is taken into consideration, even the most adverse critic cannot but acknowledge the remarkable results already achieved by the movement. Its educative value has been great, it has reached a considerable portion of the masses, and it has called forth immense sacrifice and courage. But so far, it has been very largely in the nature of political agitation with a great amount of demonstration and popular display. Actual non co operation by way of the relinquishing of titles and honorary offices, the abandonment of educational institutions and the boycott of law courts has not been anything like universal. The abstinence of the great majority of voters from the polling booths is an item of positive success, the practical value of which, however, is discounted by the fact that the Councils are full.

Thus, the bulk of title holders, incumbents of honorary offices, the great majority of practising lawyers, of students and their teachers (in schools and colleges) and

legislative councillors have not enlisted themselves as non co operators. A considerable portion of the intelligentsia of the country is, therefore, either not able to join the movement or consists of co operators who are actively supporting a Government which is highly organised and is physically unassailable. The conflict with the Government is, therefore, also assuming the aspect of class warfare which has a tendency to create mutual hatred and has resulted in violent revolutions in some countries of the world.

If in these circumstances we are to keep the non co operation movement strictly within the bounds of non violence we must have a sufficient supply of well equipped leaders whose belief in non violence and whose sincerity of purpose should be above question.

At the present moment some of the leaders of the movement have no real faith in the efficacy of non violent methods. I recently heard a prominent leader stating before a congregation of politically minded men that he felt convinced that these people would not give in without the use of physical force but as a non-co operator he was pledged to non violence. This sort of adherence to non violence without adequate belief in it is bound to be harmful in the long run. Then again the movement has provided many an aspirant with opportunities for coming into the lime light. The desire for personal ascendancy sometimes assumes undue proportions to the detriment of work and the spirit of demagoguism is not absent. If we are to write in India a new chapter in the history of the world by bringing about a non violent revolution we must free our political life of the cant and demagoguism which are its usual concomitants all the world over. We must not lose sight of the fact, however, that many workers have shown admirable sincerity of purpose by doing solid work and by their readiness to suffer the hardships of jail. In many cases the question of popular applause amounting even to worship does not enter into the psychology of the sufferers. But the fact that it is impolitic to suffer for unguarded speech requires to be further

brought home. Mahatma Gandhi himself has declared it to be unnecessary any longer for anyone to speak in terms of disaffection or hatred against the Government, and has pointed out the need for work in the direction of Swadeshi in preference to the holding of meetings or making other demonstrations. But despite this injunction the trend of the speeches has not changed, nor has demonstrations been suspended.

In itself the non-co operation movement has the essentials of success for no Government can retain its power where a whole nation from which it draws the great bulk of its servants refuses to co operate with it in carrying on its work. The talk about chaos resulting from such an action is superfluous since if non co operation takes place to the fullest extent desirable it will surely serve to bend the Government to the nation's will in an incredibly short time. Meanwhile too it would be possible to have a people's government in place of the existing one in the departments affected by non-co operation. The present programme of non-co operation however covers too wide a field to be highly practicable in a very large country like India. Since its promulgation it has undergone changes which have rendered it more workable in practice than was originally the case but it still covers the same wide field. The conception seems to be to bring about complete non-co operation with the Government. Such an occurrence is not only difficult considering the fact that we must out of sheer necessity use the Railway Telegraph and similar other Governmental institutions but it does not seem to be absolutely necessary, as it would be possible to select some items of the programme that would suffice to compel the Government to come to terms. Such a selection may appear to be incongruous if we come to look upon co-operation as being sinful and Government money as being tainted but this view cannot easily be comprehended by the ordinary mind. The whole of the programme of non co operation was to have been completed in four stages one leading to the other by successive steps. But it is not apparent

how this has happened or is happening. The order has not been strictly followed and an altogether new item (the boycott of liquor) was introduced at a later stage. Much energy has thus already been spent on the diffused programme and we have besides driven the classes of people comprising the title holders, lawyers, legislative councillors, teachers and professors of aided institutions into the lap of the bureaucracy and deprived the movement of so much intellect. The loss thus suffered by nationalism is greater than the supposed gain by way of the elimination of the weaker elements from the movement.

Secondly a vast programme of this nature should have been preceded by some kind of preparation. Such a step was recommended by some nationalist leaders but was not adopted. The recruitment and training of the national service and the provision of adequate financial resources should have been made in the first instance. Conferences with lawyers, legislative councillors, merchants and others who were to be called upon to make sacrifices should have been held to ascertain their points of view and to know the nature and extent of their difficulties with a view to fixing the actual programme and the time limits and other particulars relating to its execution. After these preliminary preparations and when provision was made for the funds required for the period over which the programme was to extend the whole of the scheme in all its departments should have been launched so as to make it sufficiently effective. Actually however a full fledged programme was hurriedly chalked out and given to the world and then carried in the Calcutta Special Congress over the heads of the Nationalist leaders for piecemeal execution. That this premature action has been partly at any rate responsible for the incomplete success of the part of the programme that has already been put into operation cannot be denied.

The allotting of only one year for the completion of the top heavy programme has only served to aggravate the defect consequent upon the premature action.

One year has in fact, already elapsed since the time that the declaration was made in Calcutta that Swaraj could be attained during that period if the nation responded and yet how far have we gone in substituting our own government for the existing one? Is education have we nationalised it throughout the country? No. Take the law courts. Have our own courts been set up everywhere and have the mass of the people boycotted the British law courts? No. We have indeed, been able to reduce the importance of the Councils and they cannot be said to fully represent the great bulk of the people. On the whole the prestige of the Government, too has been brought down to a low level and it has now come to realise the strength of the movement and is taking it very seriously. But we have not yet attained Swaraj and are not likely to get it by the end of December next. And yet even Mahatma Gandhi is still speaking of Swaraj within the year and many non-co operators are repeating the formula as an article of faith.

The same haste is to be observed in the boycott of foreign cloth for the completion of which the end of September was fixed as the last date. It took the British many decades to undermine, destroy and replace the cloth industry of our country. Surely the present state of things cannot be altered in the course of two or three months in the case of a vast country whose power of initiative has been scientifically destroyed. There is therefore a feeling of strange humour in the fact that so representative a body as the Congress Committee which is on its way to assume the roll of the executive of the future National Parliament of India should have seriously discussed whether the end of September or October should be fixed as the last date for the completion of this work and as a matter of fact the earlier date was fixed!

Recently however the merchants seem to have been given a year in which to dispose of present stocks of foreign cloth & prolongation of the period for completion of this item is indeed inevitable involving as it does the question of a huge supply

and the transformation of the psychology and the habits of a life-time in the case of millions and millions of producers, sellers and consumers of cloth. It is a vast sociological problem the tackling of which in its social as well as economic aspects will require strenuous and patient work for some time. In my humble judgment it is a task of great magnitude the completion of which cannot be hastened in any large measure by the exhortation of even so great a man as Mahatma Gandhi that the people should go half naked till there is an adequate supply.

The rushing of the programme was only to be expected in view of the short period of one year during which Swaraj had to be attained. This brief period may have been fixed because of the intensity of Mahomedan feeling. But whatever the reason the fact remains that the time was too short. The careful student will also note that in the matter of the adumbration and execution of the programme of non-co operation Indian nationalism has in fact been led by the Khilafat Committee through Mahatma Gandhi. The principle and subsequently the programme of non co operation were both adopted before they were considered by the Special Congress at Calcutta. On the point being raised at the time before the Congress session was held Mahatma Gandhi declared that for him non co operation was an article of faith for the sake of the Khilafat and he would have recourse to it even if the Congress declined to ratify it. The passing of the resolution relating to the army is the latest example of the kind. The Calcutta and Nagpur Congresses included this item as a part of the entire non co operation programme and the latter called upon the soldiery to develop a spirit of co operation and sympathy with nationalism and to prepare itself so to say for the call of the Congress. But the Khilafat Conference made a definite recommendation to the soldiery and to those engaged in recruitment and thus went beyond what the Congress had yet allowed.

The exigencies of the situation in Angora and the attitude of the British Govern-

ment thereon, may have dictated this policy. From a religious standpoint such a course may be held justified but the danger to the national movement from premature action of this sort must be recognised. The present position is that, before the completion of the Swadeshi programme (the most important one) we are on the one relating to the Indian soldiery and what is more there was a wide spread demand for civil disobedience the inauguration of which has actually been decided upon by the All India Congress Committee and will have taken place before the publication of this article. This campaign is being started as an answer to repression. As a matter of fact repression should not have taken anyone by surprise. So long as it suited the Government of India it left the movement alone and went even so far as to issue a communique professing its indifference in grandiloquent terms. It was not difficult to imagine however that these pious professions would hold good only till the movement gathered force. If we were to stretch to its logical conclusion the argument that the Government was pledged not to touch the workers so long as the movement retained its non violent character we would have to imagine a position in which it would have to sit with folded hands till all its civil as well as military employees left its service and all tax payers paid their taxes to the Congress and it found all its occupation gone. If on the other hand since repression is proof of the strength which the movement has acquired the true answer to it would be to bring about effective non co operation and not to set on foot a movement which not only goes beyond the programme of non co operation but will give a set back to it.

The first step in the direction of meeting the demand for civil disobedience was taken in the grant of permission to individuals to have recourse to it. The second step was lately been taken in that the provinces have been allowed to start it on condition of the Government completing the Swadeshi programme. At this rate the third step leading to general disobedience should not take long particularly as each

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both the product of his age and the producer of an age. He is something like a variation through natural selection becoming in himself the progenitor of a new type.

Ram Mohan Roy lived in an age when three cultures—Hindu, Islamic and Christian were contending with one another. Of these the last like a powerful intruder with help of its zealous Missionaries was trying to oust the others which were struggling hard to keep their grounds. Individually Ram Mohan Roy was in touch also with two other cultures—the Buddhist and the Jewish—through his sojourn in his early life in Tibet where he studied Buddhism or, more correctly the Mahajan School of it, and through his intimate acquaintance with the Old Testament and Hebrew. I shall discuss in this lecture only what Islam contributed to the making of the mind of Ram Mohan Roy.

From the day of the First Battle of Panipat for about two centuries Islam could only conjure up the picture of an Afghan warrior, all fire and steel, to the bulk of the people of Hindustan. There were also peaceful Missionaries of Islam but their teachings produced little or no effect. After that period we find men appreciating and assimilating Islam. Men like Kabir and Nanak were the products of this age. We may compare the Pathan conquest to an inundation rushing in mad rage to wipe out all the vestiges of the past from the face of the country. But the water subsides and behold the land is rich with sediment and green with a luxurious growth of vegetable life.

Early in his life Ram Mohan Roy studied the Arabic and Persian languages and formed an acquaintance with the Quran. Even at the age of sixteen he "composed a manuscript calling in question the validity of the idolatrous system of the Hindoo".\* In later times he published the *Munazaratul Adyan* (Discussion of Various Religions) and the *Tuhfatul Muwahhidin* (A Present to the Believers in One God). The latter work is in Persian

with an Arabic preface. The former work has not yet been traced, but presumably it was written in Persian. We find him quoting verses from the Arabic Quran in his *Tuhfatul Muwahhidin*\* and also in his second Appeal to the Christian Public†. He also quoted from the Hadis (the Sayings of Hazrat Muhammad)‡. Not for nothing did the Mohammadans call him Maulavi Ram Mohan Roy. But for his contact with the Occident he might have been a second Nanak or Kabir whom he mentions with very high respect in his works§. But being subjected to various religious influences he followed the resultant without yielding to any.

Ram Mohan Roy was a rigid iconoclast in his faith. We have seen how, while he was still in his teens he composed a treatise against what he calls idolatry. He could give up his home and he could defy the anger of his father but he could not compromise a hair breadth here. Indeed he regarded it as the mother of all iniquities. Abraham like he fought against *Sakar Upasana* or idolatry as he calls it throughout his life in whatever shape and wherever he found it, whether in the Temple or in the Church.

This aversion to *Sakar Upasana* he unmistakably imbibed from Islam. I do not think it necessary to quote passages from the Holy Quran or the Islamic history to show how Islam breathes the same spirit. Certainly Ram Mohan Roy found a strong support for his belief in the Upanishads but it was an after thought.

Along with *Sakar Upasana* he discarded the dogma of incarnation. His three Appeals to the Christian Public are replete with arguments, scriptural and rational, against the divinity of Jesus Christ, for whom nevertheless he had the highest veneration. He showed his fine sense of humour in his "Dialogue between a Missionary and three Chinese Converts".

\* The English Works of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The Panini Office Edition. Pp. 947, 950, 951.

† Do. Page 623.

‡ Do. Pages 599, 600.

§ Do. *Nanak*—pages 96, 211.

\* The English Works of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The Panini Office Edition. Page 224.

subjects. The Institute will gladly exchange its publications with the products of Indian societies similarly engaged in bringing out the importance of Indian civilization in the history of human progress.

The first publication of the Indira Institute of the Royal Frederik University of Kristiania is a paper in 31 pages (quarto) by Professor Dr Sten Konow on *The Indra in Gods of the Mitanni People* (1921). Dr Sten Konow is a recognized authority on the linguistic and epigraphical branches of Indology. He was formerly Government of India Epigraphist. Tablets with inscriptions discovered in Mesopotamia at Tell el Amarna and Boghaz Keni bring to light that there was an ancient people called Mitanni ruling on the upper Euphrates in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries before Christ. The Mitanni had their political antagonists in the Hittites. Professor Winckler now dead discovered in his excavations at Boghaz Keni in 1907 treaties between the king of the Hittites and the king of Mitanni (spelt as *Mitnaza*) of about 1400 B.C. The pacts contain invocation of gods of the two nations.

The Mitanni gods are —

Gods (*ilani*) Mitras (*Mi it ra as as il*)

Gods Varunas (*U ru w na*)

God Indra (*In-da-ra*)

Gods Vasatyas (*Va sa at ti ia*)

Professor Eduard Meyer, the greatest authority on Persian history maintains that these gods refer to a period when the Aryan family had not yet divided up into Indian and other groups. Professor Jacoby was the first to contend that the grouping of the Mitanni gods was Vedic and that they were Rigvedic gods. But Dr Jacoby did not enter into a detailed discussion. Now Professor Konow has discussed all the issues arising in the controversy and step by step has shown or rather come to a judicial finding that these gods are Indian Vedic deities which had developed long on the soil of India. The Babylonian language has no dual number hence *ilani* Gods (plural) is used for dual. *Mitra varunau* and *Vasatyau* (the two *Asvins*) had to be put in plural. *Mitra* is guardian

of friendship and treaties, Varuna watches over oaths and royalty. Now *Mitra* goes back to the period of Aryan unity it is Persian as well as a Hindu god. But *Varuna* is purely Vedic. *Indra* is known to the Avesta but not with functions as known in the Vedas and implied in the Mitanni treaty. Dr Konow shows this in great detail. But his greatest proof is the two *Vasatyas*. There is no trace of such a divine couple on Iranian soil. Their invocation in the treaty is explained by Dr Konow by reference to the new marriage alliance between the Mitanni and Hittite royal families mentioned in the treaty. The *Vasatyas* appear in the Vedas as playing a role in marriage rites. They are evidently involved in the treaty in honour of the marriage.

There are subsidiary important studies on linguistic topics in the paper but the main thesis is the nationality of the Mitanni gods. That is found to be Hindu and found in a judicial manner.

Dr Konow's contribution is of permanent value. His conclusion will not be successfully questioned. That conclusion disposes of the theory of some of Western scholars assigning a late date to the Veda and Hindu civilization. As Dr Konow says we must draw the conclusion that the extension of Indo Aryan civilisation into Mesopotamia took place after the bulk of the Rigveda had come into existence and that the oldest portions of the collection would consequently have to be considered as considerably older than the Mitanni treaty. It may be added here that the period of the penetration of Indian gods in Mesopotamia is further taken back to 1700 B.C., by the sun god *Surias* of the Kassites (J R A S 1909 p 726 n).

Dr Konow rightly says that yet we have no means for judging of the character of the expansion of Indian civilization into Mesopotamia in those early times. Occurrence of Indian numerals in Hittite texts to which Dr Konow draws attention (p 39) is another proof of that expansion, but the question remains open whether it was peaceful through its

ancient civilization

ried his votaries desiring new lands and new pastures

This country welcomes the foundation of an Indian Institute in a Norwegian university. For the attempt is the result of pure scientific desire to examine the history and achievements of a sister Aryan

community separated by thousands of miles yet united by ties of blood and once common culture with the northernmost country of Aryan penetration.

K. P. JAIN SWAL

PATNA, 1st November, 1921

## NICHOLAS ROERICH

THE traveller in Russia idling away at some railroad station may find his attention arrested by some powerfully executed mural decorations depicting scenes and occurrences of prehistoric North Russia or some legendary folk story. Upon investigation he may learn from the genial station master that Nicholas Roerich had painted those scenes. On visiting churches, monasteries, and cathedrals abundantly scattered through the vast expanses of the Russian land this traveller may contemplate with veneration magnificent fresco works depicting incidents of high emotional value. The communicative monk guide may point out to the beholder that those frescoes and ikonostases had been painted by N. Roerich. Next at a theatrical performance this traveller may read that the fantastic scenery had been executed by the same artist, and by this time rummaging among books in a book shop will be surprised to pick a few volumes by N. K. Roerich.

Some twenty five odd years ago N. Roerich had for the first time exhibited at the Petrograd Academy a canvass that won him immediate recognition and gained him entrance into the inner art circles of Russia. The canvass—*The Messenger—Tribes Reeth against Tribes*—was an ambitiously conceived prelude to a series 'Russia'—unfortunately for many reasons never completed. Roerich's name and works have since become known in every Russian home whenever art is spoken of, and there is scarcely any importance in Ru

and forceful personality has not left in some way a deep imprint.

Beginning his career as an artist at the time when the Russian art innovators were mustering their forces, N. Roerich joined the ranks of the buoyant generation who invaded the sacred shrines of the pseudo-national and "true to nature" schools. The carcass of Naturalism was swept into oblivion and new broad avenues for self-expression were laid. In pictorial art a brilliant galaxy of creative talents burst forth and the merry carnival of this renaissance was led by Somov, Roerich, Serov, and Vrubel. Self-reliance and a creative message were the only articles of the new faith in art.

Such has been the magnetic personality of Roerich that he has won love and respect of various, often diametrically opposed, schools and movements in Russia. It may sound paradoxical, yet N. Roerich, one of the chief exponents of modern Russian art, has been for years an honoured member, academician of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, director of the School for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts, member of the Moscow Archaeological Institute, professor in the Imperial Petrograd Archaeological Institute, and also a member of a dozen highly conservative and academic institutions. And currently with these high government posts he has been high priest of the rebellious spirits grouped around the illustrious body—*Mir Iskusstva*—(The World of Art). Roerich's veritable passion for work, his astounding prolificacy must have been, I

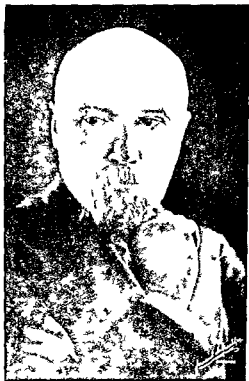
fancy, the cause of continuous annoyance to his many critics arduous commentators and biographers. Indeed Mr Roerich will relate to you good humouredly the tribulations of a distinguished Russian scholar and art critic who for many a month had been laboriously working over an appreciation of Roerich's Art but who had thrown up this task finally each time this critic's manuscript would be ready to go into press a dozen newly painted canvasses would necessitate a revision of the text and perhaps an addition of a few illuminating chapters. We are told that the unhappy man had appealed once to the good sense of the artist to restrain the latter's swift flow of imagination.

Over seven hundred paintings to Roerich's credit so far! These are in various art galleries and private collections in Russia France Germany England Italy Holland Denmark Finland India and the United States. Painting to Roerich is the absorbing interest of a lifetime and in the interval between profound reflections on art problems and his vigorous brush work he writes books the language of which is as vitally expressive as his paintings. In numerous essays and articles he records impressions during travels discusses archaeology crosses swords with opponents expounds theories on Russian antiquities reverently and knowingly conveys to us the significance and potentialities of ancient Russian icons muses over the abandoned churches and castles and in moments of sudden inspiration charms us with a new fairy tale of prophetic fanciful folksong.

It was not the themes of Roerich's canvasses that have brought him into prominence. It was due to his sharp departure from the tenets of the quasi-Russian historical school of painting with its painstaking perfection of detail but complete failure to interpret the spirit of the depicted epochs. Roerich on the other hand eliminated everything that did not contribute to the understanding of the inner sense of the scenes. True the deadly influence of this Russian School had been earlier combatted by the well-known Surikov Riabouchkin and the brothers

Vasnetzov. Roerich's paintings however, with crushing effect dealt probably the severest blow to that school.

In the presence of Roerich's works one immediately grasps their basic significance and rhythm. The style is distinct and individual in fact a Roerich Style which has no counterpart anywhere. It is quite useless to characterize in any critical



NICHOLAS KONSTANT NOVIKH ROERICH

formula the whole temper of an artist who is a law to himself and who himself vehemently resents being chained to any particular art tradition much less a school. Yet protesting his opposition to a routine he is aware of the many beneficent influences to which he has been subjected but which he has mastered to his needs. Landscape genre and historical painting all claim him but he insists that these subdivisions are arbitrary and not real. And Roerich's canvasses speak with



"THE CALL OF THE SUN."

convincing power of the truth of his assertion.

N. Roerich's initial compositions are clearly reminiscent of the impressions of his early childhood. They awakened in him memories of a peculiar charm. They recalled the happy time when as a child he had roamed through the fields and forests and hills on his father's estates in Northern Russia. Those regions were at that time engaging the attention of the Russian archaeologists by reason of important excavations. Young Roerich learned then many Russian legends and tales of hidden treasures under the tumulus upon which he had so often played. During the long Northern winter nights he would listen spellbound to a recital of deeds and adventures of the ancient Varengian mariners. He listened to the captivating story of the house of Rurik, his Norman ancestor, who, history relates, originated one of the oldest Russian ruling dynasties

at the unique invitation of the Slavs. "Our land is rich and plentiful," said they, "but full of dissension; come and rule us."

N. Roerich turns to Past for inspiration. And the Past to him is a spacious grandfather's study room where he finds so many wise and magic things. Page after page he reads in the dusty folios of the wonderful occurrences of the bygone days. In the soul of the people dwells the poetry of the past, the most intimate of all poetries. Through the bleak and austere land of North Russia, through the groves and hills of the pagan gods traverses the imagination of Roerich and to him is revealed the spirit and rhythm of ancient Russia. Through a secret passage enters the artist into the realm of the remote past where men and trees are rocks and beasts are men. He learns the hieroglyphics of the stones and solitude speaks to him in ponderous masses of



## THE CALL OF THE BELLS

From the *Old Pskov series* It illustrates Roerich's Old Russian Architecture painting. The figure of the angel on the church wall is part and parcel of the responsive atmosphere

rocks and cliffs. The artist's poetic vision resuscitates the past and we behold the mysteries of dead epochs long gone by. Whether it be a landscape or a mass of clouds or an idyllic scene of bear-like aborigines or some mysterious deed we know that the painter has a definite idea of what he has to do to express and how to express it. We perceive at once the simplicity and joy in the

*Call of the Sun* we are impressed by the plaints of the Moon and the sorrowful story of the dead giants turned into rocks, Morning, Evening and Night ride in chariots of misty clouds and fogs there is the treasure of the angels and the Lord of Night makes his appointed rounds.

N. Roerich has made a profound study of ancient Russia and devoted much time to archaeology. In 1900 he exhibited in Paris the *Old Wise Men's Council* which brought him much fame. A sojourn in that city under the wise guidance of Cormon widened his horizon and enriched his mental vision yet strange to say only intensified the artist's longing

for themes of truly Russian character. While in Paris he paints canvasses that tell the mystery of ancient Slav land her idols overhanging clouds and pagan rites. To this period belong several variations of the *Idols Before the Battle*,

*The Battle*, *The Terrible Portents* and the *Holies*—showing a new pronounced symbolic note. Was it an intuition or a mere coincidence that these canvasses were soon followed by bloody Sundays, massacres and wars?

The simplicity and rigour of the North and North-western Russia were revealed to N. Roerich during his long travels in those regions. He records his impressions with love and care studies the ancient monuments and sanctities, hastens from place to place from church to church, talks to aged monks and peasants and deplores the sacrilegious inroad of our mechanistic civilisation.

Whenever we approach the question of antiquity—writes N. Roerich—we light at once on hints and fragments of broken inscriptions, ruins of arches, decaying foundations. Moreover, even yet the attentive ear may



# ST PROCOPIUS THE RIGHTEOUS BLESSING THE UNKNOWN TRAVELLERS

Illustrates a legend. Note how the picture breathes of the power of spiritual calm although the heavenly words nowhere enforced upon the spectator it is only a characteristic tone in the general atmosphere of the composition.

The legends about St. Procopius are touching. This Saint was so poor that even the beggars turned him out when he asked for shelter in the hamlet, so the only home he had was the open stone entrance to a Church where a warm wave could float through the air—so he knew that the Virgin allowed him to dwell there. Once he saw a cloud of stones menacing the town, he ran out into the field to meet it and prayed ardently until the cloud changed its course. This picture illustrates the usual work of the Saint as he sits on a high bank blessing the unknown travellers.

stories in abundance of frescoes beneath plaster of the removal of a brick from a monument for a new building of the devastation of the site of a former town for the necessities of a railroad. Grim towers and walls are overgrown and concealed by birch and shrubs; ancient ikonostases are disfigured by vulgar though well intentioned offerings. All has lost its real character, the cabinet carefully set in by a grassfire is now turned into a dusty receptacle of rubbish. Superb ancient brickwork is turned into factory sheds; historical walls are pulled down to extend a tramway. But look at the temples of Rostov and Yaroslavl! What wonderful harmonies surround you! How daring is the blend of sky blue, aerial tones with the reddest ochre. How light is the emerald green and grey and how red and brown garments show to advantage against it. Across a lukewarm bright ground fly terrible angels with thick yellow halos and their white tunics a shade colder than the ground. No

where does the gilding offend the eye, the little crowns shine with ochre only. As for the walls, they are like the finest velvet meet to drape the house of God. The interior of the temple caresses and soothes us, and prayer here is better than in buildings of gold and silver.

Unlike the many pseudo-Russian religious painters, Roerich's eager interest in sacred art was a natural outgrowth of profound study of Byzantine and Oriental arts, especially of old Persia. His religious frescoes and church paintings are imbued with a reverend poetic mood, and his wonderful treatment is in harmonious unison with the sublime theme.

Ancient North Russia, on the border land of legend and history, is an open book to N. Roerich. Far and wide stretches the land of the ancient Slavs.





## THE ENCHANTED CITY

One of Roerich's pictures depicting what has been called the Spells of Russia. A beautiful horseman ever guarding a city from evil powers is the subject of this picture.

For plunder come swooping down the wild Asiatic hordes from Byzantium come the harbingers of a new and wondrous faith proclaiming the glory of the Son of God. From beyond the Vargian Sea sail the adventurous Norman vikings tall and firm as granite rocks. In coats of unheard splendour sail the chiefs down the Volchov River and the overseas guests carry precious gifts to the Russian princes. Through marshes and lakes the sturdy warriors of the North cross the vast expanses of the Russian land, settle and build towns of stone and wood and some knock at the gates of Tzargrad.

The well known Russian writer—Leonid Andreyev—paid before his death the following tribute to the creative genius of Roerich:

Roerich is the only poet of the North

the only singer and interpreter of its mystical soul which is as wise as its black rocks as tenderly meditative as its pale springs as sleepless and lucent as its shimmering nights. It is not the gloomy North of some realists where ends life and light here is the cradle of wisdom where the heavenly word about God and Man came forth speaking eternal love and eternal struggle. The very proximity of Death gives airy outlines to that wonderful land it gives it that still lucid sadness which is in all the colour of Roerich's Realm because clouds also die each sunrise also dies! And only that grass can be as green as Roerich's grass which knows that winter and death are coming.

Trolls and fairies—the custodians of the wonderland—flung open its doors to Roerich's imagination. The artist walks through the enchanted palaces of Tzar Saltan and Tzar Gvidon. Birds of queer plumage soar in the skies. Weird creatures of popular imagination engendered in



#### "THE LAST ANGEL"

One of the series of Roerich's Prophetic Pictures, but Mr. Roerich cannot explain any details. Why is it the "last" Angel? What is his message to poor earth overwrought by the chaos and flames around him? What does his spear mean? All the master knows about it are the four (untranslatable) lines which came to him together with the picture as its title. Approximately they mean the following: "And the beautiful, ever beautiful, the terrible, ever terrible, Last Angel flew over the earth."

old antiquity are given flesh and blood in Roerich's compositions. Roerich sets out on a pilgrimage to the "people", traverses the happy valleys of Berendey's Kingdom and rests on the shores of Ledenetz Town.

Roerich is fascinated by the tales and songs of the haunted world of spells of Russia. In that world dwell the demonical, unclean spirits and gnomes, elves and sprites and fairies—the imagery of a naive imagination, the creative effort of the popular mind that colours the old legends and myths with the sorrows, joy and wisdom of the day. Solemn stories of Genesis are strangely interwoven with myths and fairy-tales. Mysterious arrows are sent from heavens to St. Tiron. Procopius the Righteous blesses the way-laid travellers and Saints Boris and Gleb

sing God's praise. Knights of unspeakable beauty guard a city from danger and the pagan god of Spring, the shepherd Lehl pipes his merry song to all creation.

Themes of Russian folk stories and legends are also embodied in Roerich's scenic decorations. These are not mere illustrations to opera, ballet or drama texts, but inspired color symphonies, each symphony conceived in a distinct color key which expresses the basic idea of the stage production. Early in Roerich's career he became one of the leading spirits of stage innovators in Serge Diaghilev's circle. The genius of Rimsky-Korsakov—one of the 'mighty group' has struck a deep responsive chord in Roerich's soul. There is the "Tzar Saltan" series, full of delightful oriental translucency and sprinkled



THE TREASURE

Another of Roerich's *Spells of Russia* Pictures showing a littleaboriginal creature furtively hiding his treasures. It seems to be the fate of Russians to hide their treasures. Numbers of them are being hidden now just as they had to be hidden in the tumultuous times of yore. No wonder that whole codes of magic rules have come into being teaching how to handle treasures both in hiding them and in searching for them. A hidden treasure—almost a living creature—it has its own whims and moods. It can choose to be benevolent and mischievous.

with the healthy lively wit of Great Russia. There is also the incomparable Prince Igor' Sadko and Snegourochka series where everything is so unreal and grotesque and yet it is difficult to tell where the legendary ends and history begins. In the Princess Maleine and Sister Beatrice—for Maeterlinck's productions—Western romanticism leaves a slight trace.

These are times of profound changes revaluation of values new spiritual attitudes and search for new paths for souls in anguish. The soul of the artists as a delicate instrument vibrates to the clamour of these restless days and strings are tuned to universal throbbings. Roerich's heart grows bigger as his imagination kindles itself in fires and reveals to us the spirit of the past epochs. Yet the Past to him is a mountain from

which his creative genius swings into broad planes of humanism and still higher summits of the Cosmos. No longer does the retrospective and national concepts stir the artist. He turns to the interpretation of universal significance and as early as 1913-1914 he paints a series of canvasses the full prophetic meaning of which the painter himself was not aware of at the time. In the *Cry of the Serpent* a warning of danger is issued to the encircled city the *Lurid Glare* is a vision of a prostrated Belgium ruins of a city—*Human Deeds*—are contemplated by a group of old men and there is an apocalyptic sense of a crisis in the *Last Angel* appearing over the world in flames.

And the beautiful ever beautiful the terrible ever terrible the Last Angel flew over the earth.

Roerich never deserts Nature. He is her faithful son. Man, says he, "cannot be the King of Nature, he is her pupil. I have never felt inclined to paint mere portraits. Man's place in the universe—that is what is important." Roerich's art makes a direct appeal and we are made to feel the truth and *Rhythm* of life. And life is everywhere in Roerich's works—in rocks and mountains, in the heavenly battle of clouds, in the mysteriously hidden treasures and in the valleys of the pagan gods Perun and Varila.

Now that the painter has attained full maturity and firmness, wise with the knowledge of the past, stirred by the beauties of his native land and Humanity, he now pierces the limitless spaces of the Cosmos Immacable and in ecstasy beholds new beauty and truth. An eloquent message he brings of the eternal unity of

all forms of life, and of this unity he speaks to us in color symphonies of the finest gossamery silver, portentous ebony, ethereal grays, deepest blues, emeralds, soft purples, black opals and mother of pearls.

Art, Roerich knows, is not a luxury but an indispensable element of human existence. Art is the universal language of the world, a 'fourth International' destined to bind the nations into one large and joyous family. And the painter dreams of a great and a beautiful temple built in some art centre, the meeting place of all arts. With earnestness so characteristic of N. Roerich, he points to the crying need of a great Democracy of Art, an institution capable and strong enough to defend art against the heavy paws of the Vandal.

JOSEPH FINGER

## PASSIVE RESISTANCE BY AGRICULTURISTS

[This Paper was written in April 1903.]

INDIA has been often compared to Ireland. The history of the two countries is said to be in many respects similar. Ireland was conquered by England and in the time of Cromwell the oppression practised upon the natives of that country was such that it led many of them to leave their island in very large numbers and seek refuge in the newly discovered continent of America. Again towards the close of the century before last in bringing about the union of that country with Great Britain atrocities and barbarities were committed by the protestants of England on the Roman Catholics of Ireland of which very few in India have any idea. A few extracts from a paper of Mr. Stead in which that gifted journalist has described these in his inimitable manner and has quoted chapter and verse of contemporary records to prove his statements as to the excesses committed on Irish women and children by English officers and soldiers in 1738 are given below—

The Turks were Moslems. They outraged and massacred people of an alien race, language and religion. In Ireland the centenary of 1798 recalls the fact that similar outrages far more foul because employed in cold blood over a wider area for

a much longer period of time were resorted to by a British Minister in furtherance of British policy, they were used not to punish a rebellion but to provoke one. The proclamation was made that every where throughout the province of Leinster the people were to be compelled to admit within their houses to bed and to board the brutal and vicious (British) soldiers. This system of Rape by order of the Administration was disguised by euphemism of Free Quarters. But murder, rapine, incendiarism, cold blooded torture—all these count far less as indicating the real nature of the way in which order was re-established than the boast said to have been made by officers of rank that within certain large districts, not a woman had been left undefiled.

India has been now reduced to the condition of mainly an agricultural country and so is Ireland. Lord Lawrence once our Viceroy, in one of his letters wrote—

No people can be loyal and contented who have not the means of decent subsistence. Ireland on a small scale is a type of India. Agriculture is the chief employment of the people and hence the poverty of the masses.

The poverty of India does not arise from the country being an agricultural one but its

being subject to absentee landlordism. So the poverty of India is due to the enormous drain of her resources which continually goes on under British rule. The absentee landlord of Ireland is represented by the typically insolent and overbearing Anglo-Indian bureaucrat drawing his pension out of the revenues of India which is not spent in this country but in England.

But the condition of India is much worse than that of Ireland. The natives of that country are not debarred from rising to the highest offices of the civil and military services of the Empire. An Irishman till lately was the Commander in Chief of the British Empire. Another Irishman is holding the same office in India. This country also has been often supplied with Governors General from that nationality. Although the natives of Ireland are a conquered people, no distinction is made between them and their conquerors regarding their eligibility to the highest offices of the state. Unfortunately the same cannot be said regarding India whose inhabitants though not conquered, are treated worse than the conquered Irish.

Ireland is mainly an agricultural country and India has been reduced to that condition under the rule of the British. Evils inseparably connected with agriculture observable in Ireland manifest themselves in the blackest colors possible in India. The land policy of the Government of India is much worse than that pursued in Ireland. In the latter country the absentee landlord cannot exercise much tyranny over his tenants. If he does not realize any rent from them the utmost he can do to them is to evict them from his estate. The position of the landlord is quite a secure one. His land is permanently settled and assessed and as a rule he is very well off notwithstanding now and then his not being paid any rent by his tenants.

But what do we daily see in India? Here the theory is promulgated that the land belongs to the State, that is to say that the impersonal State is the landlord and the natives of the country are mere tenants. The land is not permanently settled (except in Bengal) and as such revenue is enhanced at every new settlement. The evil does not end here. The land which the tenants cultivate is sold for their inability to pay revenues. This is done in the most arbitrary manner. Such is not the case even in Ireland. There the evicted tenants with their household goods and chattel can go and settle on the land of another landlord. And here the State is the landlord, but does not perform the duties which the responsibilities of the landlord enjoin upon it. The Irish landlord understands his responsibilities, but not so the Indian State. The landlord in Ireland has his share of risks and dangers but not so the State in India. The latter squeezes

its tenants as much as it has in its power to do, and when they cannot be squeezed any longer, then they are cast overboard to sink or swim as best as they can and all their properties are sold. The evicted Irish tenants are not thrown out into the streets as beggars as are the Indian ones. The State as landlord does almost nothing to improve the land, but it never lets loose its grasp on the tenants for any improvement they make and always demands higher revenues even if the tenants are unable to carry out any improvements in the lands they cultivate. As regards land revenue the State refuses to own any responsibilities and offers no facilities to the people to better the condition of their land. It is the duty of the State as landlord to spend money adequately on irrigation. But this is very much neglected.

In the early seventies of the last century a Finance Committee was appointed by the British Parliament to inquire into the financial condition of this country. Among the witnesses was an English planter of Mysore who was asked the question by one of the members of the Committee: "Is there nothing that can be done to stimulate them (Indians) to render themselves more comfortable and more useful in the great family of mankind?" To this question the witness gave the reply: "Water is the great thing to stimulate them." This witness afterwards published a book, in which he wrote:

*If you consider for one moment you will see that whichever way you turn as regards matters Indian, the answer always comes the same, and you get to water at last. If the financier comes to me I tell him that the key of finance is population to pay plenty of taxes that the key of population is ample and certain food and that the only key to regular and ample food is to be found in water. If the general politician comes to me I say to him that if we wish to hold our own in India this can best be done by rendering her people rich and contented that this can only be done by developing the resources of the soil and that this again can only be done by cheap and abundant water. If Manchester comes to me I say that India can only become an active purchaser of her wares by being enriched and here again we get to the one the only answer.*

The necessity of irrigation and of providing the people of this country with cheap and abundant water was fully recognized by our Muhammadan rulers to whom another Christian writer has referred in the following terms:—

*Will the unprejudiced historian deny that the Afghan Sovereign of that day (18c, of the 14th century) was wiser in his generation more philanthropical in his principles more liberal in his plans and labors and more worthy of the love of his subjects and of the blessings of their children as children than the body of the merchant princes who satisfied with self praise have viewed with apathy if not aversal, all plans for the improvement of India, and watched without shame the gradual decay of those*

Willis, addressing the Grand Jury at Beaumaris Assizes on February 23rd 1854 uttered the following remarkable eulogy upon those who practised passive resistance. He said —

"The whole thing had been carried out with perfect good will and forbearance. Those who objected to the law made their protest by suffering these distraints to be made. . . . If however the people said that they were not willing to pay for things which they did not like and that they simply submitted to distraints, so as to show their protest against the law they would be perfectly justified in doing so. As long as they did this nothing could be said against them. This was the kind of protest by which some of our best improvements in the laws which years and years ago were found to be oppressive were brought about."

We see then that the exercise of passive resistance has been sanctioned by one of the highest authorities of England. The Government cannot charge with disloyalty and hang those for treason who advocate its exercise or practise it to get redress for their wrongs.

Our landholding classes and peasants ought to be taught that they should not pay any revenue to Government. That when any land of their neighbours is sold by auction by decrees of the Civil Court or for arrears of revenue they should not purchase the same, nay should even boycott those who do so. This refusal of the payment of revenue and the system of boycotting constitute passive resistance. The adoption of which should be urged upon all Indians.

The Irish people have been practising this passive resistance since a large number of years. Of course Ireland is not going to get Home Rule in name yet, but all their demands regarding the amelioration of the condition of the tenants are

being granted. In short, the whole system of the Irish Land Policy is going to be altered for the good of the Irish people.

We can expect as much in India from the practice of passive resistance. How did Bengal get Permanent Settlement of Land? It was virtually by the practice of Passive Resistance. The Government of that day in India was obliged to grant Permanent Settlement to save themselves from bankruptcy. 'In the early days of the East India Company,' wrote the late well known Sir Henry Sumner Maine, 'villages broken by a severe settlement were constantly calling for the attention of the Government; the assessment on them did not appear to be excessive on English fiscal principles but it had been heavy enough to press down the motives to labour, so that they could barely recover themselves.' Bengal which was the garden of India became almost a howling desert when the British acquired power there after the battle of Plassey. It was their misrule, it was their misgovernment to which should be attributed the occurrence of the terrible Bengal famine the ravages of which it took two generations to repair. But the natives of Bengal practised passive resistance by not cultivating land. The Government Treasury was almost empty. The permanent source of revenue which Government of this country possesses is that derived from the land revenue. Hence the importance of the landholding classes. We have to take them with us, impress upon them the necessity of the practice of passive resistance, and then and not until then we can hope to see the dreams of our days realized and fulfilled.

PAN INDIAN

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Malayalam, Manipuri, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text books and the annotated pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc. will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer etc. according to the language of the books. No criticism of book reviews and notices will be published. — Editor, M. R.]

### ENGLISH

WILLIAM MORRIS AND THE EARLY DAYS OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT. By J. Bruce Glasier. Longmans, Green and Co. Pp. 208. Price 6s. 6d. net. 1921.

This is a very intimate picture of a particular phase of the life of W. Morris from the pen of one of his life long friends and co-workers, Mr J. Bruce Glasier, a well known writer on

Socialism. Morris was one of the earliest propagandists of the modern socialist movement in Britain, though he is better known to the outside world as a poet, artist and romancer. Certainly one of the greatest of Englishmen of the 19th century, few men had greater love for his fellow creatures or was more loved by those who knew him than was William Morris. His socialism was really the outcome of his broad humanitarianism. Once in a socialist gathering

in Glasgow he was asked by a fellow socialist if he believed in Marx's theory of value—that touchstone of socialism to the professional socialist Morris's reply was quite characteristic of him as unconventional as it was sincere.

I am asked he said if I believe in Marx's theory of value. To speak quite frankly, I do not know what Marx's theory of value is and I am damned if I want to know. Then turning to his audience he continued. Truth to say my friends I have tried to understand Marx's theory, but political economy is not in my line and much of it appears to me to be dreary rubbish. But I am I hope a socialist none the less. It is enough political economy for me to know that the idle class is rich and that the working class is poor and that the rich are rich because they rob the poor. That I know because I see it with my eyes. I need read no books to convince me of it. And it does not matter a rap it seems to me whether the robbery is accomplished by what is termed surplus value or by means of serfage or open brigandage. The whole system is monstrous and intolerable and what we socialists have got to do is to work together for its complete overthrow and for the establishment in its stead of a system of co-operation where there shall be no masters and slaves, but where everyone will live and work jollily together as neighbours and comrades for the equal good of all. That, in a nutshell is my political economy and my social democracy.

Full of exuberant vitality and the joy of life Morris tried to realise in his own life and wished to see realised in the lives of his fellow beings the beauty of art which was almost a passion with him. His contempt for the ugly things of life accounted not a little for his zeal in the cause of social reform. Mr Glasier relates some amusing incidents in the life of W. Morris and his most intimate friends—famous authors, artists etc whose names are now household words among English speaking nations. His book is an extremely able presentation of the inner life of a man of genius by a loving admirer who had ample opportunities of studying him at close quarters.

A number of letters addressed by Morris to the author is given in the Appendix and the book is illustrated by two portraits—one of W. Morris and the other of the author. The Preface is written by Morris's daughter May Morris.

**PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE** By R. V. GILCHRIST, M. A. I. E. S. *Principal and Professor of Political Philosophy, Krishnagar College, Bengal.* Longmans, Green & Co. Pp. 299. 1921.

This is a very up to date treatise on Political Science intended mainly for the use of undergraduates of Indian Universities and based largely on the syllabus in Political Philosophy

prescribed by Calcutta University for its B. A. degree examination. The author has spared no pains to make his exposition clear and lucid. I earned disquisitions that might militate against a thorough grasp of the principal subject matter under discussion and lengthy quotations from works written in languages generally unfamiliar to Indian students have both been scrupulously avoided. This has made the book eminently readable, even to the general reader. A fairly full treatment of the present constitutions of Great Britain, France, Germany, U. S. A. and India and a brief sketch of the Japanese constitution constitute a special feature of the book. All recent changes in the governments of these countries have been duly noted. There is a bibliography at the end of the book which Indian colleges going in for small libraries in Economics and Political Science might do worse than consult. We are sure the book will meet a long felt want of the Indian student community. The only fault we have to find with it is that the contents certainly made the book deserve a better get up than what the publishers have thought fit to give it.

**THE INDIAN CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE PROBLEM** By J. W. P. SINGH, M. A. I. E. S. Published by Vidyasagar Depot, Aligarh City. Price Re 1. 1921.

Starting with a brief history of Indian Currency, the author of this brochure goes on to point out the great hardships that have resulted from the enormous sales of Reverse Councils early in 1920 and the subsequent fall in the exchange value of the rupee. He deprecates the Government's policy in this respect and finds in a gold currency the only solution of the present chaotic and unstable condition of Indian Exchange. The demonetisation of the silver rupee and its replacement by a nickel rupee as a limited legal tender coin proposed by the author might no doubt go a long way to meet the initial expenses of a gold currency but a change like this is likely to cause a great shock to public confidence and is not to be undertaken lightly. The rupee has a long tradition behind it and whether full or partial legal tender would continue to be the principal circulating medium for the majority of the people. The nickel half rupee has not been much of a success. The author also favours an international gold currency wherein the standard gold coins of all countries will have the same weight and fineness. Except perhaps a little simplicity in calculation no great gain can be expected from such a step as the exchange fluctuations which are mostly the result of favourable or adverse balance of trade would still persist.

**A CHARTER IN INDIA'S CURRENCY HISTORY** The Times Press Bombay. Pp. 214. 1921.

This is a compilation of speeches made at protest meetings held in Bombay against the Government's recent Currency and Exchange policy and of articles and criticisms that have appeared in the 'Times of India' and the 'Bombay Chronicle' on the same subject from time to time. Space has also been found in the Appendix for Mr Dalal's Minority Report and Mr Hailey's speech in the Imperial Legislative Council on the Indian Coinage Amendment Bill. Those who want to study the different aspects of this momentous question will find the book useful. Mr S K Bomanji deserves credit for the publication.

## ECONOMICS

## BARODA ADMINISTRATION REPORT 1919-20

The report is commendably brief and shorn of all superfluous. The cover and binding are more costly than those of most Government of India publications. One interesting feature of the social legislation is a proposal to prevent the marriage of old men with girls of tender age. Fourteen weaving and spinning mills are in process of construction. A large cement factory which has already invested over 60 lakhs of rupees in plant and machinery is about to start work at Dwaraka and an equally large cement concern is being matured for Kodinar. Out of a total income of nearly two crores and a half in 1919-20 the palace disbursements amounted to over twenty lakhs; education cost twenty-three lakhs and a half; Public Works twenty-four lakhs and a half; and the army as much as twenty-one lakhs. The palace and the Army between them seem to cost much more than what is necessary and proper and considerable retrenchment under these heads seem to be called for.

SWARAJ By P Mazumdar Students Library Calcutta and Dacca

This is a nice little essay in which the elements of the will to freedom have been subjected to a searching analysis in the interest of the N C O movement. The booklet has been nicely printed and bound and the profits will be devoted to the Tilak Fund.

J C BOE His DISCOVERIES AND WRITINGS G I Vatsan & Co Price Rs 3

We have already reviewed this book in the *Modern Review* and we have nothing to add to the high praise we have given it. The excellent biographical sketch enhances the value of the compilation which contains extracts from Mr Bose's masterly addresses.

THE LIQUOR PROBLEM IN RUSSIA By W E Johnson Ohio 1915

In this handsomely got up and profusely illustrated book is recorded the history of the drink traffic in Russia leading up to the prohibition of vodka in 1914. Mr 'Pussyfoot'

Johnson has written an extremely interesting book for curious sidelights on various aspects of Russian society and the economic condition of the muzik since the days of Peter the Great with beautiful portraits of the royal family and prominent statesmen and pen and ink sketches illustrating life in town and country, form prominent features of his volume which is not there for a mere dry compilation of statistics to vindicate a dry policy but this and much more. Everyone interested in the temperance movement should read this book and profit by it.

MR MONTAGU'S FAILURE By T S Krishnar Murthi Iyer Ganesh & Co Madras

The writer deals with the Reverse Councils which he calls a tragedy and the epidemic of increase of salaries and other matters, and makes out a strong case against Mr Montagu which will open the eyes of many optimistic politicians.

NON-CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS By A Fenner Brockway Tagore & Co Madras

Mr Brockway refused to fight and went to prison and he is of opinion that non-co operation is the only bloodless way to liberty not only for India but for all the world. This he illustrates by the classic case of Hungary (Kossuth) Ireland Egypt Korea. It is a most entertaining and inspiring book, and must be ranked among the gospels of the N C O politicians.

WORKING OUT THE FISHER ACT *The Human Aspect of the Continuation Schools* By Brijlal Yeaslee Humphrey Milford Oxford

THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES Manager The Rampal Book stall Lahore

INDIA AND ITS GOVERNMENT By F Brockway Tagore & Co Madras

The nature of the contents of these three pamphlets all excellent in their way, will be evident from their names.

## POLITICS

THE KHILAFAT AND ENGLAND By Dr Syed Mahmud Ph D, with a foreword by Mr Mahmud Pichthai and an Introduction by Mr Mazhar ul Hoque Pp 68 Price 1-8 Publisher Sadaqat Ashram Patna

The booklet is a most timely publication. It deals with the question of the Khilafat in a learned way, and attempts to prove mainly through historical documents that the Sultan of Turkey is the true Khalif and that according to the injunctions of Islam he must be an independent Sovereign with power enough to protect the Holy places of Islam which again must always remain in Muslim hands.

The question of the Khilafat has always been a very important one in the religious political history of Islam, and it ought to be carefully



studied not only by Muslims but also by those non-Muslims who wish to keep themselves in touch with Islamic sentiments and those who would care to understand the significance of the almost fanatical zeal which at present characterizes general Muslim feelings. The book is a good contribution to the solution of the Khalifat problem. It is prominently illuminating.

Chapters I and II deal respectively with the historical and political aspects of the question. The latter chapters are an exposure of the policies and practices that have for long marked the relations of the British Government with Turkey. In Concluding Remarks the author suggests the following remedies for what is labelled as the Muslim unrest — Let Thrace and Smyrna be restored to their rightful owners. Let us talk no more of mandates over Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria. These countries including Hedjaz may be granted self-government if they so wish under the effective sovereignty of the Khalif. No financial control should be exercised over the Government of the Sultan. In a word Turkey should be allowed to have an honest existence.

The book on the whole makes out a very strong case for the Khalifat. It is not declamatory and rhetorical, but a well reasoned disquisition meant to inform the ignorant and convince the sceptic. It also indicates some amount of historical research on the part of the author. Yet the book is not without its faults. It abounds in misprints. The style is the reverse of brilliant. The author could easily have improved it. Above all his too frequent use of the first person plural is exasperating.

A. M.

SHIVAJI By Sheshratan Vasudev Raddi B. A.  
Pp 318 Price Rs 3

A readable account of Shivaji's life and achievements based mainly though not entirely on Prof Sarkar's *Shivaji and His Times*. The author's patriotic bias has led to some inaccuracies and exaggerations which might be easily avoided.

The system of transliteration adopted in this book lacks uniformity and leaves much to be desired. Chapters II to VI could be profitably condensed into a single chapter of 5 or 6 pages. The author has at places borrowed the language of Prof Sarkar without acknowledgment. The omission of a word here and the addition of a sentence there do not in our opinion minimise the offence. We give here only one illustration of the author's plagiarism. The daring and cunning of the Maratha hero were rewarded by an immense increase of his prestige. He was taken to be an incarnation of Satan. No place was believed to be proof against his entrance and no feat impossible for him. The whole country tallied with astonishment and terror of the almost superhuman

deed done by him and there was bitter humiliation and sorrow in the Emperor's Court and family circle at this disaster to his maternal uncle and the premier peer (amir ul umra) of his empire (Sarkar's *Shivaji* 1st ed p 103). Compare with this the following extract from Mr Raddi's *Shivaji* (pp 144-145). The daring of the Maratha hero was rewarded by an immense increase of his prestige. He was taken by the enemy to be an incarnation of Satan. No place was believed to be proof against his entrance and no feat impossible for him. The whole country talked with astonishment and terror of the almost superhuman deed done by him. The Moghul viceroy was surprised and wounded in the heart of his camp in his very bed chamber within the inner ring of his bodyguards and female slaves. There was bitter humiliation and sorrow in the Emperor's Court and family circle at the disaster to his maternal uncle and the premier peer of his Empire.

Non-Maratha students will find the first chapter of Mr Raddi's book specially useful. Four English biographies of Shivaji have of late been published and Mr Raddi's is the fifth of its kind but it has failed to justify its appearance.

STUDIES IN PERSI HISTORY By Shapurshah Hormuzi Hojvati M. A. Bombay, 1920  
Pp 141 Price unknown

It is the author informs us a collection of essays written with the object of throwing fresh light on some dark corners of Persian antiquities. There are ten essays on various topics and they give evidence of considerable learning and historical acumen of the author. We have no doubt the book will be very useful to ardent students of Persian history. A large number of Persian grant deeds and Gwjrati sale deeds have been quoted by the author in original these will be of special use to those who are interested in the study of the evolution of South Indian Administrative Institution and social customs.

SURENDRANATH SEN

CREATIVE REVOLUTION (A study in Communist Eraticism) By Eden and Cedar Paul  
Thom's Seltzer New York publisher 220 pp  
Price 2 dollars

This is a very well written book in which Soviet Russia's creative effort since the revolution, is presented to the English reading public. The book discusses the numerous schools of Socialist thought in comparison with the Communist Ergatocracy experiment of Russia.

The aims of the book are stated by the authors to be an attempt to effect analysis of Socialist trends and a synthesis of contemporary proletarian aims and to intensify and liberate the impulse toward a fresh creative effort throughout the world.

Many controversial questions which to-day divide the Socialist world into warring camps are introduced making the book a study for more advanced students of Socialism. The authors themselves speak of we Bolsheviks which reveals their own view point on such questions. Marx whose works embody economic and social laws, is ranked by these authors with other artists of dynamic progress Newton Darwin Freud and Bergson.

Coming from the pen of the Pauls who have already more or less distinguished themselves by literary work in England—the book is of greater interest than dozens of other volumes which have been written on Russia.

ALICE BIRD

*BENARES ICONOGRAPHICAL NOTES* By B C Bhattacharyya Vol 1 of the Benares Hindu University

This is a brief monograph on some images found here and there in Benares not in the regular temples but in unsuspected odd corners. It is significant of the large amount of iconographical material available in the country that this writer should have been able to prepare an interesting pamphlet on images lying in neglected spots on the roads or in the field of one locality. In fact, one of the images described a Buddha without the head is within a few yards of where this review is being written standing underneath a tree though this writer must confess his attention had never been drawn to it till he read this pamphlet. The pamphlet does not profess to be anything more than a collection of stray notes on a few images which have not yet been commented upon but it furnishes interesting reading not only to professed students of iconography but also to the mere layman.

*ESSAYS IN MODERN ENGLISH* Selected and Edited by F. Page and E. V. Rieu and annotated by H. Maslin (The Oxford University Press)

The study of the prose classics of the earlier centuries has often the effect of forming a stilted artificial style in the student and it is a sound principle to correct the tendency by the prescription of prose pieces of the last few decades and almost of our own times. This is exactly what these editors have attempted and the volume from English essayists of the nineteenth century from the time of Leigh Hunt comes down to our own times with specimens from such writers as H. G. Wells and Hilaire Belloc. The fact that the editors are anxious to make the book an exponent of the essays of the earlier discursive type associated with Montaigne in France and with his followers like Addison and Steele in England, is responsible for the exclusion of several writers whom one would expect to see in a prose anthology of the period. The annotation has been done satisfactorily and should prove useful to students in our

colleges for whom apparently the book is intended in the main. It is only necessary to sound the warning that modernism may be carried too far and the student may be misled into the impression that Messrs Beerbohm T. S. Street and E. V. Lucas, who are all represented here are classics in the language. The student must be made to realise that the highest achievements of English prose are those associated with the names of Addison and Goldsmith Hazlitt and Lamb Carlyle and Macaulay Ruskin and Pater and not with F. W. Steevens or even H. G. Wells.

*SWARAJ A DRAMA IN FIVE ACTS* By V. Mangalvedkar. Ind in Literature Publishers, Madras

A drama on such a topical subject as Swaraj is not likely to prove very successful and Mr Mangalvedkar has accomplished just the kind of thing which is possible in the circumstances. The play consists mainly of dialogues between the late Mr Tilak and Mr Gandhi on non co operation and kindred topics the latter advocating non co operation as the only weapon available for fighting the battle of Swaraj and sticking to the older form of constitutional agitation. There is neither incident nor character nor any attempt on working up to a dramatic denouement or finale. It is mostly political controversy and sermonising lacking life and energy. The introduction of commonplace procedure relating to ordinary public meetings into the play detract from the literary dignity of dramatic composition and one is not sure if in some places one has not alighted on cuttings from newspaper reports. In spite of these shortcomings it is probable that the play may appeal to those interested in the subject dramatic form in itself adding a touch of vividness and capacity for appeal to the emotions.

*NICOLAI LENIN HIS LIFE AND WORK* G. V. Krishna Rao Navayuga Granthamala 12 as

It is true that Lenin and Bolshevism have often been represented and people have painted the man and the movement in blacker colours than they have deserved. Sometime back the Oxford University Press published a book on the subject by Edmund Candler as part of the propaganda of the Government of India against Bolshevism. This book is an attempt at refuting the alleged misrepresentations. While admitting the injustice which has sometimes been done to the movement we have not much sympathy with attempts at bolstering it up either as one of the great blessings conferred by the march of time on unfortunate and erring humanity. Frankly we do not see Lenin in the light of a hero and benefactor of mankind. The present plight of Russia is enough reply to all endeavours at such undesired apotheosis.

*WORDSWORTH POETRY AND PROSE WITH ESSAYS* BY COLFRIDGE HAZLITT AND DR. QUINCEY

Edited by Nicol Smith CHARLES LAMB PROSE AND POETRY with ESSAYS by HAZLITT AND DE QUINCEY Edited by George Gorlon The Clarendon Press 3s 6d each

Here are two admirable volumes of selections edited in the best manner associated with the Clarendon Press which will be very much appreciated by students of literature. Success in one medium of literature has often the unfortunate effect of obscuring success in others and Wordsworth and Lamb are both sufferers in the selection Wordsworth even more than Lamb the poetical efforts of Lamb being of negligible value. The most representative poems of Wordsworth have been supplemented by Coleridge's well known criticism of the work in the pages of the *Biographia Literaria* without which no study of Wordsworth can be complete. The other criticisms of Wordsworth in the volume are from Hazlitt's *Spirit of the Age* and De Quincey's *Essay on Wordsworth's Poetry*. The preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* and the famous letter to Lady Beaumont introduce the reader to the criticism of Wordsworth himself and there are also passages from his tract on the *Convention of Cintra*. The edition of Lamb is on the same lines containing some of the best *Essays of Elia* and specimens of his critical and other writings. All the usual favourites are there and pleasant recollections to the reader.

COUNT LEO TOLSTOY HIS LIFE AND WORK  
By G. V. Krishna Rao Ganesha & Co 4s

A popular exposition of the doctrines of Count Leo Tolstoy, of special interest in the present circumstances of the country in view of the Non-co-operation movement of Mr. Gandhi.  
P. S. HADRI

INDIA AS KNOWN TO THE ANCIENT WORLD  
By Gururanganath Banerjee Oxford University Press London 1921 8vo pp. iii + 173

In a leading article in one of the recent numbers of the Times Literary Supplement it has been said that "Coincidences and parallels in the thought or the words of two or more authors make one of the curiosities of literature." The book under notice holds up to view such a rare curiosity and leaves the reader to muse over the psychological aspect of the affair. The author of the work is not altogether unknown to the reading public and his tendency to appropriate and pass as his own what is not at all his has already been fully shown in the pages of *Prabasi* and this journal. In the preface the author says that he has utilised the researches of many savants and has added to them those of his own. There is here a misstatement of facts which cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed. The researches which the author calls his own are those that one with ordinary critical discernment fails to find in the work. The system followed in the preparation of the work does not appeal to the sense of decency

of the average run of readers. Things have been taken *verbatim* and inserted in the work without any acknowledgment as to their sources. An *insert* slip was printed afterwards and sent to us probably because the reviewers were not altogether fools nor less informed than the author himself as they had already dealt him very hard blows in connexion with his work on Hellenism. The slip says "Insert at the foot of pp. 2 and 3 Robertson—*Historical Dissertations*." This probably indicates that some of the facts on pages two and three have been taken from Robertson's book whereas what we find is that almost the whole of page one and other paragraphs and pages have been taken from Robertson's *Dissertation* without having recourse to the common decorum of marking them as quotations. A few words only have been senselessly altered here and there, and in some places the style has been grossly vitiated by such changes. In the Preface Mr. Banerjee mentions about a dozen of authors to whom he says he is indebted but among them Dr. Robertson's name is not to be found. In order to put the reader off his scent a few lines of the portion plagiarized from Robertson has been marked off as an extract from Seignobos. This fact again has been noted as an erratum in the slip above referred to wherein the name Seignobos has been changed into Robertson. Portions have been taken from Hopkins and others without acknowledgments, of course and without any mark whatever to show that the words and the thought of the extracts are borrowed matters only. In page 8 only one sentence comprising a statement with regard to Baudhayan's condemnation of sea trade has been shown to have been based on Mr. J. Kennedy's article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of 1898. But the fact is that about five pages have been taken from the article with words altered, sentences left out and footnotes strung with the main matter itself. It would be sheer waste of time and space to specify in detail what other authors had been victimised in this piratical job. Dr. Banerjee however ought to have been aware that history is a progressive science and plagiarism from out of late works and articles would not do him any credit or gain him a reputation worth the name among those honest labourers in the field who would care more for substantial work than the sound and fury of a charlatan's performance and would aptly declare

*Nobis non heet esse tam disertis  
Quam Musis columus severiores*

Need we repeat that a high sounding title and a laboured opening do not go to constitute a work of merit? It is a pity to find that some scholars of Bengal have yet to realize the truth of this golden precept. We do not hold any body's brief, we are not concerned with the success or otherwise of any particular party in

the general scramble for power in the governance of the affairs of the Calcutta University, what we want to find is that whoever drinks from the sacred fountains of Aganippe and Hippocrene should at least have nothing to be said against him. We are not purposely bitter in our criticism of the work, we would have been certainly happy if we could have declared its excellence, which to our intense grief we failed to find. The author is a young man of promise and not altogether without parts and equipment, what we advise him is that he should give up book making, apply himself more closely and with greater devotion to work, which would bring him laurels from fields yet unknown and unexplored.

APOLLOUS BENGALIAN

### KANARESE

**RAMAYAN SANGRAHA** By H. Lingaraya Aras  
Introduction by Karpur Shrinivasrao, B.Sc.,  
L.C.E., M.R.I.S. Price about Rs 2

The author of the work is an official in the Mysore Durbar. Due to his Kanarese environment, out and out, he has acquired, it must be said to his credit a mastery over his mother tongue. The ambition to make his adaptation of Ramayana easily understandable to boys and common folk is pre-eminently fulfilled. The language, especially of the latter part, is simple, sublime and sustained. The episodes of the national epic have been masterly sifted out from the exuberant description of the original without sacrificing interest to brevity. However, there are a few defects noticeable in the work. In diction, simple as it is, the rhythm in the earlier part of the story is perceptibly wanting. There are a few un-Kanarese words such as "Madari" and "Kūara" which, according to the spirit of our literature, lead to profanation any work claiming permanence. One or two forms such as 'Sattapanu' and 'Kededanu' jar on the ear in the melodious flow of the diction. The work suffers also for want of individuality. The simple style has not been enlivened by characteristic descriptions. Easy and free between are the descriptions, and those too hackneyed and inartistic, none is discernible that is really discriminative of the poet. In the opinion of the usherer of the book there is one more characteristic feature in it besides the easy style. The author, he says, tries to extenuate the greed and caprice of Kaikeyi, the step-mother of Rama, and the surreptitious capture of Sita by the concupiscent Ravana. But unfortunately the attempt has been a characteristic failure, for the stanzas that propound these revelations are thrown in the midst of others that paint but darkly the persons concerned.

A. S. HARNHAULT

### TELUGU

#### THE FIRST LOTUS

Allegories are generally failures as works of poetic art and the work under review is no exception. The story is unconvincing and it is not possible to see the allegorical significance of the important incidents in the story unless pointed out by the author as he actually does. We hope the author will shew better command over language and write better verses in any future venture that he may undertake in verse composition.

K. RANGACHARI

### GUJARATI

**SAMVAD GUCHCHHA (સવાદગુચ્છ)** By Govind-bhai Harubhai Patel. Printed at the Bombay Fine Arts Printing Works, Calcutta. Cloth bound. Pp 216. Price Rs 2-4-0 (1922).

There are twenty one imaginary conversations between famous historical and mythological personages or pairs like Sri Krishna and Karna, Ramdas and Shriyaji, Alexander and Porus, Rama and Hanuman, Rana Pratap and his brother, Ravana and Mandodari, Parsuram and Bhishma, Yama and Kali, and others, in this book. We confess we have not yet come across such a delightful book where, in the shape of dialogues between these celebrities, the author has successfully demonstrated the inner working of the old Indian or Aryan mind. He has thoroughly entered into and grasped the spirit of the lives of the parties who carry on the dialogues, and is equally thoroughly at home in presenting it to his readers. We admire the facility with which he has handled the points of view of each speaker. There is only one defect and that is of the style, if it had been less Sanskritised and more Vernacular, its popularity would have been assured.

**TRIVEDI VACHAN MALA (ત્રિવેદિ વાચનમાળા)**, INTRODUCTION AND TWO FIRST BOOKS. By Rao Bahadur Kamalashankar P. Trivedi, B.A., and Prof. A. A. Trivedi, U.A., LL.B. Printed at the Lakshmi Electric Printing Press, Baroda. Paper cover, pp 32 and 66+4. Price Rs 2-6-p and Rs 4 (1921).

The Rao Bahadur and his son are both connected with education, the one is a retired principal of the Normal Male Training College and the other, a Professor in the Baroda College. There is a want of a good Vernacular reading series for children in Gujarati, and it is the opinion of many, that no series attempted and accomplished, has been able to come up to the Hope Series, which they all want to supplant and improve upon in many respects. These two educationists have turned their hand to produ-

cing a still newer series, and in our opinion, it is not quite up to the Hope Series in spite of improvements in the way of pictures, etc. The word *प्रवेष्टिका* itself is likely to frighten away little children for whom it is meant. Some of the lessons, e.g., the one on moonlight in the introductory work, and on Virek in the first book, would be found much over the heads of the juveniles, so far as the style and the words are concerned. The verses are also such as would not prove attractive to them. However as an experiment it is far from discouraging and we would ask the authors to proceed.

(1) HOZRAT MOHAMMED PEGAMBAR, (2) BHAG VAN BUDDHA (3) BAL VARTA *the first by Nrasinh-prasad Kalidas Bhatt and the second and the third by Gajisaneker B. Badheka. Printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar and the Jnan Handir Press Ahmedabad. Paper covers, pp 56 76, 79. Prices Rs 0 1 6 0 4 0 0 6 3 (1921)*

These three publications represent only a part of the self-imposed task that the teachers and managers of the Dakshina Murti Vidyarthi Bhawan at Bhavnagar, have volunteered to shoulder, without any hope of return excepting that of the good of the students entrusted to their charge. The two biographies are very well written and the Bal Varta is an admirable work—a collection of stories—which little children can enjoy, esteem, appreciate and improve by. We wish works for juveniles were all written on the principle of this book.

RASADAYAK RATNANIDHI (रसदायक रत्ननिधि) PART I  
By Rameshchandra G. Modi M.A. printed at the Surat Jaina Printing Press Surat. Thick card board, pp 222. Price 1 4 0 (1920)

This is a collection of stories, such as would interest and instruct students. The writer has drawn on many sources. As he himself, in a letter to the editor, admits "glaring flaws in respect to language and grammar," (we are

quoting his own words) and justifies them on account of a long stay in the Punjab, we need not dwell on them. As he is desirous of getting encouragement by a review in this periodical as a 'budding writer' whose 'spirits' would otherwise be 'crushed', we will simply observe, that, the stories would furnish very good reading for passing an idle quarter of an hour.

SWADESH GITO (स्वदेशगीता) By Sitiram J. Sharma. Printed at the Krishna Press, Bombay. Thick cardboard cover pp 76. Price 0-12-0 (1921)

This illustrated and nicely printed little book contains patriotic songs, some from the pen of Mr. Sharma and some based on those from other Indian Vernaculars. On the whole they are both stirring and full of feeling.

SHRIMALI MANJATIBHED (श्रीमाली मंजतिभेद) [श्रीमाली मंजतिभेद] Compiled by Manilal Bakorbhais Vyas and published by Chimanlal Khushalchani Modi. Printed at the Anand Printing Press, Surat. Cloth bound, pp 282. Price Rs 3 (1921)

This book represents a very welcome phase of the present tendency of Gujarati literature, viz., antiquarian research. Mr. Manilal Vyas, although unacquainted with any European language, instinctively took to the study, and took to it on the right lines, of antiquities in Gujarat, MSS., copper plates, stone inscriptions, etc. There are various castes and subcastes in our province and very few people have tried to find out their origin and history on antiquarian lines. Mr. Manilal is one of those few persons and this very interesting work now placed by him in the hands of those who care to investigate the subject will greatly facilitate their task. Many of the useful materials collected here should furnish food for thought to those who are in favour of upholding caste restrictions.

K. M. J.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Thesis Examined by Unqualified Men.

To the Editor of the Modern Review  
Sir,

You have repeatedly brought forward the case of Babu Birajansankar Guha as a case of injustice done to competitors for prizes and degrees in the Calcutta University. But may I bring to your notice and that of the public the case of a similar sufferer?

Prof. Bhandarkar and Dr. P. Banerjee were appointed examiners of the theses submitted for the Griffith

Memorial Prize competition of 1919. I cannot say how many theses they had to examine but the result of the examination will be seen from the following resolution of the Syndicate in its meeting of the 8th April 1920:

'Report of the Board of Examiners for the Griffith Memorial Prize for 1919

Resolved—

That the report be adopted and that the Griffith Memorial Prize for 1919 be awarded as follows—

1. That the prize of Rs 500 be divided equally amongst the authors of the following theses—

## False Allegations against the Baroda Government.

Baroda,  
11th November, 1921

To the Editor of 'The Modern Review',  
Dear Sir

On page 632 of the November, 1921, issue of your esteemed journal you write as follows —

'A friend learns from a private letter that the Baroda Government intends to spend 75 lacs for giving the Prince a 'right royal welcome'. This if true would be waste pure and simple. No Ruler has the right to squander the hard earned money of his subjects in this fashion. It may be mentioned

incidentally that the same friend has learnt from the same source that when the Prince will visit the Kala Bhavan or Technical Institute at Baroda, the Bengali students of that institution will be removed therefrom and kept apart in a segregation camp at some distance from it.'

In fairness to the Baroda Government, please allow me to point out that none of the above allegations is founded on fact. The statement regarding the expenditure is grossly exaggerated the figure given being absurdly out of all proportions to the actual amount to be spent. Also, the statement regarding the segregation of the Kala Bhavan students is an invention pure and simple, no orders of the kind having ever been passed or even thought of.

A LOVER OF TRUTH

## THE BALTIC SEA A BRITISH LAKE

*'The nation that controls the commerce of India is master of Europe'*

**A**NOTHER link in the chain of India's subjection has been forged far away from Indian waters. Few people in India realize that India's subjection is the cause of, and that India's apathy to its own position in international affairs is responsible for, the subjection of not only Asia but of lands so far north that some day they may be found to be the "Arctic home of the Vedas."

The Baltic Sea, much of which is frozen in icy fastness a greater part of the year, has now become this other link in India's chain of subjection. The Aland Islands, at the extreme north of the Baltic, have recently contributed their share to this chain. Although a tiny speck on the map, they furnish one of the most important strategic points in the British control of the Baltic, of the Scandinavian and Baltic countries, of the Gulf of Finland and Bothnian Bay and of Germany and Russia. And, while India may still be so far removed from the realities of international politics that it considers the Baltic of no concern of its own, England considers otherwise. India's aloofness and intellectual isolation is the most valuable chain of all, from the British imperialistic viewpoint.

Aland Islands, militarily neutralized under an "international" guaranty, have become Finnish property only with the consent of England. Which means that if they do not perform their English functions properly, they will be "internationalized," i.e., put under a

British mandate." These islands, by themselves are of little importance. The outstanding fact is that, with the exception of the Danish island, Bornholm, England now controls every important strategic stronghold in the Baltic Sea, the ports of Reval, Libau, Riga, Danzig, together with their vast hinterlands. Helsingfors and Aland, under the paternal eye of the League of Nations are about as free from British control as Singapore or Hong Kong. And rumor has it that the Danish island, Bornholm, will soon become an English military base and coaling station.

Thus England's ring around the Baltic Sea is complete. The significance is obvious: the countries bordering the Baltic, which depend upon the sea for their existence, are under British control. It means further that England's traditional enemy, Russia, is hemmed in completely, this was one of the main objectives in British control of the Baltic. And, the historic reason for Anglo-Russian enmity being India, the reason for the control of the "windows to Russia"—the Baltic States, is also India. All roads lead to India in British politics. And, therefore, aside from the vast economic advantages and political prestige accruing from the control of the Baltic countries, comes the greatest advantage of all—the crippling and the control of Russia, whose eyes have always turned toward India since the days of Peter the Great, whose historic words have become classic. "The nation that

controls the commerce of India is master of Europe

From the Baltic to India may seem a far cry to many. But in these days the world is very small. The German and the British Empires in the past contended for the trade routes of the earth. The world war was waged because Germany menaced England's control of the routes to India. Simultaneously the control of the Baltic Sea has been recognized by keen imperialists of each nation as a primary imperial objective. The possession of the Baltic meant the economic and political domination of the Baltic States from Finland right down to Germany. It meant a machine gun levelled at the head of Russia, whether Czarist or Soviet. Germany's war strength and her prestige in the Scandinavian countries was based upon her supremacy in the Baltic. Here was the one waterway over which the British Union Jack did not rule supreme. Therefore the most persistent and characteristic demand of England during the so called Peace Conference was for the dismantling of the Baltic Sea strongholds for the internationalization of the German port of Danzig and other similar demands which less clever diplomats were too blind to see or too servile to oppose.

The control of the Baltic Sea is therefore not a local question at all but an imperial British one just as it was previously an imperial German one. And India being the key to that imperial system is closely concerned—or should be—with all moves which rivet the chains more closely about her.

The effect of British control of the Baltic upon Sweden and other States bordering the Baltic is marked. During the war while Germany was still strong the British were unable to manage Sweden. They purchased or subsidized newspapers and countless individuals including postal employees and government officials just as they did in America and other countries. During this period they failed to force the Swedish Government to close or to restrict in any way the Irish and Indian national propaganda bureaux in Stockholm and despite repeated attempts, they failed in their efforts to have the Indian and Irish revolutionaries expelled.

Then Germany was defeated. Sweden entered the League of Nations. And immediately in May 1919 the Swedish Foreign Office demanded that the Irish and Indians cease their propaganda. The next step was

that the English language was introduced in the Swedish schools as the first compulsory language after Swedish whereas before German the language of social and business intercourse of all Europe between France and Central Russia had always been the first compulsory language after Swedish.

Sweden went further. In March of this year the Swedish Foreign Office was forced to refuse the right of political asylum to Virendranath Chattopadhyaya the Indian revolutionary who for nearly four years had lived in Sweden and conducted the work of the Indian Revolutionary Committee on behalf of Indian independence. Karl Lindhagen Mayor of Stockholm interpellated the Swedish Government on the subject in the Rikstag. In reply the Swedish Prime Minister stated among other things (as reported in the *Social Demokraten* of June 15) that Chattopadhyaya was refused re entry into the country on the grounds of his activities for the separation of India from the British Empire. This he said Sweden could not tolerate. Lindhagen pointed out that the same propaganda had been permitted for years before and that for Sweden to play the guardian of British imperial interests was a new role radically different from what it had played in the past. Lindhagen referred to the fact that it was by a secret arrangement between Count Wrangel Swedish Minister to London and the British Foreign Office that the action against Chattopadhyaya was taken. Swedish public opinion was very much opposed to the action of the Government but public opinion in the Baltic countries amounts to nothing as far as England is concerned.

Almost simultaneously with the action of Sweden the office of the Irish Republic in Copenhagen in charge of Mr. Gerald O'Lochlainn was closed by the Danish Government at the orders of the British Government.

Today the commerce of Russia of Germany Poland of the Scandinavian and Baltic countries is in British hands. And since politics and public opinion are but a reflex of the economic conditions of a country these governments think and act as their economic interests dictate. Those few individuals who hold to abstract idealism such as political asylum are either of a dying age when economic conditions permitted such idealism or they are children

of that internationalism which has no economic interest in any particular country, but whose country is the future non capitalist society

The control of other Baltic States is more obvious even than Sweden. Danzig, the Baltic Hong Kong, was formerly a German city. It is so today, in language, culture, nationality. It is one of the very old Prussian cities. But it is one of the most important strategic and commercial ports in the South Baltic, furnishing as it does the window to Poland and to a large section of Germany. Danzig was made into a so called 'Free' State under a mandate of the League of Nations. It was 'internationalized', just as Åland may become in the near future. The use of such hypocritical words as 'Free', 'Mandate' and 'Internationalized' mean that the city and the tiny state of Danzig is in British hands. The Over commissioner—in reality the Viceroy—of the city is an Englishman named General Haking. He is supposed to take care of certain interests of the League of Nations—also a British political institution. Among other things his powers are such that he can veto any law or ordinance passed by the Parliament of the 'Free' State of Danzig. When the General returned to his post in January of this year after a short absence, the Parliament was asked to move out of its building, because the General needed it for his private residence! Only the Extreme Left Parties caused a near riot when the moderate Social Democrats, supported by the capitalist delegates, voted to move out as ordered. By such servility, the Danzigian (German) capitalists hoped to gain British support against the competing Polish capitalists. Instead, however, they lost what little freedom they had and further demonstrated their servility before armed force.

British economic interests in Danzig are great, and potentially greater. The British Trade Corporation, with a capital of two million pounds sterling and its many branches, was immediately established after the city was 'internationalized'. Eight other British banks started. Nine shipping companies are maintaining a heavy traffic between England and Danzig. Most important of all, however, is the plan to 'internationalize' the Weichsel River, which will be followed by the building of canals through Poland connecting the Weichsel with the Dneister, thus creating an all water route right

through the heart of Europe, from the Baltic to the Black Sea. This would mean a direct water route between the Baltic Sea, Constantinople and Southern Russia. What this would mean in commercial and political supremacy can be easily imagined.

The military aspects of British control of Danzig were seen throughout 1920, when Russia was fighting for its life against the intrigues and the armed intervention of England, France and America. In August of last year it may be remembered that the Danzig transport workers, supported by other workers, refused to unload or transport guns and ammunition to Poland, which was then being used by England and France to war upon Soviet Russia. Anticipating a sympathetic strike the British military commander of Danzig another Englishman named Sir Reginald Tower had issued an arrogant order making it a criminal offense to even "urge in word or writing" the right to strike. The Danzigian capitalists supported Tower against their own people, thus taking their place with international capitalist imperialists, and the Social Democrats, although weeping bitter tears regretfully advised the workers to abide by the 'law and order' of the British masters.

Despite this, in August the mass strike against the transport of munitions to Poland occurred. The transport workers led the movement. Two months later they told the writer of these lines that Tower had barricaded every street with his machine guns while the water front was a bristling barricade. Tower himself conferred with the transport workers' union on the strike. His first proposal was to offer the union some twenty thousand marks—which it badly needed at the time—if the strike would be called off and the munitions unloaded. Failing this he offered to double the wages of the workers. Failing that, he offered double or triple wages if the transport workers would merely instruct the British soldiers how to unload the ammunition and permit the guns to pass over the railway. Failing all Tower then threatened to starve the Danzig workers to death. The secretary of the union taking his instructions from the rank and file told him to proceed. But the strike was a success and the ships filled with British guns to kill Russians lay in the harbor. They were never unloaded.

This was a specific instance of the use of Danzig as an outpost of British capitalist-



imperialists. Guns had been shipped through before—and since,—and it can be stated that much of the five hundred million pounds sterling which the *Statesman's Year Book* of 1920 (page 51) says were spent in 1919-20 by the British Government for "costs of assistance to the anti Bolshevik forces in Russia", were spent in part through the port of Danzig, the rest going to White Guard forces in the Baltic States, as well as to the bandits Wrangal and Denekin in the south of Russia. But Danzig would never have been used as a centre for perpetuating the misery of Europe had this city remained in German hands to whom it rightly belongs and not in British possession.

The Danzig strike however so thoroughly frightened England that a special conference of the League of Nations was called on November 17th. Without consulting the Free city, the big international club was used. It decided, among other things, that

Danzig shall not serve as a military or naval base. Materials of war and ammunition can only be stored there with the permission of the League. In case the city is 'menaced', the Poles may participate in its defense.

In case Poland is at war with another Power, the League will take necessary measures to protect the 'Free' status of the city.

*The League will assume control over shipments of ammunition through the Free city of Danzig during the period of hostilities.*

The decisions are so blatant and obvious that they need no comment. The last provision is the key to the conference. Later conferences of the League on Danzig—one in June and one in September—have confirmed these provisions. The British have used the ambitions of Poland for Danzig as an excuse for subjecting the Free State to complete British political domination.

The attitude of France over the whole Danzig transaction has revealed upon numerous occasions the Anglo-French conflict in European politics. The *Libre Parole* of Paris voiced this attitude before the first Danzig conference concerning arms.

"The solution of the Danzig question," the article reads, "must not be made an object of reproach to the conference of Ambassadors, nor can any charge be brought against Germany on that account. The guilty party is England, which has already secured firm hold on L.bau and Riga and which takes for itself all the best strategic points. England has left us Mamel, because Mamel is without value. England prohibited

by the breakdown of Germany and Russia in order to acquire mastery of the Baltic.

England's strangle hold not only upon Danzig and the Baltic but upon the economic life of Germany has led to many shameless developments in which Germany has been too weak to oppose her once hated enemy even for the maintenance of ordinary rights of sovereignty. The German Foreign Office, for instance, communicated to Chattopadhyaya (who had taken exile in Germany after his Swedish expulsion) its decision not to extend his permission to remain in Germany after the end of September. Enver Pasha, the Young Turk leader was subject to the same decision. Chattopadhyaya had been the re-organizer and one of the secretaries of the Indian Revolutionary Committee of Europe which had been working for many years, and which at the beginning of the world war, entered into an alliance with the German Government. Chattopadhyaya, accordingly, has been the object of much attention by the British Foreign Office for many years, this attention manifesting itself in petty spying and even in attempts upon his life. His thorough knowledge of the leading languages of Europe has made it possible for him to intimately study European politics, and to deal with European peoples and statesmen in their own tongues. A man of unusual gifts, he has put all his extensive knowledge of international politics into work for Indian independence, and through direst poverty or comparative periods of ease, has never diverted from this goal. His more or less successful discrediting of England with large influential groups, and his exposure of British rule in India has gained influence for him on the one hand, while it has placed his life in danger on the other.

The attempt to expel him from Germany is but another method of driving him into obscurity or into countries where his life will not be secure. In return for her servility before England, Germany receives support in the Silesian question, as well as a German consulate in Calcutta. Added to this is the growing probability of a close British-Russian German commercial and political agreement, by which German and English-organizers undertake the reorganization of Russian economic life.

When asked for reasons for its decision, the German Foreign Office replied that the pressure of the British Foreign Office upon

the German Ambassador in London has been so great that the Government was unable to refuse any longer "We are practically vassals of England, just like yourselves," an official said. To which the reply was given, 'We Indian revolutionaries are not under the orders of England, so we intend to remain in Germany as political refugees.' Another Indian revolutionary spoke frankly.

This is not the question of an individual man. You are dealing with the Indian revolutionary movement. We will boycott you, just as we do the British."

The present action and political attitude of Germany demonstrates world politics in action, politics which fluctuate with the changing of the political moon, politics in which there is no morality but only self-interest. Even the most revolutionary country of all—Soviet Russia—could not remain steadfast to an abstract ideal in the face of organized world capitalistic imperialism.

If such conditions are true of such countries as Germany and Russia, the situation of the small Baltic States can be easily imagined. Finland, presumably free, is sold out to England, from the natural resources and the commerce of the country to its political life. Helsingfors, the capital, has been one of the chief centres of intrigue, propaganda and military operations against Soviet Russia.

Estonia and Latvia, those ancient Baltic settlements whose geographical position has for centuries made them a contested zone of imperialist nations—Russia, Sweden, Poland and Germany,—are today under British economic and political suzerainty. They form a long stretch of territory along the Baltic, and together with Lithuania constitute the 'windows' of old Russia. For the past three years, in English hands, they have formed some of the prison bars enforcing the Russian blockade. During the past six months England has attempted to form a 'Baltic Confederation' directed against Russia. A number of secret conferences have been held, but since the signing of the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement little has been heard of them. The French Ambassador has been trying to renew the Confederation, but to include Poland as well. Lithuanian antagonism and the Anglo-French conflict in the Baltic have been stumbling blocks in the way. Russia's demand for admittance to the conference was likewise embarrassing.

A trip through the Baltic States, however superficially done, reveals the British strength in these windows to Soviet Russia. Upon coming into the harbor of Reval, the seaport and capital of Estonia, one gains the impression that the city is populated by Englishmen. Estonian officers, in British khaki uniforms, board the ship. One has an instinctive dread that up here in the sparsely settled North, they are going to demand passports in a cockney accent. But this alone is lacking. The Estonian soldiers are dressed in British military uniforms, from the caps, shoulder straps and belt to the boots and canes even the contemptuous swagger is imitated. The shops are filled with British goods, all selling at fabulous prices too high for any Estonian working man to pay. Thus the country bears the famished, mangy look of a parasite. The workers live by robbing or stealing the food stuffs now passing through Reval into Soviet Russia. And all the time the city swarms with prosperous looking foreign businessmen and journalists, and one learns that the British capitalists have stripped the country of its lumber, of its minerals and other natural resources, and that within a week after Soviet Russia paid Estonia 15 million roubles as a part of the Peace treaty, every rouble had been removed to London banks. A few roubles only found their way to France. In gathering these facts, the writer was in Reval and spoke with the men who had helped count the gold and who live in Reval and know the conditions there.

The political servility of Estonia is of course taken for granted. As early as the beginning of 1920, Dr. Keskula, a leading advocate, now an exile in Switzerland, submitted to the United States Government a document substantiated by full proof, exposing a British intrigue to occupy the island of Oesel lying off the coast of Estonia. This scheme had involved the bribing of over half the members of the mock Estonian Landtag, a White Guard Government, and in return for 'services rendered' the Estonian Parliament was to *invite* the British to occupy Oesel! The plot was exposed by 27 Communist members of the Landtag, whose names were all given in the document submitted to the United States. As often happens to men who interfere in British affairs, however, most of them were killed, and eight were forced to escape into Russia. The Wilson regime in America had these facts, but at the

time British influence was so strong in the "land of the free and home of the brave" that they were not made public.

Another simple indication of British control of Esthonia is seen again in relation to Indian revolutionaries. The same Chattopadhyaya, afterwards expelled from Sweden, passed through Reval on his return from Russia in December, 1920. In Reval, he was informed by persons of authority that the British Government had submitted a document to the Estonian Government regarding him. Full details were given, including his photograph, the number of languages he speaks, the names under which he had travelled in the past and the passports which he had used. While in Reval, Chattopadhyaya was followed by British agents; full reports were submitted on his movements; he was forced to leave a hotel in the middle of the night where his life was threatened and was finally confidentially advised to leave the country before a British cruiser came in sight. All reports about him were seen by other than the British, since in the Baltic States espionage is mutual and he who pays the most sees the most. The Esths "work" both sides, and, since they can sell their country for a few British pounds or favors they can sell anything and draw incomes from all sources.

Latvia, just south of Esthonia, is a replica of degenerated Esthonia. Riga, the capital, chief city and entry port is one of the strategic ports of the Baltic ranking with Reval in this respect. In the early days of the Russian revolution, the Lettish soldiers were the most trusted revolutionary troops. Opposed to them was the smaller Baltic Militia, composed of reactionary White Guards which would have been completely destroyed had it not been that the British Fleet, anchored in Riga united with them (November, 1918) and bombarded the Lettish revolutionary barracks completely defeating the revolutionaries. The British then united with the black reactionary Militia, advanced to meet the Bolshevik forces were defeated, and then boarded their vessels and fled from the Riga Gulf. Later they returned after heavily financing counter revolutionary generals for attacks upon Soviet Russia.

Today, one has but to give the most superficial external glance at Latvia to know the truth. The Latvian troops are clad in British khaki and in the British uniform from

head to foot. Their rifles are British rifles, their food is British, their "Republic" is a plaything by which British and Latvian capitalists unite to exploit the workers and peasants and to devour the natural resources of the country. The "Republic" has no equal in reaction, unless it be Hungary or Poland, from the harsh, exploiting stronghold of Riga have been sent the most vicious atrocity tales against Soviet Russia, here western imperialistic journalists squat, with their eyes on Soviet Russia just twelve hours to the east.

And just as steps were taken against Indians in Esthonia the same thing was done in Riga. A British "black list" is kept in Riga, as in every other state where the British are masters. It fell into the "wrong" hands however, and was found to contain instructions regarding the same Indian who had escaped from Esthonia.

Lithuania, just south of Latvia, is populated by a sister racial group, speaking a language very closely allied to Sanscrit. Lithuania is not under British control, since it has no seaport and is regarded as the spoils of Poland. Libau the port which might have gone to it had it shown more Pro British tendencies is incorporated in the province of Courland a part of Latvia. Its difficult political position has thrown Lithuania more to the side of Soviet Russia, but, if it attempted to unite with Russia it would undoubtedly become either "internationalized" like Danzig, or a province of predatory Poland.

The entire Baltic question is intimately bound up with the imperialistic politics of England. And, since the dynamic of all politics is the search for raw materials and markets, the importance of the Baltic States is obvious, considering their geographical relationship to Russia. Russia, that hitherto unshackled enemy of England, is now bound hand and foot by the Anglo Russian Trade Agreement. The one condition upon which the Agreement was signed by England should be sufficient proof that the retention of India is always the first and central objective in British politics. Because that one proof as outlined in Sir Robert Horne's letter accompanying the Agreement, was that *Russia should cease giving aid to Indian revolutionaries of any description, and should cease all propaganda for the overthrow of British rule in India.* And, despite all the revolutionary fervor of the early days of

the Russian revolution, despite the lasting value and inspiration of the revolution, and despite the interest in India of a number of Russian leaders today, the agreement was signed, and the Russians are carrying it out quite as rigidly as ever the Czar's government could have done \*

The conversion of the Baltic Sea into a British Lake, with its consequent devastating effects has reduced Europe to a veritable British colony, only disturbed here and there by American competition and by the Anglo-French conflict in politics. In Europe, British imperialism is revealed at the apex of its power—which some consider also to be the greatest moment of its weakness. It has set for itself no limits, this its very nature prevents. Securing itself in the Bay of Bengal a century and a half ago, it has extended to the far corners of the world. Secure in India, with a docile population isolated from world thought and world movements, it has spread its tentacles about whole continents subjecting them to its will. This viewpoint was briefly mentioned in a manifesto of the Second Congress of the Third International + in Moscow in 1920. A paragraph of the Manifesto reads

\* The British Government has just presented a document of protest to Soviet Russia claiming that Russia has violated the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement, among other things, it charges Russia with plots against British rule in India special mention being made of Chattopadhyaya's negotiations with the Soviet Government, as well as Dr Abdul Hafis' being given charge of an Afghanisthan explo-

English imperialism has rid itself of the Asiatic rival of Czarism and of the menace of German competition. The military power of Britain has reached its apex. England has surrounded the continent with a chain of subject nations. She has subjected to her control Finland, Estonia and Latvia, thus depriving Sweden and Norway of the last vestige of independence and converting the Baltic Sea into a British Bay. She has no rival in the North Sea. Her supremacy in South Africa, Egypt, India, Persia and Afghanistan has converted the Indian Ocean into a British lake. Her domination on the Sea makes her likewise mistress of the continents. Her power over the world ends only with the American Dollar Republic and the Russian Soviet Republic.

It may indeed be that the "American Dollar Republic" will be forced to challenge the strength of the British Empire, since there is a rising tide of hatred against England in the United States as in France, Italy and a number of other countries which feel England's economic mastery. But since the chances are quite as strong that English diplomacy is cunning enough to force Japan and America into a conflict in order that they both might be crippled, this Anglo-American conflict is still a speculative one. Had the above Manifesto been written in 1921, instead of in 1920,—however, another chapter might have been added, and the last phrase,—'and the Russian Soviet Republic', omitted. And a further sentence might have been appended, to read something like the following

Her power over the world will end before revolution against which the strongest of imperialisms in the world have never, and can never, prepare or contend.

ALICE BIRD

# MINISTERS' SALARIES AND THE "VOTED" LIST

THE decision of the Bengal Government to place the salary of the Ministers on the 'non voted' list in the Bengal Budget for the year 1921-22 raised a question of great constitutional importance. Lord Ronaldshay's Government accepted the opinion of the Advocate-General of Bengal that inasmuch as a number of motions urging the reduction of the Ministers' salary was rejected by the Bengal Legislative Council, the salary of the Ministers ought to be regarded as an "expenditure of which the amount is prescribed by or under any law" under section 72 D (3) of the Government of India Act and should not be submitted to the vote of the Council in the form of a demand for grant under Section 72 D (2). From what Sir Henry Wheeler declared in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 14th of March 1921, the Bengal Government seemed to be of opinion that the power to reduce the salary of Ministers could be exercised once only and that, once exercised, this power was exhausted.

This decision of Lord Ronaldshay's Government to place the Ministers' salary permanently on the 'non voted' list constituted a serious invasion on the constitutional rights of the provincial legislature and to a certain extent destroyed the basic foundation of responsible government. The promise of responsible government in the declaration of August 20 1917 was partially redeemed by the introduction of the Ministerial element in the Indian Provincial Governments. The dual executive is the pivot of the new scheme of constitutional reforms. In the 'dyarchy' which is at present working in every Indian province, the Ministers represent the responsible element in the dual executive. The Montagu Chelmsford Report attempted to make the Ministers responsible not to the legislature but to the electorate (para 189). The original draft of the Bill introduced in the House of Commons on May 22, 1919, contained the following provision—

"There shall be paid to any Minister so appointed such salary as the Government, subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State, may determine."

The enactment of this clause would have been really the negation of responsible government, for it would have made the ministers independent of the Legislative Council and responsible only to the bureaucratic Government.

The Joint Select Committee amended this clause radically. If responsible government has any meaning, it denotes that the members of the executive government should hold office

so long as they enjoy the confidence of the legislature. In the Report of the Joint Select Committee the basic principle of responsible government—the amenability of the executive to the legislature—secured clear recognition. The Committee observed that the salary of Ministers should be determined by the Legislative Council and in compliance with their recommendation Sec 32 (1) of the Government of India Act was enacted thus—

"There may be paid to any Minister so appointed in any province the same salary as is payable to a member of the Executive Council in that province, unless a smaller salary is provided by vote of the Legislative Council of the province."

Thus the fundamental principle of responsible government received parliamentary sanction in this clause which makes the Ministers directly responsible to the legislature and amenable to its control. But in compliance with the recommendation of the Advocate-General the Bengal Government did not submit the salary of the Ministers to the vote of the Council in the form of a demand for grant in the Budget. One of the items which need not be put to the vote of the Council under Sec 72 D (3) is "expenditure of which the amount is prescribed by or under any law", and the learned Advocate-General is of opinion that as motions for the reduction of the Ministers' salary under Sec 52 (1) of the Government of India Act had been rejected by the Council, the salary of Ministers should be considered as definitely fixed and should be regarded as an item of expenditure of the above category.

With due deference to the learned Advocate-General I venture to point out that this interpretation is not warranted either by the letter or by the spirit of the statute in question. The statute only prescribes the maximum salaries of Ministers and gives the legislature power to provide a smaller salary by its vote. The language of the clause "provided by vote of the Legislative Council" seems to imply that the proper time for the Legislative Council to exercise the vote referred to in the clause is when the Budget is submitted to the vote of the Council under Sec 72 D. But the salary of the Bengal Ministers was never submitted to the vote of the Bengal Legislative Council. It should have been submitted to the vote of the Council in connection with the Budget, and as the Budget is framed and discussed annually, the power of the Council to deduce it may also be exercised every year. This seems also to be the opinion of the other Provincial Governors, who have

shall illustrate our point by taking an example. Mr. Harding is now the President of the United States. Are there two different and absolute entities—one Mr. Harding and another Mr. President? Are there two theories to account for the U. S. Government—one the 'Harding theory' and the other, the President theory? The fact is that the President has no absolute existence; it is an abstract name embodying an abstract ideal. Harding is the concrete reality which is described by the attributive word President. If we ask—"who is the President?" The answer will be "Mr. Harding, President ship inheres in Mr. Harding. Similar is the case with Atman and Brahman. The original meaning of the word 'Brahman' was a 'mantra', an 'invocation', a prayer. This Brahman (i.e. prayer) was considered to be very efficacious. If a worshipper would utter a Brahman (=mantra or prayer) reverently, the God would certainly fulfil his desires. So a Brahman had a power. Afterwards the 'Brahman' was considered to be so powerful that the Gods could be compelled to do its bidding even against their will. According to some theologians the whole universe with its gods was created by the "Brahman", i.e. *mantras* so the Brahman was more powerful than the omnipotent Gods. In this way the word came to mean the world ground. Originally a 'Brahman' was a concrete *mantra* or prayer; afterwards it lost its original significance and became an abstract power. If the question be—"what is Brahman?" we should say 'it is the world ground or to use the theistic language, "it is the creator, preserver and destroyer"'. By this answer we simply explain the meaning of the word "Brahman". During the Upanishadic period the question was often asked—"who is the Brahman?" Some pointed to this thing and some to that thing. The final decision was that Atman (the Self) was the Brahman. If we say 'Atman is the Brahman', it means that Atman is the world ground; atman is the creator, preserver and destroyer. Here we do not find two theories—Atman theory and Brahman theory as we do not find Harding theory and President theory in the U. S. Whatever may be the theory of Sankara and other commentators, Atman is the concrete reality to which has been attributed Brahmanhood.

(b)

Our author seems to pity Yajñavalkya for playing 'the part of Locke's 'poor Indian philosopher' with his tortoise and elephant and so forth as the world's last standing ground' (p. 16). True, Yajñavalkya has posited the water on the atmosphere-worlds, the atmosphere-worlds on other worlds and so on, the ultimate ground being the Brahman world. If we enter into the spirit of the Rishi, we must interpret it to mean that all the worlds are grounded on Brahman. In every philosophy—idealistic or realistic, monistic or pluralistic—there is an ultimate principle beyond which no philosopher can go. Will a theistic philosopher allow us to put such a question as—"who is the creator of God?" If such a question is inadmissible, why should we condemn Yajñavalkya for his asking Gargi not to question about the ground of the world ground?

Commentators have in many places explained "Brahman world" as meaning "Brahman as a world, i.e. a resting ground" and not as "a world in which Brahman lives".

Our author has misunderstood Locke's allusion to the 'poor Indian philosopher'. According to Dr. Hume

the word 'Indian' means 'American Indian.' It shows our author's ignorance of the tradition of a class of superstitious Hindus. 'Indian' here really means 'Indian.' Our author could have avoided that mistake had he referred to the editor's note on the passage in Bohn's edition of Locke's works (Vol. I, p. 293). Whenever Locke means 'American Indian', he invariably uses the word 'American' (vide Fraser's notes on the word, in the Oxford Edition of Locke's Works, 1894 Vol. I, Page 272).

(c)

Our author says—"The usual date that is thus assigned to the Upanishads is about 600 or 500 B. C., just prior to the Buddhist revival."

Yes, this is the accepted opinion. And it is also true that some of the doctrines of the later Upanishads were coloured by the Buddhist influence. But the reasoning of Western scholars is curious. Our author cites from the Upanishads some Sanskrit verbs in which the ending '*tha*' is used for '*ta*' as '*acāratha*', '*pricātha*', '*apadyatha*', '*janatha*' and '*vimuncatha*'. What is an irregularity in Sanskrit, the regular form in Pali. From this the Western scholars jump to the conclusion that some of the Upanishadic doctrines have been borrowed from Buddhism. We have not been able to appreciate the reasoning of these scholars. Do they mean that Pali and Buddhism are synonymous? Did Pali come out ready-made from Buddhism as *Minerva sprang out fully-armed from the forehead of Jupiter*? Pali had been a spoken language centuries before the advent of Buddhism. There is no doubt about the fact that Sanskrit was always in close contact with Pali and other spoken languages of the country. But this does not prove that some of the later Upanishadic doctrines were borrowed from Buddhism. The fact of borrowing is true but the reasoning is fallacious.

(iii)

Translation of the text.

(1)

Our author has translated 13 Upanishads twelve of which were translated by Max Müller some forty years ago. Strange to say, that, even now, we find fewer mistakes in Max Müller's translation than in any other's. His translation is both literary and literal and Dr. Hume's translation is more literal than literary. We cite below a few examples—

(a)

The last part of Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, VI.4.1, is translated thus—

'Then one becomes non-knowing of forms.'

Max Müller's translation is—

'Then he ceases to know any form.'

(b)

A portion of Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, II.5.19, is translated thus—

"Thus Brahman is without an earlier and without a later."

It is very literal but is quite unintelligible to one who does not know the meaning of the text.

Max Müller's translation is—

"This is the Brahman without cause and effect."

(c)

A part of Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, I.2.1, is translated thus—

'This, indeed, is the *arka*-nature of what pertains to brightness.

Max Muller's translation is —

"This is why water is called *ar-ka*."

Our author's translation is more literal but uncouth and unintelligible. But he will most probably call Max Muller's translation unscholarly. Our idea of scholarship is different. A translation may be both literal and literary. If what our author calls scholarship is overdone, every translation will become a 'crib' as his translation is.

### ( 2 )

In some places our author's translation is decidedly in improvement on that given by Sankara and Max Muller. We may cite an example. The translation of the last part of VI 14.2 of the Chandogya Upanishad as given by the author is —

'Even so here on earth one who has a teacher knows

I belong here only so long as I shall not be released (from the body) (a) Then I shall arrive home (b).

Max Muller's translation is —

"In exactly the same manner does a man who meets with a teacher to inform him, obtain the true knowledge. For him there is only delay so long as he is not delivered (from the body) then he will be perfect."

In a note Max Muller adds —

"The last words are really—'for him there is only delay so long as I shall not be delivered, then I shall be perfect'."

This is followed by a reason for the change from the third to the first person.

Max Muller's translation as given in the note is apparently literal but is wrong. But he has not tried to evade the difficulty, though his reason is not at all satisfactory. Our author's rendering, though not free from defects, is more correct. The portion marked as (a) is not a literal translation of the text. In fact our author has paraphrased the German translation of Professor Deussen. He has given no reason why the pronoun '*tasya*' (तस्य) should be taken in the first person. In other places he has discussed less difficult words but here he is silent. If he could not give any reason, he should have acknowledged the difficulty. Here *tasya* तस्य means '*tasya mama*' तस्य मम. This is not an arbitrary meaning. There are many parallel examples in the Vedic literature including the Upanishads.

### ( 3 )

Our author has not been able to throw any light on passages which have been considered obscure and some passages have been mistranslated. A few examples may be given here.

#### ( a )

The words '*prades matram*' प्रादेश मात्रम् and '*abhi-vimānam*' अभिविमानम् occur in Chandogya Upanishad V, 18.1. These words remain as obscure as before.

#### ( b )

Similarly the words '*vichrayayati*' विचरययति (Fr Up. IV, 3.20) and '*vichadayanti*' (Ch Up VIII, 10.24) have not been satisfactorily explained.

### ( c )

We quote below our author's translation of the Chan U III 17.5 —

"Therefore they say 'He will procreate (*sosyati*)! He has procreated, (*asosta*),—that is his rebirth (*punar-utpadana*)' Death is an ablution after the ceremony."

He gives the following footnote —

In this exposition of the similarities between man and the sacrifice these two words (*i.e.*, *sosyati* and *asosta*) are used in a double significance. They mean also, in relation to the sacrifice, "He will press out (the *soma* juice)." He has pressed (it) out."

In spite of the note, the translation is unmeaning and wrong. It is difficult and, in fact, impossible to translate the passages without using some Sanskrit words and without explanatory notes. But the meaning is clear. The life of man (*i.e.*, both man and woman) has been compared to (or identified with) 'sacrifice'. Here the Rishi says —

"Therefore (the people) say '*Soshyati*' शोषयति which means (i) she will give birth to a child, when it refers to man, (ii) a person will press out *soma* juice, when it refers to sacrifice, and *asosta* अशोष्ट which means (i) a woman has given birth to a child, when it refers to man, (ii) a person has pressed out the *Soma* juice, when it refers to sacrifice. Again (with reference to both, people use the words) '*asya utpadanam*' अस्या उत्पदानम् which means (i) the production of a child and also (ii) the production of '*soma*' juice. His death (*i.e.*, the death of man) is (the same as, *i.e.*, comparable to) the bathing after the completion of the sacrifice."

Max Muller's translation is a little different, but intelligible and more reasonable than Dr. Hume's.

### ( d )

The translation of the last part of the *gatha* in the Chan Up IV, 17, 9, is given below —

"The Brahman priest alone protects the sacrifice like a dog."

In the traditional text, the word '*asva*' अश्वा is used '*Asva*' अश्वा means a mare. But our author, following Bohtlingk and Roth and Deussen adopts the reading '*asva*' अश्वा which means a dog. This shows how ignorant these occidentals are of Hindu customs. The dogs have been considered unclean and have never been allowed to enter the precincts of the sacrificial ground.

### ( e )

The last part of the Brih, Up II, 1.20 is —

*Pranah vai satyam* प्राणाः वै सत्यम्, *tusham eshah satyam* तेषाम् एष, सत्यम्. Our author's translation is 'Breathing creatures, verily, are the real. He is their Real'.

*Pranah* प्राणाः does not mean 'breathing creatures'. Its literal meaning is 'breaths or senses'. Our author generally gives a literal translation but here he gives a derivative meaning and it is doubtful whether *pranah* प्राणाः can be here made to mean 'breathing'.

creatures. Even Prof Deussen has translated it by —  
 "The vital breaths are the reality and it is their reality"

( f )

In 'rish Up IV 4 13 Brahman has been described as *pranasya pranam* प्राणस्य प्राणम्, *cakshushah cakshuh* चक्षुषः चक्षुः, *srotrasya srotram* श्रोत्रस्य श्रोत्रम्, *manasah manah* मनस्य मनः; that is, the life of the life, the eye of the eye, the ear of the ear and the mind of the mind. The same idea occurs in Kena I. Our author has rejected our meaning and has translated those words by 'the breathing of the breath, the seeing of the eye, the hearing of the ear and the thought of the mind'. This shows that he has not been able to understand, or has forgotten here, the philosophical implication of those passages. Brahman cannot be identified with the senses or their functions. He is not the eye, nor the sight but he is the seer. So with other senses. In this sense Brahman has been called 'the eye of the eye, the ear of the ear and the mind of the mind' and so on.

( g )

Our author's translation of IV 1, 5 6 is —

"Now Janasruti said to the attendant 'O you speak (of me) as if I were Raikva the man with the cart'."

'Pray, how is it with Raikva the man with cart? As the lower throws of dice all go to the highest throw, to the winner, so to this man, whatever good thing creatures do, all goes to him. I say the same thing of whoever knows what he knows.'

In a note the author writes that the attendant's 'custom it is continually to flatter his master'.

The author has thoroughly misunderstood the passage.

The saying which our author attributes to the attendant (whose customary business is considered by our author to flatter his lord continually) is not really his saying. It was really a part of the dialogue which Janasruti heard at night and reproduced in the morning to his attendant for enquiry and report. The original dialogue is given in IV 1 24 and Janasruti reproduces the exact language of its important portion in IV 1 5, 6. So the translation should be "Now Janasruti said to his attendant (I heard at night) 'Lo! you speak as if he were Raikva, the man with the cart, what he knows (IV 1 5, 6)'".

The translation given by our author (and a host of scholars) is altogether wrong.

( h )

A portion of Ch Up VII 26 2 is translated thus —

"In a pure nature, the traditional doctrines (smṛiti) becomes firmly fixed."

Here 'Smṛiti' means memory and not 'traditional doctrines'. At the time of the composition of the Upanishads, the word 'Smṛiti' did not acquire its modern technical meaning.

( i )

The first part of Ch. Up. VIII, 4, is translated thus —

"Now, the soul (Atman) is the bridge (or dam), the separation for keeping these worlds apart. Over

that bridge (or dam) there cross neither day, nor night, nor old age, nor death, nor sorrow, nor well-doing, nor evil doing. All evils turn back therefrom, for that Brahma world is freed from evil."

Here the translator has interpreted Brahman as the principle of separation and he has the support of the majority of the commentators and translators. But in my humble opinion, the meaning is quite the reverse. He is the principle, not of separation, but of connection. He is the connecting link and unifying principle of the universe. Brahman has been called the bridge (setu) which connects this world with the other world. Even Prof Deussen is constrained to say that here "We have in place of the dike that separates the relative parts of the universe, a bridge that connects the present with the future world" (Phil Up p. 206).

The Rishi has used here the significant word 'asambheda' असंभेदात्. The meaning accepted by the majority is 'for keeping asunder'. But this meaning seems to be forced. 'Bheda' भेद means separation. 'sambheda' संभेद means 'complete separation'. Its negative meaning will be expressed by the word 'asambheda' असंभेद, which may therefore mean 'connection or union'.

A similar idea and text occur in Br (p IV. 4 22) which has been similarly translated by our author.

( j )

Our author's translation of the first part of Aitareya Upanishad is unmeaning and wrong. His translation is — "(Question). Who is this one? (a) [Answer] We worship him as the Self (Atman), (b) (Question). Which one is the Self? (c) [Answer]. (He) whereby one sees, or whereby one hears, or whereby one smells odors, or whereby one articulates speech, or whereby one discriminates the sweet and the unsweet that which is heart (hṛdaya) and mind (manas)—that is, consciousness (Samjñāna), perception (ājnāna), discrimination (vijñāna), intelligence (prajñāna), wisdom (medhas), insight (dṛiṣṭi), steadfastness (dhṛiti), thought (mati), thoughtfulness (manisa), impulse (jati), memory (smṛiti), conception (samkalpa) purpose (kratu), life (asu), desire (kama), will (vāsa) (d)".

All these, indeed, are appellations of intelligence (prajñāna) (e).

We shall first consider our author's translation.

According to our author, the first question is —

Who is this one? (1) *Idē* the sentence marked 'a'.

Then the questioner knows about whom he asks the question. He uses the word 'ayam' अयम्, which means this one. He selects a particular object about whom he asks that question. If this be the case, why should he again ask—"which is the Self?" (*Idē* the sentence marked 'c'). When a man says "which one", he does not assuredly know that one. When a man does not know an object, then and then only he can ask "which one" with reference to that unknown one. But our inquirer says "this one", therefore "he knows 'which one' he means. Hence he cannot again ask 'which one'. Therefore we cannot accept our author's translation of the first sentence of the text. This



sentence need not be split up into three sentences as the author has done, we may translate it thus —

Who is he (whom) we worship saying this is 'atman'?

As the grouping of the first part is wrong, the translation of the remaining portion is necessarily wrong. This portion may be translated thus —

Which one of these two is the Self?—(Is it that) by which one sees form, by which one hears sound, by which one smells odors, by which one utters speech, by which one distinguishes the sweet and the not-sweet? (Or it is that) which is heart and mind that is consciousness. Vasa (वस)

(Is the portion marked 'c' and 'f'?)

The meaning of the question is this —

(i) Are the sense organs to be called the Self?

(ii) Or is it the consciousness that is to be called the Self?

The sentence marked as 'e' is the correct rendering of the corresponding portion of the text, whereas the interpretation given by Sankara and Max Muller is wrong.

(b)

We quote below a portion of the translation of Maitri Upanishad, II 7 —

"Verily, this soul wanders here on earth from body to body, *unovercome, as it seems*, by the bright or the dark fruits of action. He is (apparently) un-abiding and a doer in the unreal—he, truly, is not a doer and he is abiding. Verily, he is pure, steadfast, and unswerving, stainless, unagitated, desireless, freed like a spectator and self abiding" (Italics ours).

(In the first sentence, the author has adopted the reading 'anabhibhuta iva' (अनभिभूत इव) which is translated as "*unovercome, as it seems*". This reading, thus literally interpreted, makes the whole passage unmeaning and self-contradictory. The meaning extracted from that reading is that 'the Self is really overcome but that it seems to be unovercome, whereas in the remaining portion it is said that the Self is really unchangeable and therefore can never be overcome by the fruits of action. There are two ways out of this difficulty, viz—(i) iva' (इव) may be interpreted to mean 'eva' (एव) which means 'certainly' and this is not an arbitrary meaning. (ii) Or better still, we may accept the reading 'abhibhuyamana iva' (अभिभूयमान इव) which gives a better meaning. This reading is found in many manuscripts and has been adopted by Professor Max Muller and in the Nirayagar Press Edition of the Upanishads. It means—"*overcome, as it were*". The Self is not really overcome but it seems to be overcome. That this should be the meaning of the passage is corroborated by the next section (III, 1) wherein this Self is distinguished from another Self who is really overcome.

(1)

We cannot understand why our author has reverted to the old method of translating the word 'atman' (आत्मन्) by the word 'soul'. There is a difference between the 'soul' and the 'Self', when 'atman' (आत्मन्) is considered to be a substance or an object the use of the word 'soul' is allowable, but if it means a 'subject'

or 'one's own self,' the use of this word is to be condemned and the 'Self' is the word that must be used. Stringer still is the rendering of the word 'adhyatman' (आद्यात्मन्) by 'with reference to the Self'. In Vedic

literature including the Upanishads, it generally means 'with reference to the body'. This meaning need not surprise any one. The original meaning of 'atman' (आत्मन्) is 'body.'

(m)

Our author has no fixed principle of translating Sanskrit names. He writes 'Brahma' (ब्रह्म) for Brahman (ब्रह्मन्) not only in the nominative, but also in other cases. But he uses the basal words in the case of other similar words, viz—atman with its compounds Sāman, Vyoman, Brahmavidan, Brahmacharin, Abhupratidin, etc.

In some places he translates 'neti, neti' (नेति नेति) by 'not thus, not so' in other places by 'it is not this, it is not that'.

For want of space, we must bring this section of our review to a close.

(4)

A few mistakes have crept into the book through oversight for example on page 195 (line 15) is printed 'The wind is a Hinkari'. The word 'wind' should be 'mind'.

(5)

We cannot congratulate the author on the extent of his knowledge of Sanskrit scriptures. The well-known couplet giving the names of ten principal Upanishads is quoted from Babu Srischandra Basu's Catechism of Hinduism. It is the 30th verse of the Muktiopaniṣad in which the names of all the Upanishads are given.

(IV)

(a)

The translation is followed by a classified and annotated bibliography, which is very valuable, though it is not free from mistakes. The books mentioned in the 14th line on page 475 have not been published.

(b)

Our author is unnecessarily harsh upon Prof. Max Muller. He has been misjudged and misrepresented. With reference to Max Muller's translation he writes —

But it is added with considerable extraneous matter which was added by the translator for the sake of greater intelligibility yet which in violation of modern rules of scholarly procedure is left undifferentiated from the actual text.

It is an exaggeration. Our author continues —

"In this very work the translator has declared the inherent difficulties of translating the Upanishads, e.g. 'These it is impossible to render in any translation; nay they hardly deserve to be translated' (Vol. I, p. 112) (Italics ours).

This passage is a misrepresentation. The sentence quoted from Max Muller's translation and detached from the context, gives an altogether false impression from what our author has written and quoted, every one will understand that the words 'these' and 'they'

(which we have italicised in the above quotation), refer to the Upanishads and that Max Muller was of opinion that the Upanishads could not be translated nay, they hardly deserved to be translated.

But this is not the truth. What Max Muller says there (Vol. I, page 132) has reference not to the Upanishads but to the plays on some Sanskrit words which cannot be reproduced in any other language. With a view to making the meaning of Max Muller clear, we quote below the principal portion of what he wrote on the subject—

"But we are told that abstinence is the same as certain sacrifices and this is shown, not by arguments but by a number of very far fetched plays on words. *These it is impossible to render in any translation, nay, they hardly deserve being translated.* Thus abstinence is said to be identical with sacrifice *yajna* because '*yo janata*' he who knows has a certain similarity with '*yajna*'. *Ishita*, another kind of sacrifice is compared with *eshana* search *sattrayana* with *sati*, the true, the Brahman and *trayana* protection *mauna*, silence with '*manana*' meditating (which may be right), *anaskhyana*, fasting with '*nas*' to perish and '*aranayana*', a hermit's life with '*ara*' *nyā* and

'*ayana*', going to the two lakes '*Ara*' and '*Nya*,' which are believed to exist in the legendary world of Brahman" (Vol. I, p. 132)

The contention of Max Muller is that the plays on words described above cannot be described in any other language and in fact, do not deserve to be translated. But the mutilated quotation combined with Dr Hume's remarks gives an altogether erroneous idea of Max Muller's views. Half truths are more dangerous and mischievous than even downright falsehoods.

(v)

The bibliography is followed by two indexes both of which are useful.

In spite of the defects, the book is a useful production. The author has tried to translate literally, every sentence every phrase and even every particle, whenever he could do so. It will be invaluable to those who wish to read the Upanishads in the original. But the translation being too literal and technical may not be appreciated by the general readers.

MAHESH CHANDRA GHOSH

## INDIA IN 1920

**M**R Rushbrook Williams is now the Director of the Central Bureau of Information of the Government of India, and his annual digest of Indian events, with its useful maps, charts and appendices, has by this time become quite a feature of current political literature. The Secretary of State's and the Government of India's Despatches on Punjab affairs, summary of the Escher Committee's Report, Election Statistics, Instructions to Governors, and the Resolution changing the Congress creed, are among the appendices. The price, as usual, is extremely low, being Re. 1 only. In spite of the inevitable defects of such annual publications written from the official point of view, and unable, from their very nature, to take a long perspective, on the whole it must be said to the credit of Mr Rushbrook Williams that he has performed his task as conscientiously as could be expected under the circumstances, and with a considerable degree of success. The most serious omission that we notice is a comparative statement of the total Government expenditure on education, sanitation, the army and the navy, and the police, showing the proportion of public revenues spent during the year under each head. This, it may be safely presumed, will make all his special pleading superfluous, for it will show at a glance how the proportions are reversed in the case of every other civilized Government, figures for which, for convenience of comparison

and illustration, should be given side by side with those for India.

The Foreword is encouraging.

"India has recently witnessed the most remarkable peaceful revolution of modern times. The spirit of autocracy to which she has for long been accustomed, is henceforth to give place to the spirit of responsibility. Such a change cannot but be productive, at least for the moment, of uneasiness and of misapprehension on the part of many. The minds of men are disturbed, and it may be long before the country attains tranquility. None the less the stir which now manifests itself is the stir of new life. Ancient barriers are crumbling before the desire for national unity, pride in India's past is giving place to hope for India's future. Despite all the difficulties that beset her path, no one who studies with impartial eye the progress which she has achieved of late, can doubt that this future will be great indeed."

The book begins with an account of the alliance between Bolshevism and Islam which led to the failure of the Anglo-Persian Agreement.

"There can be no doubt that for sometime the Afghans have cherished the idea of a great Islamic Federation of the states of Central Asia, Khiva, Bokhara, Ferghana, and Turkistan, under their own aegis."

We know that since the above was written, they have entered into treaty relations with all their neighbouring countries, and have sent

suggestion of conflict with the forces of law and order." Summing up the practical results of non-cooperation, the author says

"They have failed to persuade more than a fractional proportion of the title-holders to surrender their titles, or of lawyers to resign their practice. But on the other hand they have been successful in causing educational dislocation to a considerable degree, and in preventing any member of the Left Wing Nationalist Party from gaining a seat in the new councils. Wherever Mr. Gandhi has made his appearance, there for the moment has the progress of educational work been seriously interrupted. His hold upon the student mentality is great, for they are a class to whom his idealism and frank appeal to the other-regarding emotions prove naturally attractive.

Official institutions, it is admitted, "give no scope for that traditional intimacy between master and pupil, teacher and taught, which India so well understands, and thus could offer no leadership calculated to counteract Mr. Gandhi's immense magnetism."

The author's character sketch of the "two remarkable personalities" of Messrs. Tilak and Gandhi is interesting, specially in view of the admission that "to these outstanding personalities, both of whom identified themselves practically if not explicitly with different aspects of the Nationalist programme, the Moderates had no figure of similar importance to oppose.

As regards Mr. Gandhi, this is what the author says

It has often been remarked that every Indian no matter how Westernised, will ever retain in his heart of hearts a reverence for asceticism. Even educated Indian gentlemen who play a prominent part in public life cherish before them the ideal of worldly renunciation and retirement to the practice of individual austerities. Furthermore the insistence of Mr. Gandhi on the supremacy of soul force in opposition to material might, his advocacy of national fasting as a means of influencing Government, his conviction of the irresistible power of passive resistance, have all three their logical basis in the ancient Indian doctrine of *Dharma*, that is the application of moral pressure to another through physical austerities deliberately endured by oneself. Hence it is that to Indians of all classes Mr. Gandhi, of lowly birth though he be, who stands forth, not only as the perfect ascetic but also as the perfect exponent of Hindu *tradition*, makes an appeal of well nigh irresistible force.

Against the all-dominant tide of western materialism Western might and Western achievement, Mr. Gandhi, with his explicit scorn for all that we call modern civilization, stands before the injured national pride of many of his countrymen like a rock of salvation. He embodies an other-worldliness essentially Indian, a spirit the West does not possess, a plane of detachment to which it cannot hope to aspire. Hence it is that, his beliefs have the influence of semi-divine commands, and even those whose intellects are too keen to be dominated by his sway, can rarely be found to resist the appeal which he makes to their innermost heart.

The change in the official angle of vision

with regard to Mr. Tilak, due to the latter's disapproval of the non-cooperation movement, will appear from the following extract.

"In striking contrast with Mr. Gandhi must be placed the other great figure still occupying the stage of Indian politics during the period under review, the late Mr. Tilak. Mr. Tilak, worthy (one is disposed to enquire since how long has he been so in the official estimate?) representative of a class which had builded empires and overthrown dynasties, belonged to the hereditary intellectual aristocracy of Maharashtra. He stood for Brahmin supremacy over India and for Brahmin control of India's destinies. A ruthless antagonist, a bold and subtle fighter, throughout his lifetime a perpetual thorn in the side of the administration, he retained to the last a unique hold upon the intellectual aristocracy of India. Where Mr. Gandhi appealed to the masses (this is where he came to be more dangerous to the official imagination than Mr. Tilak) to the simple to the uneducated, Mr. Tilak based his strength upon the traditional dominance of the Brahmin aristocracy. During the early part of the period under review a tacit struggle was waged between the ideals and the methods for which each of these leaders stood. As long as Mr. Tilak was alive the success of Mr. Gandhi's appeal to the educated classes long remained in doubt. Mr. Tilak's influence was always sufficient to prevent the spread of the non-cooperation movement among the Deccan Brahmins who from the commencement have been the brain of militant Indian nationalism. But when the hand of death removed him in August 1920, the way was clear for the consolidation of Mr. Gandhi's influence over the whole country.

The electorate which has been newly created under the Reforms scheme, and as to which so many doubts were expressed by reactionary politicians in England, was, according to the author, "quite capable, even at this early stage in its education, of making up its mind upon questions in which it was intimately concerned, and in fact, gave its vote with business like precision to candidates who announced their intention of dealing with local grievances." The author is full of praise for the non-official members of the Councils.

The non-official members of the Legislative Assembly and of the Council of State, who now control an absolute majority over any number of votes which Government can possibly command, have throughout revealed a sense of responsibility, of sobriety and of statesmanship which has surpassed the most sanguine expectations even of those who believe most firmly in India's capacity for responsible government. But if the conduct of the Assembly during the Punjab debate had revealed at once the dignity, good feeling and statesmanship of the non-official members, the attitude of the Lower House towards the Budget exhibited in yet higher degree both its sobriety and business capacity to the lasting credit of Indian statesmen it must be recorded that they faced the necessity imposed upon them by the financial crisis manfully, and with a full sense of their responsibility. It must be plain to any impartial student that they might well have courted and sought popularity among advanced sections of opinion in India by refusing utterly

to participate in the taxation which the executive Government required for carrying on the business of the State. To this temptation the members of the Legislature rose superior.

One wonders if all this panegyric is not due to the extremists' avoidance of the councils as useless shows and if half of it is well deserved, India has a right to expect that military and political charges which absorb the major portion of the revenue, will forthwith be thrown open to discussion in the councils and will be made to depend upon the voting of grants by the legislatures. Moreover India must have already become fit for full parliamentary government if as the author says,

The first session of the reformed Parliament of India has more than justified the faith displayed in the capacity of Indians by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. It has shown that the process of entrusting responsibility to Indian Statesmen calls out in return a rare degree of capacity for discharging the obligations which that responsibility entails and 'the majority of those who have come to the headquarters of Government as elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council have been men who from their intellectual calibre and their moral earnestness would have done credit to any country.

'The shadow of Amritsar,' as the Duke of Connaught has said, "has lengthened over the fair face of India," and the non-cooperators have announced their intention of boycotting the Prince of Wales.

The mere fact that such a proposal could be mooted publicly "rightly says the author, revealed how deeply Indian opinion has been agitated by the unfortunate occurrences which we have had occasion to notice in the course of this review."

We write this on the day the royal visitor has landed in Bombay, and we have ocular demonstration of the completeness of the boycott in the town where we live, and no doubt the same has been the case almost everywhere else in India. Nor is the popular apathy difficult to understand. The Prince will mix intimately only with his white countrymen and countrywomen at social parties, dinners, races, and sports, and will see a few bejewelled Rajas and Nawabs and enjoy their lavish hospitality a few dark skinned Ministers and executive councillors will have the privilege of being granted interviews, but the people at large will have to keep at a safe distance, and perhaps be greeted with a few baton charges into the bargain if they press too close to the royal person. The visit will thus serve to emphasise our political subjection and humiliate our self respect by bringing home to us the fact that we are strangers in our own land, while the hard earned money of the poor taxpayer will be spent like water in idle shows and vain displays.

Coming now to the chapter on Economic Life, we had a repetition of the favorite official formula that agricultural prosperity, and consequently Indian finance, resolves itself into

the art of gambling in rain. No European country could have taken shelter behind a doctrine of *non possumus* in these days of scientific irrigation and artificial manuring and intensive cultivation. The book under review contains a good deal on the activities of the agricultural department. We have mixed in private life with many officials, high and low, of that department and we are deliberately of opinion that it considers its principal business to be touring and report writing, and that the glowing descriptions of its achievements are seldom capable of being translated from paper to practice. There are of course exceptions, especially with regard to crops in which European merchants are interested, but otherwise the department has yet to justify its existence. It has done absolutely nothing, for instance, to devise means for the mitigation of the ravages of the water hyacinth, which has become the most formidable enemy to agriculture in large tracts of Bengal.

'India has a larger area under sugarcane than any other country in the world. In fact, she has nearly half the world's acreage, none the less her normal output is but one fourth of the world's cane sugar supply.'

We know there was a Sugar Commission, but it had no definite proposals to make. We hear of masses of valuable information being collected by this bureau and that, but they do the agriculturalist in his village home little good, though they are sometimes exploited by the foreign capitalists and adventurers.

'If only the central and provincial Departments of Agriculture can be expanded proportionately to the magnitude of the task before them the future prosperity of India may be regarded as assured.'

But mere expansion, which means further expenditure of money on staffing and establishment, will not do. Means must be devised for bringing the practical benefits of improved methods home to the villager, and these methods must be such as to be within the limited resources of the average cultivator. In many places the cultivator has already learnt to look on the agricultural expert as a friend and a guide," says Mr. Rushbrook Williams. This is certainly a fancy picture, so far as Bengal is concerned.

"Since the large majority of Indian cultivators are wholly or partly illiterate the methods of conveying information which are in vogue throughout more advanced countries, such as leaflets, circulars, and lectures cannot be relied upon to produce the desired effect exactly."

Wherever possible ocular demonstrations are resorted to and for this purpose, Government seed and demonstration farms, implement depots and the like are employed. But the most convenient means of assuring the agriculturists that suggested improvement can be carried out by themselves is the employment of small plots in his own field for demonstration purposes. The whole question of demonstration therefore resolves itself into the provision of an adequate and

properly trained and organised upon lines dictated by experience."

We have seen something of these seed depots, and heard more of the demonstration farms, and we have every reason to suspect that if the activities of the department be transferred from these show places to the fields of the cultivators, the so-called improvements will in many cases fail to materialise, except at a cost which is positively prohibitive.

With regard to industries, the book says,

"Hitherto the difficulty has been that without active support on the part of the administration few Indian industries except those based upon some natural monopoly could hope to make headway against the organised competition of Western countries and until the war served to change prevalent ideals as to the function of the State in relation to industry there was a tendency to allow matters to follow their natural economic course. In justice to the Indian administration it must be stated that sometime prior to the war certain attempts to encourage Indian industries by means of pioneer factories and Government subsidies were effectively discouraged from Whitehall (Italics ours.) Fortunately experience gained in the war has effectually demonstrated the necessity of Government playing an active part in the industrial development of India.

Mr Rushbrook Williams repeats the assertion this year that in the economic storm (an euphemism for famine) of 1914-19, "there was a marked and impressive absence of visible signs of distress." We know how much such statements are at variance with facts, and what value to place on them, for we have seen something of the distress that prevailed. Fortunately he does not display similar official heartlessness in dealing with 'the gigantic problem of Indian poverty' and is less cocksure in the following passage than he was last year.

"It is therefore impossible to settle with exactness the problem, which is constantly propounded in the public press, whether the masses of India are becoming poorer under British rule. The evidence to the contrary is apparently very strong, even if it be indirect.

As to the fact of Indian poverty itself, apart from the question of its growing acuteness, there is no want of recognition in this volume. "The ordinary margin of subsistence of the cultivating classes is probably smaller in India than in any other country with an equal claim to civilization," "the average cultivator is poor and helpless to a degree to which Europe can afford little parallel," "the poverty which now hangs like a miasma over so large a part of India"—these are some of the passages which occur here and there in the book.

We admit that labour in India is inclined to be slovenly in its work, and is often untrained and inefficient, and that two or three times the number of men are required per spindle and loom unit as compared with European countries, and that labour prefers long hours with lax

discipline than shorter hours with strict discipline, and is moreover irregular in attendance. It is also true that

"the efficiency of the Indian workman must be raised considerably before he can turn out as good work as his rival overseas."

Part of the Indian labourer's defects, however, must be attributed to the climate, and part also to the social system, as well as his strong family ties, which is not a bad feature in itself.

"But before very much progress can be made in ameliorating the lot of the Indian labourer, some systematic attempt must be made to give him sufficient education to enable him to perceive his own interest more clearly than is the case at present."

It is admitted that

"The strikes throughout the year have been predominantly economic in origin, and in most cases directly caused by the fact that wages have lagged seriously behind prices in their upward course."

But Lord Chelmsford's strong appeal to the capitalists, mostly European, seems to have fallen on deaf ears.

I would earnestly impress upon employers the necessity for sympathetic consideration of the claims of labour. Workers are beginning to demand not merely the right to live in comfort, but a living interest in their work. This is a claim that must be taken seriously and I see no reason why we should not make our new start abreast of the most advanced European countries.

Thirty per cent of the Hindu population belong to the depressed classes, and out of every ten Hindus, three are treated as beyond the pale of decent society. Particularly on the west coast, some of the restrictions that encompass these unfortunates are almost incredible.

The disabilities extend at present to the minutest operations of daily life, and a labourer or small farmer belonging to the depressed classes is continually a loser in buying his ordinary purchases or in disposing of his produce, through his inability to enter a shop or even to pass through many of the streets where the shopkeepers live.

The growing class-consciousness of the depressed castes in India is a feature which is full of hope but if not properly guided it will cause anxiety in the future.

On the whole however, the tendency towards combination, whether for the formulation of grievances or for the initiation of collective bargaining, which has been a noticeable feature of the poorer classes of India during the year under review, is as potent for good in rural areas as it is among the urban proletariat, in which sphere it is better known by the title of trades unionism."

Next we come to the problem of education, as to the need of which the writer grows eloquent, probably because he is conscious that he will have to enter into a hopeless defence of the military expenditure of the Government which leaves so little for the nation building departments of education and sanitation.

It will be realised that the uplift of the Indian people, economic, physical, and moral, really resolves itself into the question of education. Without education in the labourer whether rural or urban, will continue as at present poor and helpless, with little incentive to self help. Without education, hygienic progress among the masses is impossible, and social reforms a vain delusion. India's educational problems, framed as they are upon a Gargantuan scale, must find their solution with proportionately large expenditure to figure hitherto undreamt must be faced courageously, and speedily. For without education, India will be confronted in no long time with that supreme peril of modern states—an uninformed democracy, omnipotent but irresponsible.

Yes, expenditure upon a scale hitherto undreamt must be faced courageously. But it would be nothing short of midsummer madness to suppose that all the mint of money that is required can be squeezed out of the poorest peasantry in the world. The path of true courage lies in reducing the bloated military expenditure to reasonable proportions, so as to find the money necessary for the educational and sanitary needs of the people. The people must live to be defended, and progress, not the mere maintenance of order, must be accepted as the fundamental policy of every Government calling itself civilized. But all that the author has to say about the popular demand for a larger share of the Government revenue to be spent on education is "it is not easy to see how the figure can be substantially increased." All his courage fails when the extravagant expenditure on defence and the maintenance of law and order is called into question, and he becomes the most commonplace of official apologists.

The only method by which the ideal of nationhood can spread among her [India's] vast population is through a genuine system of national education which shall enlist in the work of nation building the generous emotions of Indian youth. At present the schools have no spiritual life which touches a boy's innermost being, and contain nothing which may satisfy his innermost desires. It is of the first importance that the structure of secondary education should be sound and well balanced. Unless this is the case in India the major portion even of those boys who pass through the full secondary course must necessarily enter the world with no training for citizenship, with uninformed ideals and with no aspirations save those connected with personal gratification.

All this is very good to hear, but the fact remains that even prize books and magazines are censored by the Educational Department and the best way to enlist the generous emotions of Indian youth in the work of nation building has been discovered to lie in the proscription of magazines like the *Probation* and the *Modern Review*, and in some cases, prohibiting them from attending meetings addressed by patriotic leaders respected throughout the country and from showing honour to them.

We regret to have to confess from our personal experience, that one obstacle to female educa-

tion lies in "the peculiar dangers and difficulties" which "surround young women who set out to teach in lonely village schools." "The fact has to be faced," the Calcutta University Commission reported, "that until men learn the rudiments of respect and chivalry towards women who are not living in zenana, anything like a service of women teachers will be impossible."

Mr. Rushbrook Williams wants to "rehabilitate the police in the eyes of the educated public in India," but he considers this to be difficult owing to "the tense atmosphere of excitements which has pervaded the politically-minded classes in India."

'Public opinion still tends to look upon the policeman as the symbol of oppression and restraint.'

To those who like us have seen the doings of the Gurkha military police with their own eyes—and the editor of this magazine knows that the writer of these lines is not a political agitator nor in sympathy with extremist ideals, but a sober man occupying responsible position in society—public opinion in this matter is thoroughly justified, and not in the least degree exaggerated. The fact is, that the policeman is here to enforce ideals which are diametrically at variance with the ideals of a people on the way to democratic self government, and hence the inevitable conflict between the people and the police.

It is difficult to see how the policeman could ever become in India, what he has for so long been in England the friend and servant of the individual citizen.

In India, the policeman is literally the servant of the European or Eurasian passerby, but the master of his own countrymen who may happen to have dealings with him. This is known to the executive authorities, and what is more, meets with their secret approval, whatever may be said in Government reports to the contrary. It is almost no exaggeration to say that every Indian gentleman at one time or other in his life, has had occasion to feel this.

The police acted with great restraint, but were ultimately compelled to fire inflicting a few casualties.

This description exactly sums up the official attitude in regard to firing by the police on an unarmed and usually inoffensive mob and by way of justification Mr. Rushbrook Williams draws upon his imagination to show that Indian mobs are frequently armed with heavy bludgeons which render a baton charge ineffective for the purpose of dispersing them, though they are quite effective in European countries, where the people are more virile, less law-abiding and more pugnacious, besides possessing arms and other lethal weapons. With regard to the outbreak of *Goondasism* in Calcutta, the author says:

Public opinion being aroused it was possible for the police to deal with the outbreak in a firm and thoroughgoing manner.

This should read thus: 'Public opinion being aroused, it was not possible for the police to treat the matter with the indifference habitual to them in all cases unconnected with politics'

Referring to the decline of anarchy, the author says

"The spirit of the time has indeed changed greatly and young idealists similar to those who all too often represented the flower of youthful patriotism in Bengal can now find an outlet for their energies which is more profitable at once for India and for themselves than the pursuit of anarchical crime

The Jail Committee was appointed in 1919 to investigate the whole question of prison administration and toured round the world and their recommendations are said to be likely to have far reaching effects. The progressive abandonment of the Penal Settlement in the Andamans has been decided upon but it does not appear from the volume under review that anything has been done to bring the prison regulations with respect to political offenders in harmony with those of other civilized countries. They are likely to form as things are at present, an important and numerically large portion of the jail population for sometime to come and they should always be treated as first class misdemeanants and nothing should be done to humiliate them in the eyes of others

The publication of the Archaeological Reports of Southern India as well as books like those of Dr Radhakumud Mookerji and others left no excuse for the false history so long circulated by official agencies about the prevalence or otherwise of self governing institutions in pre British India and we are glad to find that Mr Rushbrook Williams has not fallen into the usual official errors in this respect, for he says

"Historically speaking the institutions of local self government in their present form are a creation of the British rule but there is no doubt that for centuries prior to the foundation of that rule indigenous institutions framed for ends not dissimilar both existed and worked. During the anarchy of the 18th century they were in a large measure destroyed

by the prevailing system of military despotism and in the period of recreation for which the 19th century stood, the submerged foundations were not utilised to the best possible advantage by British administrators. Hence it is that the existing institutions of local self government are to a considerable degree alien from the spirit of the people and although they are striking their roots more deeply year by year, it is unfair to expect very rapid progress. Moreover for the last 25 years they have been administered very largely by highly competent official agency, able and willing to relieve the non official members of such small responsibilities as were actually allotted to them. In consequence the institutions of local self-government in India have in large measure failed to enlist the services of that class of public-spirited men, conscious of their ability to wield power when it is entrusted to them, upon which the system depends so largely for its success in England and America. Up to the present it is not unfair to say municipalities and district boards have proved themselves apathetic because the powers entrusted to them have been as a rule insignificant"

Elsewhere it is truly said, "financial impotence goes far to explain the apathy shown by members' of the District Boards

We shall close our review with the following extract about village self government

"In certain parts of India, village self government has now attained a considerable degree of development with the result that what may be called the civic consciousness of the population has been greatly increased. In other parts of India such as in Bengal, village self government has been backward"

From what we know on this subject, we may say that the backwardness is partly due to the selection of the wrong men, to the natural reluctance of the most respectable element in the villages to establish too close a relation with the police whose reputation in village society is none of the best and also to the fact that in political matters the President of the village Panchayet is expected to play the part of a spy and go against popular opinion and court social opprobrium. Village self government, like self government in urban areas, must be absolutely unfettered and voluntary to be thoroughly successful

POLITICS

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### A Plea for English Novels.

In the November *Stri Dharma* Helen Veale says that

Women have always been acknowledged to be in a majority among readers of novels, which therefore are written it would seem, with an

eye to their approbation, even by male novelists, so it would seem that the novel is essentially feminine and answered a feminine need. What is that need? It was the need of emotional expression and a widening of sympathy. Women in their seclusion longed to contact human joys and sorrows, to

in all its aspects to identify themselves with all that touches humanity in all ages and regions. Those whose lives were narrow and parochial—perhaps miserable from domestic tyranny—could escape on the wings of fancy into a fuller, richer life, while those whose lives were already comparatively full and rich could be given a peep into the lives of another class, and made to sympathise with privations they had not themselves felt.

In her opinion,

in England the great age of novel writing has passed, for though more novels are produced than ever before, they are now as factory-made articles compared with real handicraft, produced for an undiscriminating and half-educated public, turned out by the gross by popular novelists who write for pay rather than for the joy of self-expression.

Therefore, her

advice to the student of literature—especially woman, is to start with the older novels, provided only that the language is not too difficult, too old-fashioned or dialectical, as are some of Sir Walter Scott's to dream and agonise with Magie Tulliver in "The Mill on the Floss," taste the pathos and humour of country life in "Cranford" and "Wives and Daughters," see the human side of economic and industrial problems in "North and South" and Mary Barton, to live in the mighty past and thrill with heroic souls in "Hypatia," "Romola" or "Westward Ho," to burn with indignation against social injustices with Dickens in practically all his novels, and to laugh with Thackeray at the puppet show of human life.

In answer to the objection that all these purposes may be better served by reading biographies, she writes

That I emphatically deny, and for two main reasons. A biography is to a novel what a photograph is to a picture: it is not essentially a work of art because its merit lies in faithfulness to facts, and therefore in a very real sense it is less true to life, because actually less living than the novel, which has in it the life of its creator. Secondly a biography is the study of a subject regarded from outside and so lacking the magnetic touch of the personality of the writer. It is of the head, not of the heart, for few indeed are the biographers who can identify themselves entirely with the subject of their study. An autobiography is free from these defects, and is fully as interesting as a novel, but even these fail somewhat as works of art, because they are necessarily unfinished being written within the life time of the author.

She proceeds—

Hence I plead for the right use of English novels, as a means of enlarging our sympathies

and coming in touch with great hearts and minds, and urge that we seek out the company of the best not consorting with a Rhoda Broughton, Ldna Lyall, Mrs Henry Wood, Rita, etc., or most of all, to an Indian may I say, with an ubiquitous Reynolds, when we can share the best thoughts and feelings of men and women of an altogether larger build, whose work brought little recompense to themselves, but enriched the world.

She tells her readers not to be over-much frightened of the bogey that novel-reading will make us discontented with our daily lives.

If we fail to exercise self-restraint every good and pleasant thing may be turned to evil use, but that does not make it evil, rather does it prove our folly. Our reading ought to make us discontented with our own meanness and smallness in daily life, by showing us in living types how small lives may be nobly lived. By looking at the great world through a true artist's eyes we learn to discern true beauty of character to be found among poor and rich, in home life perhaps shining pre-eminently, despite limitations and if every girl in her day-dreams is apt to make herself the heroine of her own novel who shall blame her or say she does ill provided only she fashions herself in her thought after the best models?

### The Function of Culture

Mr James H Cousins's article on "The Function of Culture" in the November *Shama'a* is based, as it were, on the text "The word culture comes from a Latin original (*colere*) which means two things—to till and to worship." The sentence is his. He observes

Whether or not we regard tillage as the first occupation of humanity in time, it is certainly first in importance. All economic thought leads back to the land as the only source of real wealth. The poet laureate of the Chola dynasty of Southern India in the eighth century put the matter into a poem in which he declared that power, luxury, labour, religion, even the deities themselves are supported by the agriculturist.

The hand that holds the spear of power is supported by the hand that holds the plough.

The hand that wears jewels in luxury and ease is supported by the hand that holds the plough.

The hand of him whose fate is to toil against poverty is supported by the hand that holds the plough.

The hand that makes offerings to the Gods is supported by the hand that holds the plough.



The hands of the Gods that control the world are supported by the hand that holds the plough

Here we have culture at its lowest point on the human side, the culture of nature for the purpose of satisfying the physical needs of humanity

The bulk of civilised humanity, while nominally cultured, have not yet passed beyond the purely tillage aspect of culture. They have developed their resources, sharpened their wits, blunted their sensibility to the needs of others, boasted of wealth with poverty in their hearts—but have kept the spirit of worship of devotion to a higher Power a matter of one day in seven and of a place apart from life. The second cause of such anomalies in so-called cultured life is that, notwithstanding generations of production of wonderful objects of culture in the arts, the bulk of the so-called cultured nations have not yet risen above the domination of low necessity. Here and there are found a few forerunners of the true cultured future, but the masses of the nations, and their leaders will, at the sign of fear, at some threat to their material possessions turn their backs on their profession of faith and their boast of culture and take to that last ugly negation of all that culture stands for—modern warfare. A nation will commit the tragic contradiction of killing a man in punishment for his killing of a man accounting murder the most serious crime, but it will march with bands playing and the blessing of its religious leaders to wholesale murder. But these things will pass. The cultural urge will carry us on to a time when the gravitation of the spirit will overtake and dominate that of the flesh. We take legitimate pride in the arts and artists of humanity when we regard them as forerunners of future achievement. At present they are more of a rebuke, since not yet despite the glories of architecture and sculpture and painting have we succeeded in making the face of common life fair to look upon, not yet despite the achievements of music and poetry has life become rhythmical and harmonious.

Culture without worship is incomplete

But if culture without worship is incomplete, worship without culture is no less incomplete, is soft, vaporous, fanatical, vulgar, cruel. Each needs the other for its fulfilment, and educationists with their eyes turned towards a rational future for humanity must see that culture is given its essentially double interpretation—*colere, to till, to worship*

### The Cult of the Superlative.

In the same number of *Shama's L. S.* Stebbing writes thus on the two aspects of 'The Cult of the Superlative':

Admiration of what is beautiful and great has in it nothing that is little-minded or selfish,

since it does not require possession of anything it is not exclusive, hence erects no barriers. It is clear, however, that the cult of the superlative is bound to end in sheer egotism, for the superlative as such is limited to one; in comparison with others. Just as grammatically the superlative has an *absolute* sense, so logically and ethically it has the sense of completed attainment, that beyond which we cannot go. Thus the superlative as such (*i.e.*, the superlative of anything!) comes very easily to appear a worthy aim for man.

But in its comparative sense—the sense in which alone anyone could desire to be "the most richly-dressed woman in the world"—the attainment of the superlative is incompatible with an ideal world. To put it in another way—What kind of Heaven could satisfy those who worship in the temple of the superlative? It must at least be a Heaven from which equality is banished.

### Liberty for Women.

Writing in the *March Hind Mahila* on "Hindu Law Reform" Mr T. V. Shesha-giri Ayer asserts

That misused and unfortunate saying, 'स्वतन्त्रता' 'Women ought to have no *Swatantrya* (liberty)' should have no place in the laws of a civilised and self-respecting community. It is to remove this absurd formula that the energies of my sisters ought to be directed. It is humiliating to women, it is disgraceful for man. It makes us look very small as a nation. It must retard our growth and development. It is a stigma upon the impertinence of men, and is a perpetual reminder to women that in the past they were insulted and degraded. Man and woman should combine, to erase from our law books all principles founded upon this ancient rule.

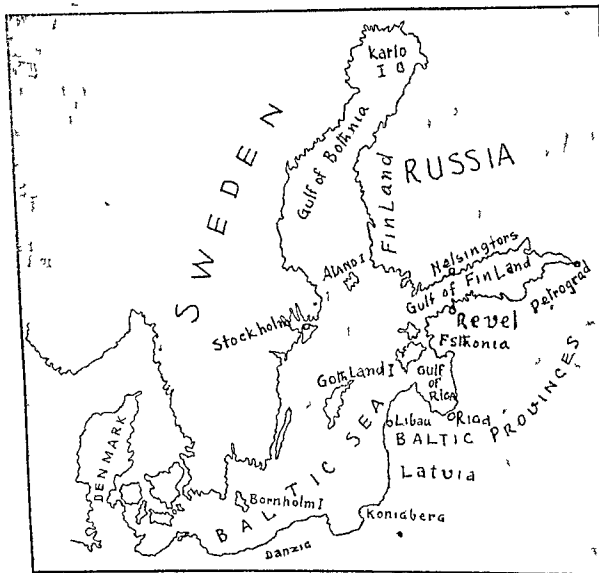
In every country the foundations of progressive existence are laid upon equal laws for all and equal opportunities for all. If my sisters base their propaganda work on their claim for the removal of this disability, I can see nothing that can prevent the attainment of their full rights.

### The University of Strasbourg.

Dr D. N. Mallik contributes to the November *Calcutta Review Supplement* an article on the University of Strasbourg, in which he pays that institution the following compliment

UNIVERSITY OF STRASBOURG

point of view, the I



MAP OF THE BALTIC SEA

[To Explain Miss Alice Brads Art cle The Baltic Sea A British Lake page 704 ]

of Strasbourg presents features that are unique among the modern universities of the world. It had been founded before 1870 when the Treaty of Paris concluded at the termination of the Franco-Prussian war transferred Alsace-Lorraine and with it the University of Strasbourg to the Germans. It was a very small and insignificant centre of learning at that time. The Germans however with their accustomed zeal for university education based on a genuine appreciation of the benefits that accrue from it to the nation at large proceeded to rebuild the University on a grand scale and made it a real centre of German *Kultur* (in the best sense) in the newly ceded territories.

When therefore Alsace-Lorraine came back to the French and with it the University of Strasbourg the latter had literally a firm foundation to work upon.

Remembering that Strasbourg was only a provincial town of comparatively small importance in the German empire one cannot help admiring the zeal and earnestness with which the German people had proceeded to build up the University. Nothing like it exists anywhere in the British Isles as regards buildings and equipment.

He continues

The University is well worth a visit, and

much as the arrangements made are on a line with the ideal of German thoroughness, the French nation having evidently made up its mind—in spite of the prevailing financial stringency, to utilise to the utmost the grand buildings of which they have come into possession. In some cases as in those of Zoology and Geology, the equipments are complete, the museums being rich and up to date, while in the case of some others, one is surprised to find the equipments to be of a most meagre description. Especially is this the case in the case of Physics, an imposing building which is meant to be devoted to Physics seems to have been left practically without any laboratory equipment whatever, while the lecture theatre, a massive structure which must have cost a great deal, has nothing like the accommodation that its costs warranted. A considerable portion of the building, moreover, had been devoted to the previous (German) Director's private use.

On the whole, however, the equipments left by the Germans are of an expensive order.

The most remarkable feature of the present university is the low fees that are being charged, in spite of depreciated currency. The 'entrance' fee is only 20 francs a year, the annual Library fee 10 francs, while the examination fee for the highest degree (doctor's) is only 100 francs (about £2).

One of the most interesting institutions of the University is the committee appointed to look after foreign students (Comité de Patronage des Etudiants étrangers). This Committee supplies all necessary informations to foreign students desirous of joining the University helps them in all their difficulties and finds lodgings etc. for them, according to their means (introducing them to families which are ready to accommodate them). It also looks after them in their illness and by constant attention makes them feel at home in a strange land. It is obvious that every University which admits foreign students should possess such an organisation.

As to teaching facilities and courses, it is unnecessary to go into details. Suffice it to say that the programme of work attempted is more extensive and the professorial and the teaching staff employed is more numerous than anywhere in the United Kingdom.

### The League of Nations.

*The Young Men of India* (November) contains the following clear exposition of the idea underlying the League of Nations by Principal Arthur Davies:

In every well-ordered modern state order is kept and justice ensured for all by its agencies. In the first place, there is a body whose function is to make and change the law, in the second

a court whose function is to apply the law to each individual case, in the third, a Government whose function is to enforce the law. In early societies it was far different. There was no authority that could make laws, and such Government as existed was far too weak to enforce laws. An individual who was wronged or thought himself wronged would perhaps try to persuade the wrong-doer to amend his ways and make compensation. Possibly the moral views of the wrong-doer, strengthened by that of the community in which he lived, would suffice. There was a large common stock of custom and tradition, from which the individual would rarely desire or venture to depart. But if custom gave no guide or the wrong-doer refused to obey its dictates, the only remedy left to the wronged was to obtain such justice as he could by the force of his own right arm.

There is a very striking analogy that has often been remarked on between the condition of the Society of Nations to-day and that of the primitive society described above. For the Society of Nations we have a large body of customs and conventions that has gradually acquired sufficient respect to entitle to be called law—International Law. It is not, indeed, generally realised how large and potent the body of International Law in fact is. In nine cases out of ten its dictates are clear and are obeyed by all nations. It is the unfortunate tenth case that causes the scandal and makes men talk of the failure and importance of International Law. A dispute arises where the Law speaks with an uncertain voice, or where, though to impartial minds its dictates are clear, the passion or selfish ambition or blind prejudice of some or all of the nations concerned tempts them to ignore or evade its commands. There is or rather in the past has been, no tribunal to decide where justice lies no executive to enforce the law even if it could be ascertained. The only ultimate remedy, therefore for the disputants is the very unsatisfactory arbitration of the sword.

In his opinion,

The object of the League of Nations is to make International Justice dependent no longer on War, but on Reason and Law, broadly speaking, the direction in which it seems to be moving is that which the analogy between the community of nations and the primitive community of individuals would suggest.

The reader is told:

The first draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations was published in February, 1919, and after much criticism it was largely amended and in a revised form unanimously accepted by the Allied Powers at Paris on the 8th April, 1919. Later it formed the first section in the Treaties of Peace made with Germany and Austria. When it was published in England the Foreign Office issued along with the text a

commentary, from which I venture to take an extract illustrative of the spirit of the covenant.

The document is not the Constitution of a super state but, as its title explains, a solemn engagement between sovereign states, which consent to limit their complete freedom of action on certain points for the greater good of themselves and the world at large. Recognising that one generation cannot hope to bind its successors by written words, the Commission has worked throughout on the assumption that the League must continue to depend on the free consent in the last resort, of its component states, this assumption is evident in nearly every article of the Covenant, of which the ultimate and most effective sanction must be the public opinion of the civilized world. If the nations of the future are in the main selfish, grasping and warlike, no instrument or machinery will restrain them. It is only possible to establish an organisation which may make peaceful co operation easy and hence customary, and to trust in the influence of custom to mould opinion.

But while acceptance of the political facts of the present has been one of the principles on which the Commission has worked it has sought to create a framework which should make possible and encourage an indefinite development in accordance with the ideas of the future.

He thinks the future is bright with hope, but the way is long and the pitfalls and obstacles are many.

Perhaps the most obvious immediate weakness and danger of the League is that it is not yet a League of all nations.

Another of the greatest dangers to the League is the exuberance of the newer Nationalism. The idea of Nationalism—the idea that is that the political unit of the State shall be identical with that of the Nation—hardly dates back more than a century. We are all agreed now that the idea is a good one. Perhaps the most important victory won in the War was that of self-determination. The Russian, the Austrian, the Turkish Empires have all crumbled to the dust, and with them the idea that one powerful people should have the right to hold in permanent subjection a less powerful. Each nation must be free to develop its own life in accordance with its own national character and aspiration. The idea is new, and its limitations and conditions are not at present clearly recognised—especially perhaps by the young nations. I need only instance the recent activities of Poland and Greece. The small nation owes the possibility of its continued existence to the new sense of law that is embodied in such schemes as the League of Nations, and yet to satisfy their legitimate or otherwise I do not know—or some of them—are only too apt

to appeal to the bad old method of violence and war.

Other difficulties might be mentioned. The remedy for them all is the strengthening of the spirit of Internationalism.

### Internationalism and the Spirit of India.

The November Young Men of India contains the following description of the spirit of India by Mr K T Paul.

For many centuries India stood for two great ideals. Social Solidarity and the transcending Unity of Man. The West came to it with ideals sharply complementary to these—the Value of the Individual and National Freedom. The situation to-day is a welter for the adjustment of these apparently conflicting ideals.

The social solidarity evolved by India has been at certain points secured with serious cost to the individual. On the other side, the West has in certain directions gone to excesses of individualism and unfettered competition. The process now happening—a most painful process—is to secure individual freedom with undiminished individual responsibility, and to conserve social solidarity without surrender of social justice.

So also in the matter of Nationalism. It is to the glory of India that she was almost unique among ancient communities to maintain an open door. For near two thousand years before the advent of the Aryans, there was continuous Dravidian culture in many parts of India, more especially in the south. Scientific exploration is every day bringing to light the fact that Dravidian life was linked up in important ways with almost all the countries across the Indian Ocean with Ceylon, with Burma, with Malaya, with the Archipelago, especially Sumatra with Siam and in a western direction with Arabia and Palestine with Egypt, and with Rome itself.

It is clear that Rome was in political and commercial relationship with the Pandian and Chola Kingdoms, and this connection was so extensive and intimate that Vincent Smith sees evidence for at least two colonies of Romans in the Tamil country in the first century of our era.

Aryan culture continued the same tradition of hospitality. The doors were always open. The *dharma* of the King definitely included duties to the stranger in the land. The principle of private hospitality, so characteristic of India, was projected in proportion on the larger canvass of the State.

Wars there always were, due as anywhere in the world to dynastic ambitions and rulers' whims. But no part of India ever went into a

shell, suspiciously excluding aliens as did so many other races in the East, and also a few in the West, in ancient, medieval and even up to modern times

Mr Paul answers the possible objection that this was only seeming hospitality, but in reality only unthinking inertia, and that even if it were a conscious policy, it was because of lack of organisation and power to keep aliens out by force Says he —

That it was not unthinking inertia will be amply evident when the *dharma* in actual practice, as revealed in the *Mahabharata* and in authentic historical data as to inter state relationships is studied side by side with the *Arthashastra*'s most clever analysis of State-craft studying it as a game of chess As for effective political force there have been in every age powerful States covering larger or smaller parts of India We recall Harshavardhana the Vikramadityas the Mauryas the Brahmins Nabobs, the Vijayanagara Rajas the Cholas the Moguls the Maharattas Nowhere in their histories do we find any other principle applied than that of hospitality to aliens For trade learning pilgrimage colonisation crafts agriculture the doors were everywhere open open not only to Indians or Asiatics but to all comers from the Levant and Europe as well There is the second century Greek drama discovered on the banks of the Nile which embodies as an interlude a conversation in Kanarese between an Indian prince and his followers A contemporary historian complains of the luxury of the Roman matron clad in priceless Indian muslins and pearls jointly stopping her ivory palanquin to accost and consult a passing Brahmin astrologer in the streets of the imperial capital! Just about that time the Scythian tribes who had already got stamped with Aryan culture in the Panjab were moving to the hilly plateaus of Maharashtra finding open hospitality there to colonise and mingle with the aryanised Dravidian inhabitants in occupation The fact is undeniable that friendliness and trust hospitality and fellowship not suspicion and exclusiveness were the effective principles of life for the Indian peoples and States

The writer holds that "the essential Unity of Man in our realisation of God" is "the distinctive feature of our culture," and this 'has been challenged by the principle of 'national independence' by the West"

The challenge is in very clear terms It is an ultimatum Unless you secure 'national freedom' you are doomed to lose your Indian identity

Says he

The question to ask is, Should the nationalism that we develop necessarily supersede the spirit of our fathers which took the Unity of Man as a working principle for life in personal and social and also in State affairs? Should the interests of one's nation material and otherwise, be promoted without any consideration for other nations? Is a blind adoration of one's nation whether right or wrong, essential to true patriotism? To independent, self-respecting powerful nationhood are aggressive militarism and inconsiderate commercialism necessary? Is it indispensable that industrialism should push aside without reference to the human rights of labour?

His answers are in the negative

## Negro Progress

We are indebted to an article in *The Student Movement* as reproduced in the November *Young Men of India*, for the following particulars regarding Negro progress culled from it —

Centuries of silent endurance and submission to foreign authority have not turned the African into a mere machine contact with European life has proved to be an educative force which has transformed primitive ideas of society, developed the African's intelligence, and has substantiated his claims to the rights of human personality

Direct and indirect education, in school or through daily contact with Europeans, has stirred his imagination to dream of a great future for his race and a wider federation of the African's interests than the bonds of tribal society implied

After the Armistice was signed, a Native National Congress was convened at Accra, in West Africa, the delegates professed to represent native opinion in all the British Colonies and Protectorates of the West Coast, whether the Congress was truly representative or not, its significance is not materially affected

In East and Central Africa the same development confronts us In Uganda the formation of a young Baganda Association marks the growth of organization amongst the progressive generations

Africans are realizing the disabilities of colour the old generalizations will not satisfy them, and they are asking questions about their future which will have to be answered At present they have not got beyond the stage of realization and enquiry, much that is crude and extravagant may appear in their protests, but their unrest is animated by a vital principle. It is too early to predict the outcome of these

new ideas for no constructive policy of emigration has been generally adopted.

The slave trade has left its legacy of problems for America to solve there are 10 000 000 people of negro blood in the United States whose close association with white folk, in this and past generations has carried them along the road of development far in advance of their African brethren.

A study of American Negro movements reveals three schools of thought.

The grandest figure in the history of negro progress is undoubtedly Booker Washington. He was a slave boy who rose to be the leader of a great movement of negro education. He recognized that progress would only be achieved by co-operation and mutual goodwill. He preached a doctrine of service, sacrifice and the forgetting of past wrongs. He freely admitted the shortcomings of his own people, whom he passionately loved, and he advocated a doctrine of practical education and industrial training as the surest road to that equality of opportunity and respect which the black race claims.

His policy did not always receive unanimous approval, there were negroes who regarded it as servile and felt that it played into the hands of the ruling race. They saw a short cut to the realization of their claims through political channels, and protested that their rights as men did not depend upon their ability to make full economic use of any opportunity offered them.

Their leader and silver-tongued protagonist is the negro poet, du Bois. His books enthral the reader with their vivid imagery and poignancy of expression, whilst his latest publication is a startling epitome of race hatred.

This group is endeavouring to organize a powerful representation of negro interests throughout the world. It is responsible for the second Pan African Congress, to be held this autumn, with three successive sessions in London, Brussels and Paris.

The third group materialised with dramatic suddenness at a conference in New York last year. It represents an extremist section of negro opinion. Its leader, Marcus Garvey, appears to be a demagogue with a gift for expressing the tumultuous feelings of the incoherent masses of negro life. His manifestoes are full of bombastic phrases and extravagant proposals.

He may not exert a very permanent effect upon negro policy, but his programme is remarkable in that it directs the attention of the American negro back to the homeland. The formation of a negro empire in Africa is his avowed intention.

## Relics of Ancient Hindu Culture in Java

J. Huidekoper contributes to the November *Tomorrow* the first instalment of an article on "Relics of Ancient Hindu Culture in Java," which begins thus.

Between India and Java there is a very old connection—so old in fact, that its beginning is lost in the mists of time.

The sources of our knowledge of this connection are fourfold—legends and traditions, the presence of Hindus in the island now, many being ruling princes and the testimony of inscriptions and architectural ruins. Of this latter evidence more and more is forthcoming, as the interest in antiquities quickens and more investigations are made among the rich treasures of the past which are to be found, often covered with jungle growth in the interior of Java. Yet another source of information about the Hindu period of Java's history is to be found in the accounts given by foreigners. Chinese pilgrims such as I-t'ien wrote an account of their journeys. Chinese officials recorded as a matter of ordinary routine, many transactions between Java and China which give descriptions of the country and its customs and rulers. Certain Arab writers also give valuable glimpses into this period.

Some Indian research scholars should learn Dutch and Javanese and go to Java and Bali for purposes of research.

## Opposition to the Russian Revolution

Mr. Upton Sinclair's second article on "Aristocracy and Democracy," in the November *Hindustan Review* attempts to explain why the Russian Revolution has been sought to be crushed. He writes:

The political revolution was accomplished, the Czar was imprisoned and the Douma reigned supreme. Middle class liberalism throughout the world gave its blessings to this revolution and hastened to welcome a new political democracy to the society of nations. But then occurred what to orthodox democratic opinion has been the most terrifying spectacle in human history. The Russian people had been driven too far towards starvation and despair, the masses had been too embittered and they rose again overthrowing not only their Czar and their grand dukes, but their capitalists and land owners. For the first time in human history the social revolution established itself. Workers were in control of a great state and ever since then we have seen exactly what we saw

in Europe from 1789 onward when the first political republic was established and all the monarchies and empires of the world banded themselves together to stamp it out. We have witnessed a campaign of war blockade intrigue and propaganda against the Soviet government of Russia, all pretending to be carried on in the name of the Russian people and for the purpose of saving them from suffering—but all obviously based upon one consideration and one alone, the fear that an effort at industrial self-government might possibly prove to be a success.

As I write this campaign has continued for nearly four years and it would seem that history is going to repeat itself. The Russian people have been forced to meet internal Civil War and outside invasion and to do that they have needed a military system. Militarism is, of course, destructive of social progress so the Soviet government becomes more and more a bureaucracy and less and less the free democracy which it aspired to be. That happened to France after the revolution and for precisely the same reason. So it may be that we shall have a Napoleon in Russia and a long period of reaction a generation or two of struggle to educate mankind to the idea of self-government by the workers.

That is how mankind blunders and gropes its way towards new social forms. Whatever the price may be we have to pay it. But this much is certain just as the French Revolution sent a thrill around the world and planted in the hearts of the common people the wonderful dream of freedom from kings and ruling classes just so the Russian revolution has brought to the wage slaves the dream of freedom from masters and landlords. Every where in capitalist society this ferment is working and in one country after another we see the first pangs of the new birth. Never again will it be possible for the political revolution to occur in any country without efforts at industrial revolution being made. And so we see the terrified capitalists and landlords who once found democracy free speech, and equality before the law useful formulas to break down the power of kings and aristocrats now repudiating their old time beliefs and striving frantically by every method of propaganda fraud and force to deprive the people of their political rights. We see in our own land the free [U.S.A.] Government refusing to reprint the Declaration of Independence during the war, and refusing to allow others to reprint the Sermon on the Mount.

### The Task Before Indian Princes

In an article on the above subject in *The Hindustan Review*, Mr C. V. Zutshi,

a Kashmiri Pandit, tells the Indian Princes that they ought to attend to the following things—

(1) Undue favouritism should have no place in their hearts no whims but reasons must be their guidance. (2) They should not interfere too much directly with the works of the heads of departments. (3) They should arrange and provide in such a way that the officers and the people meet together on terms of equality on certain occasions in the year. This would create mutual respect and love. (4) They should establish efficient presses in their states through which people may ventilate their grievances or express their true opinions. A king seeking his own welfare shall always tolerate the calumnious remarks made by suitors, defendants, infants, old men and sick folk regarding himself. He, who hears all reports (adverse criticism) made by the aggrieved is glorified in heaven. He who out of pride of wealth cannot tolerate such criticisms goes to hell. (Manu). (5) The educational department should be renovated from top to bottom. High salaried men more efficient than raw school boys and graduates may be employed as teachers and professors. (6) There should be general rise in the salaries of the state servants throughout the states. (7) Indigenous industries should be encouraged and facilities afforded for the increase of commerce and trade.

### Evils of Imperial Preference.

According to Mr V. Satyanarayana (*Indian Review* October),

The chief principle of Imperial Preference is to give preference to imports from countries within the Empire—the preference being shown in imposing lower duties on imports from countries within the Empire and higher duties on those from outside the Empire.

The evils of the scheme of imperial preference are

Economically the new organisation is inimical to the industrial development of India. It is an established fact that it is English competition that is responsible for the extinction of Indian manufactures.

Two-thirds of the total imports are from the United Kingdom. At the present day Rs. 60 crores worth of cotton piecegoods alone are imported from Lancashire and Manchester. If we want to develop our own industries, we have to shut out English competition by erecting a strong tariff wall. That is why our Indian publicists are fighting for a policy of protection for India. Under these circumstances, if India is to be included under the scheme of Imperial Preference, imports from England are to be admitted into India at a lower duty than before.

The duty on English imports is already too low to give any sort of protection to infant industries in India. The duty on English cotton goods is only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent till 1917-18 during which year alone it was raised to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Any further reduction would still further stimulate English imports and strengthen English competition. To adopt the new scheme is to bring further disaster upon home industries which are already staggering under the blows of English competition.

A second evil of the scheme is that it inflicts serious damages upon Indian export trade, as its exports are merely raw materials and has to sell the bulk of her exports outside the Empire. England takes only 25 per cent of her exports.

Under the preferential system duties on exports to countries outside the Empire are to be enhanced. Any such increase will raise the prices of those goods in those countries and make them dearer. This increase will have the further ruinous effect of contracting the market for and diminishing the volume of Indian exports. Thus the scheme certainly injures the Indian export trade and brings a direct loss to the Indian producer.

A third evil of the preferential scheme touches the Indian consumer. Under the new tariff scheme goods as are got from outside the Empire are made dearer as duty on these goods has to be raised. Such goods cannot be supplied by the United Kingdom, as India takes from these countries only such goods as cannot be supplied by Great Britain. Under such a state of things the Indian consumer suffers greatly.

A fourth and a greater evil is that the preferential scheme involves India in a series of commercial wars. Higher duties are levied on goods entering India from outside the Empire. These countries in their turn level their counter attacks upon India. India therefore, has to face many retaliative measures and has to struggle through many trade wars. Lord Curzon deprecates and rejects the scheme on this ground.

But the most serious evil from the Imperial scheme lies on the financial side. By adopting the new policy India has to lose much of her customs revenue. Any lowering of the customs duty brings a direct loss in the customs revenue. This loss cannot be made up by raising the duty on imports from other countries as more than 66 per cent of the total imports come from Great Britain and only 20 per cent from outside.

### Continuation Schools.

Rev. P. G. Bridge writes in the October *Indian Review*.

It is a truism to say that education and life are co-extensive. Advancing in years should

bring in its trail a corresponding growth in enlightenment. Plato, in his 'Republic', outlining the system of education emphasises the fact that education must cover the whole of the individual's life.

Government are proposing to spend considerable sums of money for the advancement of primary education, but let us bear in mind the harm resulting from the neglect of immature minds who have just got a smattering of learning during a brief spell at the schools. Are we going to remain silent spectators of the degradation to which machinery reduces thousands of our fellow citizens? Far from us to condemn the use of machinery in industries but we strongly advocate for a complementary system of education which will counteract the effect of machinery.

We feel that sufficient stress is not laid on the development of continuation schools. We are sadly neglecting this most important side of our civic life. In some places night schools are run in connection with workshops for the purpose of imparting to keen and intelligent youths technical training. The need of supplementing merely practical training with some theoretical and scientific information is easily grasped by the heads of the railways and managers of industries. And why should we be more remiss in providing opportunities for the continuation of liberal instruction?

### Problems of Factory Labour.

In the same periodical Dr. Rajani Kanta Das tells the reader —

Just what ought to be the proper length of the working day in a factory cannot be accurately ascertained. The only criterion that can be laid down is this, that the work of an individual should be so distributed that he should be the best possible producer for the longest period of time, that is, for life; or in other words, that he should not put forth more energy in any one day than can be restored by ordinary food and rest. If shorter hours lead to the acquirement of efficiency through education and training and to a pleasant state of mind through recreation and amusement, they are to be preferred to longer hours.

Not less important is the fact that men are not only producers and consumers of wealth, but that they have other needs as well. People must have time and opportunity for the performance of social duties, the exercise of political rights and the attainment of intellectual and spiritual aspiration.

T) aim of all economic activities  
is immediate wants of mind and  
b) time, to maintain a  
r) life. The immediate



economic problem of India is how to produce enough so that the millions of her population who are more or less starving, may have their physical wants satisfied and at the same time may maintain a standard of life in no way inferior to that of other nations.

First, the climatic conditions of the country. Owing to the extreme heat, especially in the summer time, strenuous work for a long period at a stretch is both impossible and injurious.

Second, the economic condition of the people as well of the labouring classes. It must be remembered that the people in India are extremely poor and that the factory system has somewhat improved the economic condition of the factory workers as compared with that of other classes. The country very badly needs the extension of the factory system and the hours of work should not be so short as to interfere with the growth of the factory system. On the other hand factory workers should be protected from excessive hours of work. These excessive hours have been detrimental to the growth of a class of factory workers.

Third, the nature of foreign competition to which the industries are subjected and the necessary protection provided. In Japan even women are allowed to work as long as 11 or 12 hours in spinning and weaving industries. Caution must therefore be exercised in reducing the number of working hours.

Fourth, the rapidity with which the employer can adopt a more economical or so-called scientific method of production by shortening the mechanical processes and more effectively utilizing human energy for productive purposes as well as the facilities the employee may have for the development of industrial efficiency. Although the factory system has been in existence in India for about two generations there has not been any opportunity for the growth of industrial efficiency. There must be provision for general and industrial education. The increase of efficiency should be followed by reduction in hours of work.

Fifth, the opportunity on the part of labourers to receive knowledge and culture. The hours of work should also be reduced so that workers may take advantage of these opportunities for the development of themselves and for the progress of society.

### The Problem of Women in India.

Swami Vireswarananda writes as an orthodox Hindu in the October *Prabuddha Bharata*:

This month the whole of India is in high spirits. Festivals are observed throughout the length and breadth of the land in one form or other in honour of the Divine Mother. She is worshipped everywhere. Customs and doctrines bearing on this worship vary in different parts of the country. In Bengal She is seen

forth as the woman perfect in beauty and purity, and even as the symbol of the motherland. But of all the aspects the devotee would like to see Her only as the young wedded daughter returning for a few days' visit to her father's house from the snow clad Himalayas rising in peaks above peaks over Nature's own park where the earth, plants, trees, snows and everything else express the glory of the Lord—a fit place for the Lord of the universe, Shiva, to reside with His spouse, the Divine Parvati.

One of the excellences of Hinduism lies in its idealisation and apotheosis of women as Mother, as Spouse and as Daughter.

One weakness of Hindu society lies in its being so far below its ideal in the actual treatment of womanhood. "She [the Divine Mother] alone being satisfied is there hope of salvation for mankind."

It is true why so much misery, scarcity and disease in this country where She is worshipped by innumerable devotees? Is she not pleased with them? Is it not for the cause is known from the effect? What then is the reason? The Divine Mother cannot be hoodwinked by idle talk. She adjudges gifts according to the intrinsic merits of all actions. She is fully aware of the hypocrisy we practise. With folded hands and head bent low we say, 'O Mother Divine Thou art beyond the reach of our praises, Thou pervadest every particle of the universe, all knowledge proceeds from Thee, O Infinite source of wisdom Thou dwellest in every feminine form and all women are Thy living representatives on earth.' But do we really act up to this? What have we done to better the condition of our women? Have we carried out the worship of the Divine Mother by trying to educate and accord the proper honour to them? Her representatives living in every home?

How can the condition of the women be bettered? What are the problems that confront them most at present? There are many and grave problems, but Liberty is the first condition of growth. "Liberty of thought and action is the only condition of life, of growth and well-being. Where it does not exist the country must go down. It is wrong therefore for anyone to say, 'I will work out the salvation of the women.' Who is man to assume that he can accomplish everything? The women are to solve their own problems and man's right of interference is limited entirely to giving them a healthy education. They must be educated and put in a position to solve their own problems in their own way. None else can do this for them. There is no difficulty that will not vanish before education. Women are not less intelligent, less intellectual than men only they have not been given opportunities. If they are given opportunities they will glorify our country."

### Greater India.

The October number of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* contains a lecture by Prof. S. Krishnaswami

Aiyangar on "Greater India. Expansion of India Beyond the Seas" In it he deals with the following points: overland communication of Northern India, overseas communication of South India, Indian Trade with Western Asia, Indian names of imported articles, the situation of our early Indian voyages to Babylonia and the West, the evidence of classical geographers, Tamil knowledge of the Eastern Archipelago, evidence from Tamil literature, other confirmatory evidence, the character of this period of South Indian history, the industrial arts of South India, exports and imports, social, religious, &c., conditions of South India, the rise of the Sassanian Power, Tamil enterprise across the Bay of Bengal from Tamil sources, information from Itsing's records of the Western World, the advent of Islamic enterprise in the East, the expansion of the Kingdom of Sri Bhoja, diplomatic and other relations between the Chola empire and Sri-Bhoja, and ultimate Arab supersession of Hindu trade.

### The Indian States.

*The Indian Review of Reviews* (October)

thinks.

The first thing needed to place the States on the road to reform is a Royal Proclamation making it clear that the Indian Princes are expected to broaden the bases of citizenship in their States on lines followed in British India and to welcome for themselves and their officers those constitutional rules and restraints which His Majesty the King and His Majesty's ministers have always so wholeheartedly accepted for themselves in the Government of the Empire.

Besides commending the principle of Constitutional or Responsible Government, the Royal Proclamation should make a clear offer to the Princes of the assistance of a committee to advise them as to the steps by which an approach may be made towards the ideal prescribed.

The Viceroy should be empowered to choose the members of the Committee among whom should be (1) two representatives of Native States experience such as retired Dewans, (2) a publicist or politician of British India, (3) an official of the Political Department of the Government of India (4) an experienced Parliamentarian got out from England. With these may be associated an officer of the Darbar concerned. The Committee thus composed should have power to call witnesses and take down the evidence and to institute enquiries as to the existing procedure of administration.

The next important question is that of the external rights of the States. Their right to be represented in

the All India Legislature and in the Councils of Imperial Government have now been admitted—in theory though not in fact. An Indian Prince sat at the Imperial War Conference and at the Peace Conference and another at the recent post-War Imperial Conference. The Chamber of Princes is, on paper, meant to be consulted on all matters of common interest to both British India and the Native States. But the present mode of representation is not at all a logical and intelligible development of the principle underlying such representation.

There are a few other questions urgently to be solved in connection with the States. One most important among them is the providing of a special tribunal to settle disputes arising between a State and the Government of India or any Provincial Government in British India, or between one State and another.

Other important matters are the re-organization of the Political Department of the Government of India and the appointment of an Indian with Native States experience to be at its head, the abolition of the office of Resident in those Native States that are in direct political relation with the Government of India, the revocation of the Government of India Notification of 1891 which, on account of a misadventure in a small and backward State like Manipur, threw all Native States as a class beyond the pale, not only of International Law, but also of the principles of that Law and the substitution of this by a new Royal Proclamation assuring that all Treaties and Engagements made with the States are to be interpreted in the light of the principles which govern the relations of all civilized States and that all differences are to be decided according to the dictates of justice, equity and good conscience.

### The World of Culture.

As usual we take some paragraphs from "The World of Culture" section of *The Collegian* (August, September and October).

#### YOUNG INDIA AT THE INSTITUT DE FRANCE

On two occasions in July, before two groups of forty immortals the message of Young India was delivered to the *Institut de France* by Benoy Kumar Sarkar. In the hall of the *Académie Française* (of the Palais de l'Institut) he addressed the members of the *Académie des sciences morales et politiques* on *La démocratie hindoue* (July 2). The second communication which dealt with *L'esthétique hindoue* was made to the *Académie des Beaux Arts* (July 9).

#### A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH INSTITUTE

M. Imbart de La Tour, president of the *Académie* who happens this year also to be the president of the entire *Institut*, made the following statement while thanking the lecturer. We, the members of the *Académie* have listened to your communication with great interest. It is certainly remarkable how the political institutions of India were almost identical with those of Europe and of our own country in the ancient and mediæval times. We trust that

we have to-day but the beginning of an intimate *rapprochement* between French and Indian avants.

#### HINDU AESTHETICS BEFORE THE 'FORTY IMMORTALS'

M. Charles Widor, the permanent secretary of the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* said in response to the communication "The world is very small after all. We in France have not done anything different in spirit from what India has been doing in the last. The frontiers do not exist." M. Widor is an "immortal" in instrumental music.

#### FIRST GRADE PROFESSORS SALARIES IN FRANCE

Notwithstanding the phenomenal rise of prices the highest salary paid by the French republic to the most eminent professors of the first grade is 25,000 francs a year. At the moment of writing the rate of exchange is approximately 3 francs per rupee. Seven or eight months ago, the exchange was a little over 4 francs per rupee. That is, the salary of "Grade A" professors in France to-day is about Rs. 8,333 a year. In December 1920 the salary was less than Rs. 6,250 a year.

The first grade professors are divided into four classes. The fourth class in this grade, i. e., the A, IV, man gets 21,000 francs per year; i. e. Rs. 7,000 (July 1921) or Rs. 5,250 (Dec. 1920).

In July 1921 the salaries of I. e. Châtelier, Painlevé, Bouteux, men who are revolutionizing science and philosophy, thus range from about Rs. 600 to about Rs. 700 a month. In December 1920 the scale was from about Rs. 440 to about Rs. 520 per month.

The budget makers of India's *Sarva* will have to carefully study these figures.

#### GRADE B IN THE FRENCH PROFESSORATE

The salary of the second grade in French educational administration ranges from that of the third class, i. e., B, III, at 11,000 francs to that of the B I, at 13,000 a year.

#### THE JUNIORS IN FRANCE

The Government of France classifies all instructors into altogether four grades. The fourth grade D is divided into five classes. The salary of D, V, i. e., of a raw laboratory assistant in pharmacy or medicine is 7,000 francs a year or less than Rs. 200 a month. In December 1920 it was about Rs. 150 a month.

#### SALARIES IN FRANCE'S MOFUSSIL

In the *Departments*, i. e., in the *mofussil* the rates are slightly lower than in the metropolis. Thus the scale is from D, V, at 6,000 francs to A, I, at 22,000 a year.

#### SALARIES OF "IMMORTALS"

There is no differential treatment accorded to instructors who happen to belong to one or other of the five groups of 'forty immortals' of the *Institut de France* because of their permanent contributions to the expansion of human knowledge. They are paid at the same rates as the ordinary members of the Republic's teaching force.

Self sacrifice is not the monopoly of Indian *princes* and *raja*s. Young India's publicists must have

to think thrice before they employ the term 'self-sacrifice' while discussing the monthly incomes of its patriots.

Our professors and their employers will please take note of the salaries paid to professors in France, bearing in mind that in France the cost of living is much higher than in India.

#### TWO INDIAN SCHOLARSHIPS IN FRANCE

Two scholarships of the monthly value of 500 francs, each tenable for three years in Paris or in the provinces of France are being offered by four Indian merchants. One of these is open to competition all over India. The selection of the candidate rests with Mr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, Bolpur, Bengal. The other is meant for the graduates of the University of Bombay. Both the scholars must specialize in certain branches of applied science. The *Association Sociale et Commerciale Hindoue*, 58 rue Lafayette, Paris, will explain the terms of the two offers.

#### GERMANY IN WORLD-CULTURE

The post graduate scholars and professors of the United States have once more commenced seeking inspiration at the fountains of higher learning in Germany. Young India can hardly afford to remain long blind to the trend of day to day developments in this regard.

#### GERMAN CULTURE AND YOUNG INDIA

Just at present, owing to the favourable rate of exchange for India, Germany should appear to be the cheapest country in the world. Six thousand rupees make nearly a hundred thousand marks. On this sum a student can live for at least three years in any German city. There is no other country where two thousand rupees might command the same facilities and comforts that an Indian student can obtain in Germany. This then is the most opportune moment for Young India's kinship with German Culture.

#### INDIA'S EDUCATIONAL INVESTMENTS IN GERMAN BANKS

While the rate of exchange continues to be as favourable as it is to-day, India's educational leaders and Indian institutions interested in sending out scholars abroad should make it a point to buy German marks right away and invest them, say, in the Deutsche Bank of Berlin. On six months' deposit the rate of interest there is 3 per cent. The universities and science associations of India could save a lot of money for the coming decade if they cared to be quick enough in order to take advantage of the present situation in the money market. It is evident that on the interest of a lakh of rupees two post-graduate scholars might be maintained by India in Germany in perpetuity.

#### HINDUS AS COLONIZERS

In the course of his Cambodian studies Dr. A. Pannetier has produced a social, economic and quasi-political volume entitled *Le Cœur du Pays Khmer, 'In the Heart of the Khmer Country'* (Payot et Cie, Paris 1921). Indians will be interested to learn that according to the author their forefathers

Aiyangar on "Greater India: Expansion of India Beyond the Seas." In it he deals with the following points: overland communication of Northern India, overseas communication of South India, Indian Trade with Western Asia, Indian names of imported articles, the situation of Ceylon, early Indian voyages to Babylonia and the West, the evidence of classical geographers, Tamil knowledge of the Eastern Archipelago, evidence from Tamil literature, other confirmatory evidence, the character of this period of South Indian history, the industrial arts of South India, exports and imports, social, religious, &c., conditions of South India, the rise of the Sassanian Power, Tamil enterprise across the Bay of Bengal from Tamil sources, information from Itsing's records of the Western World, the advent of Islamic enterprise in the East, the expansion of the Kingdom of Sri-Bhoja, diplomatic and other relations between the Chola empire and Sri-Bhoja, and ultimate Arab supersession of Hindu trade.

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The first thing needed to place the States on the road to reform is a Royal Proclamation making it clear that the Indian Princes are expected to broaden the bases of citizenship in their States on lines followed in British India and to welcome for themselves and their officers those constitutional rules and restraints which H. M. the King and His Majesty's ministers have always so whole-heartedly accepted for themselves in the Government of the Empire.

Besides commending the principle of Constitutional or Responsible Government, the Royal Proclamation should make a clear offer to the Princes of the assistance of a committee to advise them as to the steps by which an approach may be made towards the ideal prescribed.

The Viceroy should be empowered to choose the members of the Committee among whom should be (1) two representatives of Native States experience, such as retired Dairs, (2) a publicist or politician of British India, (3) an official of the Political Department of the Government of India, (4) an experienced Parliamentarian got out from England. With these may be associated an officer of the Durbar concerned. The Committee thus composed should have power to call in witnesses and take down their evidence and to institute enquiries as to the existing procedure of administration.

The next important question is that of the external rights of the States. Their right to be represented in

the All-India Legislature and in the Councils of Imperial Government have now been admitted—in theory though not in fact. An Indian Prince sat at the Imperial War Conference and at the Peace Conference and another at the recent post-War Imperial Conference. The Chamber of Princes is, on paper, meant to be consulted on all matters of common interest to both British India and the Native States. But the present mode of representation is not at all a logical and intelligible development of the principle underlying such representation.

There are a few other questions urgently to be solved in connection with the States. One most important among them is the providing of a special tribunal to settle disputes arising between a State and the Government of India or any Provincial Government in British India, or between one State and another.

Other important matters are the re-organization of the Political Department of the Government of India and the appointment of an Indian with Native States experience to be at its head, the abolition of the office of Resident in those Native States that are in direct political relation with the Government of India, the revocation of the Government of India Notification of 1891 which, on account of a misadventure in a small and backward State like Manipur, threw all Native States as a class beyond the pale, not only of International Law, but also of the principles of that Law, and the substitution of this by a new Royal Proclamation assuring that all Treaties and Engagements made with the States are to be interpreted in the light of the principles which govern the relations of all civilized States and that all differences are to be decided according to the dictates of justice, equity and good conscience.

### The World of Culture.

As usual we take some paragraphs from "The World of Culture" section of *The Collegian* (August, September and October).

#### YOUNG INDIA AT THE INSTITUT DE FRANCE

On two occasions in July, before two groups of "forty immortals", the message of Young India was delivered to the *Institut de France* by Benoy Kumar Sarkar. In the hall of the *Académie Française* (of the Palais de l'Institut) he addressed the members of the *Académie des sciences morales et politiques* on *La démocratie hindoue* (July 2). The second communication which dealt with *L'esthétique hindoue* was made to the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* (July 9).

#### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH INSTITUTE

M. Imbart de La Tour, president of the *Ac. d. sc. m. p.* who happens this year also to be the president of the entire *Institut*, made the following statement while thanking the lecturer: "We, the members of the *Académie*, have listened to your communication with great interest. It is certainly remarkable how the political institutions of India were almost identical with those of Europe and of our own country in the ancient and medieval times. We trust that

literary man should confine himself to stories and subjects comprised within the limits of his sacred books and history.

### Journal of Indian History.

The first (November) number of the *Journal of Indian History*, published by the Department of Modern Indian History, Allahabad University, has been received. It is edited by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan who contributes to it the first four articles and also reviews of books. It contains

the following articles:—(1) The East India Trade in the XVIIth century, (2) Sources for XVIIth century British India in the British Archives, (3) Documents on the East India Trade, (4) The East India Company's War with Aurangzeb, (5) Mughal Government (by Beni Prasad), (6) The Administration of Sher Shah (by Ram Prasad Tripathi), (7) Growth of Khulji Imperialism, (by Iswari Prasad), and Reviews of Books. The *Journal* should be useful to professors and students of history. The reprints of original documents are valuable.

### FOREIGN PERIODICALS

#### "Down With Kings!"

As an example of anti-monarchical idiocy, the following paragraph, extracted from *The Woman Citizen* (October 8) will be enjoyed —

#### DOWN WITH KINGS!

Congress has its humor. Representative Herrick from Oklahoma, has introduced a bill calling for the drastic punishment of any one impersonating a king or queen in a play, pageant or carnival, on the ground that this is 'fostering and promoting ideas treasonable to and in contravention of the principles upon which the Government of the United States is founded.' 133 1-3 patriotism, that is

#### Lepers Cured.

*The Woman Citizen* gives cheering news —

Eighty-four lepers have lately been discharged from Molokai, cured. The news brings a shock of astonishment as well as joy. One after another, the scourges that have been thought to be incurable are cured and conquered. Sooner or later it will be so with the worst of all—the scourge of war.

The remedy that has at last been discovered for leprosy is simple—the oil of a plant growing in the Hawaiian Islands. During these centuries of illness and suffering, the means of cure have always been close at hand. The only need now is to get enough of the oil.

The cure for the war fever exists in the hearts and minds of enfranchised and enlightened women. The only need is to get enough of them enlightened. Those

to whom the light has come should do their best and utmost to spread it among the rest.

#### World News about Women.

Culled from *The Woman Citizen* —

#### AMERICAN WOMEN GROWING

Philadelphia dressmakers have recently made a cheering announcement. They say that American women, owing to their outdoor sports, now average an inch and a half taller than the women of forty years ago. Their chests are larger, their waists wider.

An intelligent interest in public affairs is to the mind what outdoor exercise is to the body. After women have had equal suffrage for a generation, they will undoubtedly have grown in breadth of mind.

Not all American women as yet take healthful outdoor exercise, however. If the average has improved, there are still many women as housebound, as delicate and as stunted as ever. If they want to expand and improve physically, they must get out into the air, and if they want to expand and improve mentally, they should take a live interest in public affairs, with an eye to the public good. As a means to this end every intelligent woman should join the League of Women Voters.

#### SEX EQUALITY IN CHURCH

The fifth Ecumenical Methodist Conference, recently held in London, included in the address drawn up for circulation in Methodist churches throughout the world, this expression: 'We welcome the emancipation of women and hail them joyfully as co-workers.' It is also interesting to find in an address delivered at this Conference by Victor Murray, a plea against 'the conspiracy of silence regarding sex'.

It was a matter of course that there should

a high school girl (Darlington) She was a student of Newnham College

## Women as Humorists.

Coulson Kernahan writes in *Woman's Magazine* —

A woman's sense of humour is more refined more of an intuition, than a man's. I do not think that it is less, as some men maintain. Men so maintain because few women have written directly humorous books, the reason being that women are the more unsflinching the more emotional and the more sensitive of the two. They are more concerned to console and to sympathise than to look for something at which directly to laugh. As Mrs. Browning says—

"Love is of man's life, but a thing apart

"Tis woman's whole existence,

and a woman's thoughts, when she sits down to write, turn instinctively to a story in which love or self sacrifice shall be the predominating theme rather than humour. To contend for that reason, as some men do, that women are deficient in humour, is to betray their own lack of that quality, inasmuch as it is an instance of the sex-arrogance which, like sex-antagonism has no place in the minds of those who see life in true perspective and so humorously.

## "The War That No Peace Treaty Can Stop"

That is how the industrial struggle going on all over the "civilised" world is described in *Current Opinion* for October. And why?

Federal troops have within the last few weeks been called on to march into West Virginia and quell an armed uprising of coal miners.

The Kenyon committee of the U S Senate has begun an investigation of the 30-year old conflict that breaks out sporadically every year or so in that state.

Real wars are terminated by peace treaties, and armies march back home and are demobilized. But the industrial struggle seems to be an unending one. In the long run it is probably costlier than war. Peace treaties cannot stop it. Disarmament conferences cannot prevent it.

## Curiosities of War.

Dr. Frank Crane observes in *Current Opinion* for October —

Wars are often won by poor armies against rich. Because the tendency of a rich army is to have too much equipment, which impedes its movement, too much baggage, cooking apparatus, hospital supplies, etc. The great essentials are (1) men, (2) food and (3) arms. Caesar called baggage "impedimenta," from which is derived our word impediment.

Water is an all important war factor

In the first place, water courses are in valleys, and great armies follow valleys.

Roads and railways follow water courses.

Horses need great quantities of water. Campaigns have failed because the water supply of cavalry has not been seen to.

The important parts of an army formerly were infantry and cavalry. The most vital part of a modern army is the engineering corps. Next in value comes the artillery. In the next war probably the most important arm of the service will be aircraft, and the most effective weapon will be gas. Hence the great man will be the chemist.

Gradually the brain is replacing the muscle in war, even as in industry.

Any nation's effectiveness in war is determined by its productiveness in peace.

The preparation which wins in the long run is not direct military preparedness (as Germany's), but general industrial efficiency and financial resources, assuming of course, equal morale.

## Japan Not Overpopulated.

*The Living Age* (October 15) writes —

A large fraction of Japan itself is uninhabited wilderness. Hokkaido, the northern island, which has rich resources, including fertile agricultural lands, is still thinly populated. These facts give point to the following comments from an authoritative Tokyo daily *Chuo* — "Some Europeans and Americans say that the settlement of the population question in Japan is a condition precedent to the limitation of armaments and the guaranty of peace. This plea is presumably due to the pre-conception that a surplus population leads to the invasion of foreign lands. Let it be remembered, however, there is no population question of that sort in this country.

It is true that the population of this country shows a healthy rate of increase, but it is wrong to think that this means a surplus population. While the population is increasing, there is a constant addition to the wealth of the country, and it would be proper to say that the population is short, rather than that it is excessive. In fact, villages are suffering from the scarcity of farm labor.

It is absolutely untrue that Japan is suffering from an excess of population, and there is no reason why the issue of our so called surplus population should be raised by foreigners, especially by Americans.

## What the Turks Fight For.

According to *The Living Age* (October 8),

The Turks of Angora are fighting to enforce their 'National Pact' a covenant to which they have bound themselves since the beginning of their armed opposition to the Entente. The terms of this Pact as reported by a Near Eastern correspondent of the Manchester *Guardian*, are as follows —

(1) The Ottoman Empire abandons claims to territories inhabited by Arab majorities, but considers the other parts of the Ottoman Empire, inhabited by a population united by religion, race, and aspirations as an inseparable whole.

succeed Lloyd George?" contributed by that distinguished journalist to *The Century Magazine* for October, should be interesting. Says he:—

Among the established figures in public life, Lord Grey is probably the one who approaches most nearly to what is demanded. If he would come out boldly as the leader of the nation, he would command a following which would assure him power. The orgy of intrigue during the war left his personal influence virtually untouched. His immunity was due to a character of singular simplicity and nobility, to which the suspicions of the vulgar could not attach. Even his association with the secret treaties, while it prejudiced him with the jurists, was recognized as the consequence of circumstances that he did not initiate and had not wanted, and his whole-hearted advocacy of a world partnership as the only alternative to world dissolution has made him, despite himself, the chief hope of enlightened thought. I say—despite himself for the fact is that the only obstacle in the path of Lord Grey is Lord Grey. He thrusts aside the crown not as Cæsar thrusts it aside in the play but deliberately and finally. He is so far from those who wade through treachery to power, that he rejects power in the face of duty. The plea put forward is that the failure of his eyesight makes public activity impossible. It is a plea which I think would not be insisted on if there were not a positive disinclination behind it. He has a congenital distaste for the scramble and vulgarities of politics, and he has something of the spirit of the recluse, which withdraws him more and more to the sanctuary of nature. It may be that he is sensible of deficiencies, which he assumes disqualify him for popular leadership, but I cannot regard it as other than a grave misfortune and something of a dereliction of duty that in so great an emergency when the world is perishing for the lack of a moral inspiration, this rare gift for seeing the needs of society in the large and from the angle of a nobler and disinterested idealism should be withdrawn from the public service. But the utmost that we could hope from him is that he would join others in a common enterprise.

### Administration of British North Borneo

British North Borneo is owned and administered by a chartered company. How faithful the Company is to its trust will appear from some extracts from an article in the *October Century* by Major E. Alexander Powell, entitled, *Where Their Aint No Ten Commandments*. Take, first, a passage about its treatment of labor:

Under the company's laws unruly laborers may also be punished by flogging. Though the law provides that a man shall not receive more than twelve lashes, it is scarcely necessary for me to point out that, in view of the remoteness from civilization of many of the plantations, this form of punish-

ment is frequently characterized by grave abuse. It is no exaggeration, indeed, to assert that an inhuman manager can flog a coolie to death and, by intimidation of the witnesses be reasonably certain of escaping punishment.

Although as I have shown, the British North Borneo Company permits the existence of a condition not far removed from slavery, a far more serious indictment of the company's methods lies in its systematic debauchery of its laborers by encouraging them to indulge in opium smoking and gambling for the purpose of swelling its revenues from these monopolies.

The next extract relates to the Government monopoly of gambling:

Gambling is a Government monopoly, the company annually farming out the privilege to the highest bidder. In 1919, the last year for which I have the figures, the gambling rights for the entire protectorate were sold for approximately \$144,000.

The last extract that we shall make is about the opium monopoly and how Government stimulates and encourages its sale.

The opium itself is purchased by the British North Borneo Company from the Government of the Straits Settlements for \$120 a tael (about one-tenth of a pound troy) and, after being adulterated with various other substances, is sold to certain approved concessionnaires, most of whom are Chinese, for \$850 a tael a profit of nearly four hundred per cent even if the drug had not been adulterated. These concessionnaires, known as opium farmers, either keep opium dens themselves or sell the drug to anyone wishing to buy it, just as a tobaccoist sells cigarettes or cigars. The sale of the opium privilege in Sandakan alone, so I am reliably informed, nets the company something over \$300,000 annually.

Now, iniquitous and deplorable as the opium traffic is the Government of British North Borneo is not the only government engaged in it. But it is the only government, so far as I am aware, which actually encourages the use of the drug among its people by insisting that it shall be placed on sale in localities which might otherwise escape its malign influence. A planter who, actuated by moral scruples or a desire for greater efficiency, opposes the opening of an opium farm on his plantation, might as well sell out and leave the country, for the company, which controls the labor market, will promptly retaliate for such interference with its revenues by cutting off his labor supply. It will inflict this penalty on the ground that, as the Chinese will manage to obtain opium anyway, the planter, in refusing to permit the establishment of an official opium farm on his estate, is guilty of conniving at the sale of opium without a license.

The British North Borneo Company defends itself for engaging in the opium traffic by asserting that, as the Chinese will obtain the drug clandestinely if they cannot obtain it openly, it is better for every one concerned that its sale should be under governmental control. The fact remains, however, that China, decadent though she may be and desperately in need of revenue, has succeeded, despite the powerful

story and have bathed in its warmth. They have washed the grit of foreign sands from their hair and eyes, and have arisen new born, with new vision, and a spirit steeped in the poetry of Gaelic lore. In the lakes of wisdom of the land of sorrows and ineffable beauty they have found everlasting youth. The gift that is theirs is power.

"Just now all the young men of Ireland are engaged in fighting a battle for national freedom. It is the Gaelic soul awakened. It is seven hundred years of dreams that have not perished, that is fighting that battle. When once peace descends upon this land the Gaelic soul that will be free and the dreams that are not dead will seek expression in more beautiful form. They will live in the poetry of the new nation."

"You ask whether they will write in the Gaelic. I think not. They do not need to. The language doesn't matter. It is the spirit, the form, the inspiration."

"It is not in poetry alone that Ireland is being reborn. It is in the drama as well. One of the most hopeful signs of the literary movement is the success its playwrights are having. Yeats, St. John Ervine, Lennox Robinson, are perhaps the three foremost in the poetic group. Ireland as yet has no novelist. That will come in the future, I am sure. Strangely enough the steps of modern literary history in Ireland have been poet, playwright, with the third to come—novelist. Our poets have become playwrights. I am certain our playwrights will become novelists. You ask whether that is the usual evolution of the novelist. I do not know. I can only speak for Ireland. That is what is happening here."

## World Politics versus Disarmament.

Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons gives in the November *Century* his reasons for thinking that the Disarmament Conference at Washington will be a failure.

The first reason why the disarmament conference is doomed to failure is the same as the first reason of the failure of the Versailles League of Nations. No conference is international and can expect to make decisions which will be respected, which excludes Germany and Russia. This is not a matter for emotional hysteria or for the play of hatred or dislike or repugnance. It is a matter of common sense. Our opinion of Germany's role in the World War and what we think of Bolshevism do not make Germany and Russia any the less the two strongest countries in Europe.

A League of Nations, to be workable and have world authority must admit Russia and Germany on a footing of equality. The provision of the covenant, making the five principal Allied and Associated Powers permanent members of the council of the league, and providing for a minority of four elected members of the council from all the other nations killed the league as a world organization before it was formed. It is against human nature and the teaching of history to suppose that Russia and Germany will consider the conference of Paris and its league as settling for all time the inferiority of the Russian and German races among the nations of Europe.

He easily disposes of the arguments in favour of treating Germany and Russia as negligible entities.

It is easy enough to argue that Russia is in chaos and Germany in Coventry and that neither nation has a government which we can trust. It is easy enough also to give the excuse that if Russia and Germany were invited, France would not come, and the more simple minded will point out that Russia and Germany do not deserve to be invited. Well and good. But do arguments and explanations change the fact that whatever the other nations decide to do at Washington the decisions cannot take force until Russia and Germany agree to them? And is it to be expected that Russia and Germany will agree to maintain the status quo of 1921, manifestly unfavourable to themselves? Lenin



JAPAN HAS NO OBJECTION TO CHINA SITTING AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE PROVIDING—  
—Morris for the George Matthew Adams Serv. Co.

and Trotzky and fame are passing events in Russia and Marshal Foch on the Rhine is a passing event in Germany. Ten years after Paris was in the throes of the Terror, Napoleon crowned himself in Notre Dame, and eight years after Napoleon, ensconced in Berlin, disarmed the Prussians, he fled from Paris to escape a Prussian army. Can the jailers of more than two hundred million Russians and Germans lay down their arms?

But we are in an age when arms are no longer necessary for coercion, we are told. Germany will be boycotted if she attempts to evade the Versailles obligations, and Russia is already at our mercy, brought to her knees by the blockade. Now that it



politically and morally different from those of older date of some European powers

The title of countries to possessions and political and economic privileges beyond their own natural ethnographic limits is acquired by force and maintained by force. The strong have taken what they wanted and held it against all comers. The world's colonizing areas and raw materials and markets are held and exploited by nations whose navies and armies have been the winners in duels with other European powers. When the Japanese were compelled by threat of bombardment to open their country to Caucasians, missionaries and traders, they alone of all Oriental peoples had the wit and the ability to study and imitate our methods. In the beginning we did not intimidate them, we did not bluff them. We are not going to intimidate them and bluff them now.

If the United States attempts at Washington to make the limitation of armaments agreement contingent upon unilateral sacrifices on the part of Japan the efforts of our statesmen will be indefensible morally, historically, economically foolish politically and will lead to a new war, prejudicial to our own interests to pull others' chestnuts out of the fire for them.

In the matter of Shan tung we say we are the friends of China of Vladivostok and Saghalin the friends of Russia of Korea the friends of the oppressed Koreans. But if we are honestly friends of China and eager to make China mistress in her own house why do we stop at Shan tung and Manchuria? The only way to secure the open door in China and put China on the path of progress is to espouse her cause against all nations, and prove to the Japanese that we are not playing favorites, and to the Chinese that we are real friends by insisting that all the powers not Japan alone, retire from fortified footholds on the Chinese coast, from spheres of influence from concessions involving an impairment of Chinese sovereignty, from control of posts and customs and restore to China the bits of territory stolen by force. This would put China not Russia in Vladivostok and Manchuria and remove Great Britain from Wei hai wei and Hong kong, and France from her grip on Yunnan. Great Britain would waive her pretensions to exclusive concession privileges in the Yangtze Valley. It is as much to the interests of China and international justice and to the interest of the United States to see European nations get out of China as to prevent Japan from penetrating China.

I shall go further. Any attempt on the part of the United States to defend China by barring Japan alone from exclusive privileges in China, while tacitly accepting those required in the same manner by Great Britain and France, will be bringing us into war with Japan for the maintenance of a Far Eastern status quo which is to our commercial disadvantage.

Unless it is our deliberate intention to stick pins into Japan until she is loaded into fighting us or to block Japan's legitimate (as legitimate as ours at least, but perhaps "natural" is a better word to use) effort to secure colonizing areas and exclusive markets until ramming a cork in an overflowing bottle causes the bottle to burst and the expelled cork to hit us in the eye, we must take a different tack with the Japanese delegates on November 11 concerning Saghalin and eastern Siberia from that indicated in our State Department notes. If one takes the trouble to look at

the map and then into the history of Saghalin, he will realize that the possession of this island has been a source of conflict between Japan and Russia since 1807 and that Russia's title is not a bit better than that of Japan historically and a thousand times less strong from the point of view of geography. And what interest have we in interfering between Japan and Russia in the question of eastern Siberia? In ordinary circumstances this policy would be dubious. In view of our present relations to Russia it is fatuous.

Japan's encroachments upon the sovereignty of China are deplorable and inexcusable, but no less deplorable and less inexcusable than those of the European powers. Why should we have two weights and two measures? But if we are told that "this is a practical and not an ideal world" and that "we must deal with realities" which means the acceptance as facts accomplished not subject to revision of other crimes



LET UNCLE SAM PULL THEIR TEETH  
—MORRIS for the George Matthew Adams Service.

than those of Japan we are still on solid horse-sense ground in protesting against playing Great Britain and France as favorites in the Far East against Japan.

His opinion is that indebtedness is at the root of China's servitude.

Japan has gone into China because the European powers were there. The servitude of China vis-à-vis the European powers is due to the money China owes them. And the story of China during the last fifty years is that of other weak nations the world over. Loans, defaulting interest, intervention, resistance to intervention, fighting, imposition of indemnities, more loans to pay the indemnities, control of customs with the fixing of duties not in the hands of the powerless state, enormous concessions mortgaging the future of the debtor state granted for a song or nothing, and then the scramble of rival powers to secure the exploitation of weak peoples for themselves and shut other powers out—this is world politics, the real cause

## Co-education of Boys and Girls.

In *Child Life* (October) the co education of boys and girls is advocated on grounds some of which are quoted below

If we are to avoid the artificial or crude sequels to the recent emergence of woman into almost all wage-earning vocations, that surely is one more argument for the co training of them with boys in their school days. Mutual understanding and reciprocal chivalry are likely to obviate jealousy and friction in every office or workshop. Hitherto comradeship has generally speaking, been sadly lacking between the sons and daughters of our luckier classes until Dan Cupid or match making mothers play their games. I cannot do better than quote Miss Alice Woods a wise co-educational teacher of nearly thirty years experience —

"Boys and girls brought up in separate schools are awkward and shy when they meet and if they dare venture to be friendly their foolish elders at once declare them to be in love with one another even when they are quite little children. But the boys and girls who have striven together over difficult lessons who have been in scrapes together who have comforted one another in school troubles who have had a good quarrel and made friends again who have walked, talked and played together in a natural way are frank and sensible when they meet other members of the opposite sex. One half of the world is no longer a mysterious enigma to them and when love comes it is founded on a firm basis of genuine human friendship instead of being built on fairy fancies. A greater and deeper sympathy is bound to be another result of a childhood in common to both sexes, for sympathy is based on experience and the experience of human nature must be greater when one half is not rigidly excluded from the other half.

\* Co-education will help in the utilization and right guidance of our instincts. The instinct of pugnacity may be taken as an example. As society is at present constituted it is undeniable that there is war between the sexes. No one recognized this more clearly than George Meredith, and in 'Lord Ormond and His Aminta' he writes 'The task of education is to separate boys and girls as little as possible. All the devilry between the sexes begins at their separation. They are foreigners when they meet, and their alliances are not always binding. The chief object in life, if happiness be an aim and the growing better than we are, is to teach men and women how to be one for, if they are not, then each is a morse for the other to prey upon.' With a greater understanding and wider sympathy between them, the fighting instincts of men and women are likely to be utilized in a united struggle against the many

evils of modern life in an effort to bring about co operation amongst the whole human race "

## At the Tomb of Ram Mohan Roy.

*The Inquirer* of London (October) writes —

Principal H Maitra, of Calcutta, visited Bristol and preached at Lewin's Mead Chapel before large congregations on Sunday, September 25. As he and Dr Tudor Jones stood together in the pulpit, many of the congregation felt that East and West had met. Dr Maitra gave a vivid account of Ram Mohun Roy's life and work for the social and religious emancipation of India. He showed the great opposition which prevailed in the days of the Rajah against the new teaching, and how they were overcome. The Brahmo Samaj came into being and broke down for ever some of the worst superstitions of India from the sides of the social and the religious life. Dr Maitra's two sermons were eloquently delivered and were full of brilliant illustrations (given from memory) from the writings of such great men as Milton Coleridge Wordsworth, Emerson, and Tagore. A congregation of fully 500 listened with rapt attention to Dr Maitra on Sunday evening.

On Tuesday afternoon, at 3 o'clock, hundreds of people had gathered together at the Rajah's tomb at Arnos Vale Cemetery. The day was gloriously fine. Mrs Tudor Jones presented a beautiful wreath to Principal Maitra to place on the tomb. The four Bristol journals had sent their photographers, and several striking portraits of Dr Maitra were taken, one where he was surrounded by a number of Indian students who are studying at the University of Bristol.

After a prayer by Dr Maitra, Dr Tudor Jones delivered an address on Rajah Ram Mohun Roy's connection with Bristol and especially with Lewin's Mead and the work of Mary Carpenter. Dr Maitra followed with an impassioned speech on the spiritual significance of the Rajah's life and work. The meeting closed with a prayer by Dr Maitra and the large gathering left, realizing that the mortal remains of one of the greatest religious teachers of modern times are resting in Arnos Vale close to their native city.

The City Council of Bristol, a few years ago, removed the beautiful portrait of the Rajah from the Art Gallery to the Council Chamber, thus placing it amongst the noblest citizens of the Bristol of the past.

## Industrial Education.

The American plea for industrial education quoted below from *The Youth's Companion*

might be of most definite value to the student himself, to his parents, to prospective employers—even to college officers.

The advantages of the abandonment of degrees may be illustrated through a consideration of one or two of the corollaries that would follow.

In the first place, we should have no further need of grades. We should not even have to say whether a student has 'passed' or 'failed.' That arbitrary doom exists solely for the purposes of degrees. For all other purposes the real particolor'd story of the student's accomplishment would be better. Give up degrees, and we should at the same time relegate the imaginary line between 69 and 70 to the limbo of absurd superstitions.

Another corollary is even more revolutionary. In the absence of degrees the sacrosanct number four, as applied to the years of a college course would, I am persuaded soon lose its mystic virtue. Is it not an odd dispensation of academic Providence that for whatever purpose under heaven a student comes to college it takes him exactly four years to achieve it—as evidenced by a degree? Whether he wishes to become a poet or an accountant, a poultry farmer or a chemist a teacher of dead languages or a filler of dead teeth, the time prescribed is four years—neither more nor less.

Would it not be a happy result of an abandonment of degrees that young men and women could come to universities and study there as long as they and their parents felt that what they were getting was worth the expenditure of young life and then depart in peace and without the odium that now attaches to the ex-student not an alumnus? Each student could take away with him, at the end of one year or five years, in lieu of a meaningless degree, duplicate copies of such real records as I have described, giving an intelligible account of the subjects he had studied and the amount and character of his progress therein.

At present degree rather than the pursuit of knowledge, is made to seem the goal of the student's endeavour.

It is my contention that this need not be so—that if we would tear out the whole mechanism of grades, credits, and degrees, so as to make it perfectly clear that the only reason for studying any subject is the subject itself for studying any subject is the subject itself, with a vast number of our youngsters would, with a certain surprise at first, but eventually with satisfaction and delight, begin to give real attention to the content of their courses. And if there are those for whom this content, when fairly presented on its merits, has no attractions, who really at the age of eighteen or twenty require the puerilities of grades and credits and the empty goal of a degree to hold them—surely they should enter at once

upon some career of useful labour and not continue, as they are now led to do, to waste their own time and the money of pious donors or of the state in merely formal contact with intellectual things.

It is interesting to find that in the Vishva Bharati the Poet Rabindranath Tagore does not intend to hold any examinations or confer any degrees.

### "Some Things That A Girl Of Sixteen Should Know"

Even some 'educated' persons in India fancy that 'Western' education unfits Indian girls and women for household and social duties. As a corrective to such a notion, we print below from *Child-Welfare Magazine* (September) what real Western educators want their sixteen-year old girls to know, and they take steps to impart such knowledge.

*First*, about herself. Her chief bodily organs and their functions and how to keep them in the best running order. Her leading traits of character and how to develop the right and curtail the wrong. Her duty to herself, God, in the family, church and world. Her rights, civil and moral.

*Second*, in the educational field. How to read aloud pleasantly and intelligently. How to write a note or letter in good English with at least fair penmanship and correct spelling of ordinary words. How to draw a draft or check and indorse it properly and how to deposit money at the bank. How to calculate rapidly in the making of change for purchases, even in the matter of fractions (as  $2\frac{1}{2}$  yards of ribbon at  $37\frac{1}{2}$  cents). How to keep simple accounts. Some of the leading authors of the day with a backward glance at some of the old masters and some of the leading works of each. A good deal about her own city, country, state, with a knowledge of its leaders and so on. A good deal of Bible History, Bible Literature and Bible Characters.

*Third*, in the home. How to sweep dust and put a room in order, neatly, quietly and with but little expenditure of vitality. How to set a table tastefully, wait on it gracefully (and cheerfully). Clear it away expeditiously and wash the dishes scientifically. How to make beds properly. How to wash, iron and starch such articles as she wears. How to cut, fit and make, and mend her underclothing, her plain dresses and her common wraps. How to trim her own hats, and repair all her garments except her shoes. How to keep them in order. How to cook potatoes in at least a half dozen ways, common meats and vegetables, make at least fair bread, biscuits and griddle cakes, some kinds of cakes and



DR. SYLVANIE AND THE LOST RAB DR. NATHAN BOSE  
Professor Le... Learn... B...

best seller in Germany one ought to look for a more peaceful frame of mind among the people of the new republic. Mr Alfred A Knopf the New York book seller told a New York *Evening Post* interviewer that the Indian poet was 'terrifically popular' in Germany. Our gallery one or two hundred thousand for

the most widely read popular novel is not to be mentioned alongside the record of the Indian scene. Mr Knopf says —

When I was in Berlin Tagore's publisher placed an order for 1 000 000 kilograms—more than 2 000 000 pounds—of paper for his books. That is enough for 3 000 000 volumes.

We learn from the same source that



Germany, not England, nor America, which is playing the leading rôle in Russian trade for the present so that if Big Business was one of the objects of the war according to cynics, it is neither John Bull nor Uncle Sam who has won the war but the German commercial traveller whose handbag is full of orders

### Bombay's Disservice

The murderous riots in Bombay on the day the Prince of Wales landed there (November 17) and a few days following, are a standing disgrace. They have done a distinct disservice to India. Besides being morally and spiritually wrong, violence on the part of Indians is criminal folly in the present state of India. So long as we seek to be free by strictly non-violent means and carry on our propaganda quite peacefully it is beyond the power of any government to put a stop to the movement. But when any class section, mob, or group of Indians begin the wicked and foolish game of violence they place themselves in competition against those who are incalculably better equipped for it than they. What can an unarmed mob do with brickbats against men organised and armed with rifles and machine guns. An aeroplane scattering bombs can destroy a whole city in the course of some hours.

The Bombay riots have created bad blood between different sections of the community not only in Bombay but all over India. Though happily peace has been restored, it will take a long time—how long we cannot say—for normal and sincere relations being restored between different sections, races and political parties.

The pity of it is that the disturbances were not the work of mere hooligans. There were educated and moneyed men among those who fought. The worst and most wicked and cowardly aspect of the disorders was that women were assaulted, shamefully stripped, and, if reports are to be believed, in one case, horribly mutilated. One's blood boils to read of these things.

No wonder that Mr Gandhi underwent the penance of fasting for days together and suffered extreme mental anguish.

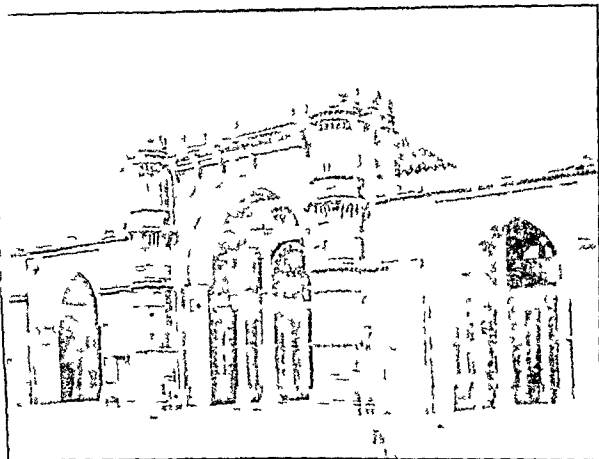


MR. M. K. GANDHI

first words addressed to the men of Bombay, are marked by transparent sincerity. He did not in the least shirk any responsibility for rousing a spirit of revolt. Nevertheless no honest critic can hold him responsible for the disgraceful and horrible scenes witnessed in Bombay. Times out of number he has insisted on non-violence. His own utterances and writings, even when containing grave charges against individuals, classes and organisations, have been free from bitterness and any sting. Not a day has passed without his being attacked in the press or on the platform. But he has not delivered any counter-attacks using only facts and arguments in self defence.

He has undoubtedly been guilty of mis-calculations and errors of judgment. These have sprung from his own lofty idealism, sincerity of purpose, love of man and of all animal creation, and burning enthusiasm.

His letter to the hooligans of Bombay is open to criticism. It is certain that all who took part in



TEN DURA — THREE GALLERIES — AHMEDABAD

were not professional badmashes or hooligans. They were the ordinary inhabitants of Bombay whom excitement turned into hooligans for some hours or days. Therefore to call them hooligans was tactless to say the least in addition to being inaccurate. Mr Gandhi's letter makes a distinction between hooligans and non-cooperators. But there is nothing to show that some non-cooperators do not act or have not acted as hooligans on some occasions. There are many instances on record of intolerance, arrogance and violence on the part of some non-cooperators.

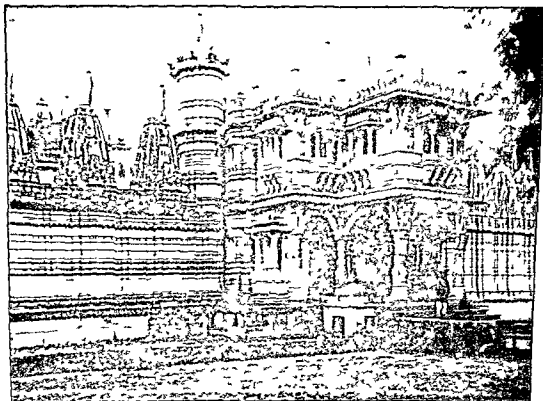
We do not think that civil disobedience has failed or that Mr Gandhi has failed. Non-violent civil disobedience requires high qualities of the soul. We are sure there are even now many besides Mr Gandhi who are qualified to practise it. The day

for mass civil disobedience will come, if it has not come already in some places. No case has been made out for urging that the idea of peaceful civil disobedience should be given up for ever.

What Buddha, Christ and other great teachers preached has not yet been followed in entirety by masses of men. But we do not for that reason say that they have failed or that we should forever give up the idea of practising what they preached. The combination of love and disobedience preached by Mr Gandhi is a high spiritual lesson which will take some time for masses of men to learn and make a part of their being.

### The Ahmedabad Congress

In modern times Ahmedabad has grown into the biggest centre of the cotton indus-



HATHI SINGH'S TEMPLE—AHMEDABAD

try in Gujarat. It has a large laboring population. But its importance is not entirely of modern growth. It has a long history and many old monuments.

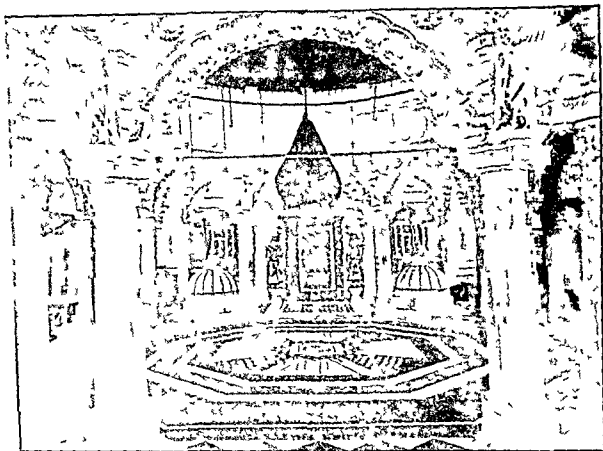
It has been a wise decision to limit the number of visitors and delegates to the forthcoming sessions of the Indian National Congress at Ahmedabad. Many grave problems will have to be discussed and serious decisions arrived at. Even after the limitation of the number of delegates, there is reason to fear that the discussions will not be as calm and dispassionate as they ought to be. In any case, it is to be earnestly hoped that India will not be declared a republic or any similar resolution passed which will be a mere paper resolution to which Indians are not in a position at present to give effect. As a nation we are not respected abroad because of our dependent position, we should not in addition expose ourselves

to ridicule. Bravado, heroics, bluff and boasting are no substitutes for strength and wisdom.

#### Trial of the Leaders at Karachi.

The trial of the leaders at Karachi has resulted in the acquittal of Bharati Krishna Tirthaji on all the charges, in the conviction of the remaining accused on one of the minor charges and in the conviction of Maulana Mahomed Ali on an additional minor charge. The principal charge against the accused was one of conspiracy to seduce His Majesty's troops. This charge could not be established and so all the accused were found not guilty of it. In consideration of this result, it cannot be said that the prosecution was worth all the trouble and expense incurred, the excitement caused, and the publicity given views of the accused for prosecuted. If the





INTERIOR OF HATHI SINGH'S TEMPLE—AHMEDABAD

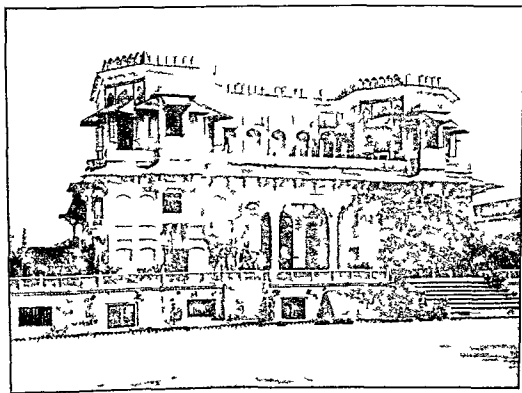
Government was to stop the mouths and pens of the accused for some time, it could have been secured at less cost trouble and, from the official point of view harmful result Government have acted wisely in withdrawing the further charges of sedition against Maulanas Mahomed Ali and Shaul at Ali

It had been understood from the beginning of the Non co operation movement that if any non co operator was brought to trial he was not to defend himself, not to recognise the right and authority of any British Court to try him, not to furnish security or execute a bond for good behaviour, not to pay any fine in lieu of imprisonment, not to give bail, etc. Many obscure persons have in consequence bravely gone to jail in accordance with these principles. Some leaders have, however, deviated from them to some extent. We do not say that they have done wrong

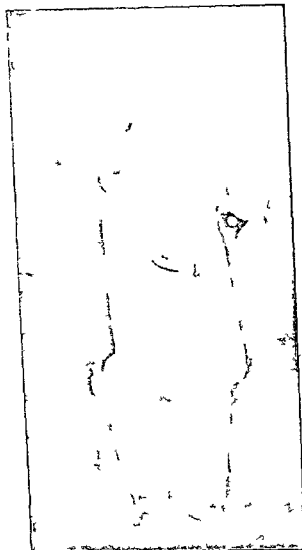
What we say is that an impression has been produced that what obscure non co operators may not do, leading non co operators may do. That is an unfortunate impression. We do not in the least believe that in making the long statements that they made in Court at Karachi and in asking questions and making objections, the leaders were actuated by fear. But we think that as they did make these statements and objections and put questions, what would have been the harm in making a regular defence? As regards the behaviour of the Ali brothers in Court, if they wanted to make fun of the whole affair, they ought to have refrained from making serious statements. But as they thought fit to make such statements, their behaviour throughout should have been marked by the seriousness and dignity appropriate to their position and reputation.



MARBLE SCULPTURE IN THE DOORWAY OF THE AHMEDABAD



SHAHI BAG—AHMEDABAD



MOLLANA SIAKAT ALI

—Photograph by Mr. Malabasing S. Shahan  
M.A. (Oxon.) Barrister at Law

Some of the accused stated that they had acted as they had done in obedience to their religious convictions. Everyone is certainly entitled to follow the instructions laid down in the scriptures of his religion. But in the scriptures of many religions there are teachings which are for all time and some which are contrary to modern civilised notions. The old scriptures make a distinction in treatment between *arya* and *mlecheha*, Brahman and Sudra, Jew and Gentile, the believer and the

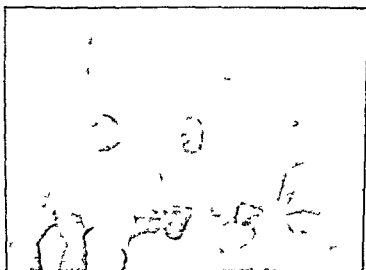


MOLLANA MOHAM IAD ALI

—Photograph by Mr. Malabasing S. Shahan  
M.A. (Oxon.) Barrister at Law

*kafir* etc. According to some scriptures or other witches are to be put to death, adulterers to be stoned to death, Sudras are to have some limb or other cut off for slight offences against Brahmans etc.

According to the Quranic law there can not be peace between a Muhammadan king and his neighbouring infidel states. The latter are *dar ul harb* or legitimate seats of war and it is the Muslim king's duty to slay and plunder in them till they accept the true faith and become *dar-ul-islam* after which they will become entitled to his protection. (Sarkar's *Shivaji*, pp. 479-480.) It is obvious that if anyone in modern times desires to follow those Hindu, Moslem, Jewish or Christian scriptural injunctions which are not for all time, he should be prepared to do so at his own risk. He cannot claim in extenuation



MR. SHEIKAT ALI, SAI SANKARA HARVA, MR. M. ISMAHIL ALI  
D. K. H. K. V.  
—Photography by Mr. Mahtab Singh, S. Sh. in M. (Oxon)  
Barister at Law.

that he acted in accordance with his religious conviction. In modern states men and communities of different religious persuasions have to live together in peace as neighbours on terms of equal citizenship. But the religious scriptures of one community may contain laws or rules which are opposed to or incompatible with those contained in the scriptures of some other faith. It should be easy for the citizens of a modern state to decide what to do under the circumstances.

As for the plea that Muhammadans ought not, according to the Quran, to fight with Muhammadans except for certain stated reasons, we do not call in question the accuracy of the plea. Our remarks will be two in number. When during the war Muslim sepoy in the British Indian army were fighting the Turks and the Arabs the Muslim leaders did not at all raise this question or refer to this Quranic law. There have been innumerable wars between Muslim countries, nations, governments and monarchs, but we do not know in how many cases Muslim historians or other

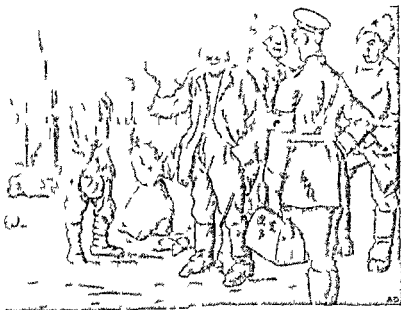
Muslims have either condemned or defended these wars with reference to this Quranic injunction. Of course, what was not done in the past may certainly be done at present. We do not question anybody's right to do it.

#### Antolo Franco,

The celebrated octogenarian French author has at last come by his own. He has been awarded the Nobel Prize for literature this year. He ought to have got it long ago. Having got it now, he has made a noble use of it. He has given away the entire amount of the prize for the relief of famine in Russia. He has not at all cared that Russia is not an ally of his mother country.

#### The Russian Famine

Months ago Dr. Nansen, the celebrated Arctic explorer, appealed to Europe and America to come to the rescue of the millions of men, women and children dying of famine in Russia. The Allies, after wasting months in idle discussion, decided to call a conference in Brussels. The



#### AND THE TSAR IS THE CAUSE OF IT ALL

Len ne Let me explain These people are victims of the Tsarist regime  
which got them into the habit of eating every day

—Le Figaro (Paris)



#### APOLOGIZING TO THE DEAD

Len ne I beg your pardon—the mistake is mine!

—Le Matin (Paris)

*Independent* thus briefly describes the conference, records its resolutions quotes some observations of the *New Statesman* and adds a few of its own —

Nineteen Governments were represented at the Conference including Great Britain France, the United States and Italy. The recommendations of the Conference were a disgrace to civilization. What they amounted to was this: the urgency of the need was recognized, it was admitted that the famine was too big to be fought by anybody other than the Governments of the world but the Conference insisted on the acknowledgment of the debts of the Tsarist Government by the Soviet as a condition. The text of the resolution of the Conference in this matter runs as follows —

The confidence necessary to secure the commercial and financial support of the commercial communities can only be created and maintained when Russia's debts and obligations have been recognized and all advances to her sufficiently guaranteed. These principles apply both to credits granted by the Governments and by private concerns.

The Conference is thus led to the conclusion that in order to obtain the credits for the purpose of aiding exportation to Russia the two following conditions are absolutely essential —

- (a) The Russian Government must recognise its existing debt and other obligations
- (b) Adequate guarantees must be given for all credits to be granted in the future

This resolution was dissented from only by Italy. The resolution was agreed to by Sir Philip Lloyd Graem on behalf of the British Government. It is not necessary to expound the clear implications of the attitude of the

Governments of Europe When the fate of five millions of human beings are hanging in the balance they insist upon the payment of the Tsar's blood stained debt as the condition of their assistance In the light of this demand by the states of Europe including Britain we feel that Lenin is almost an angel of light We shall be content to state the moral in the words of the 'New Statesman' —

'So far as the motives can be kept distinct they are the unwillingness of the British and French Governments to find or to risk any money, and the determination of the Russian emigres to use the misery of their fellow countrymen as a weapon against the Bolshevik regime. What if pestilence is stalking through the land if children are whining in pain if the common herd are eating rats or horse-dung or nothing at all? These things are regrettable it is true But after all whose fault is it? The Bolsheviks got Russia into this trouble let them get her out of it For those who argue thus we know no words more fitting than the King of Brobdingnag's description of Gulliver's people—the most pernicious race of little odious vermins that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth

### The Police Tear Bomb.

As human life is very cheap in India, and we are not a free people it has not been thought necessary to devise any means of quelling riots dispersing

mobs, breaking up meetings, etc , which are effective without causing death or permanent injury In America they have prepared tear bombs for mobs and bandits

The Philadelphia police think that they now have the means of stopping a charging mob or a fleeing bandit putting either out of commission and yet inflicting no permanent injury This is to be done by grenades throwing out a gas similar to the tear gas' used in the late war Experiments with such bombs in South Philadelphia are said to have been eminently successful William A McGarry, writing in *The Scientific American* (New York) says that the bombs are quite as effective as rifle or revolver fire and far less deadly Two types shortly will be on the market for use by the police and also by banks storekeepers and paymasters One contains the familiar lachrymose gas the other what is known as 'stunnic' gas which stuns one who inhales it leaving him virtually unconscious and utterly helpless for some minutes

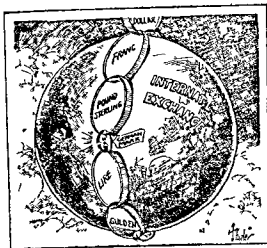
### The German Mark

Before the war the German mark was equal to 11½ pence, so that one pound sterling was equal to a little more than 20 marks *The Nation and the Athenaeum* of October 22 last had an article with the



POLICE TEAR BOMB

Showing its size in relation to the human hand  
—The Scientific American



A CHAIN IS AS STRONG AS THE WEAKEST LINK

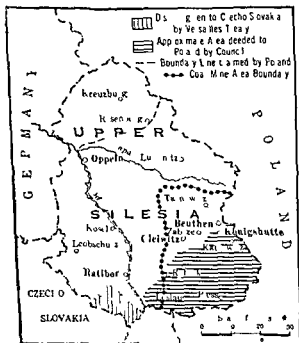
—The London Standard

heading '750 marks = £1' One day in November we read in the morning papers that 1250 marks could be had for a pound. We do not know to what extent the value of the mark has since risen and fallen. But it is clear that the now valueless German mark has affected the money market and trade in every civilised country. In reality the nations rise or fall together. No one can bite without being bit back.

### The Division of Upper Silesia

According to the *Nation* and the *Athletic* (October 22),

The one easy way of treating the Silesian dispute would have been to regard the entire



### WHAT POLAND & GERMANY GET IN SILESIA

province as a natural geographic unit which history and economics had knitted into a firm indivisible organism. Unfortunately that view was not taken at Versailles. The Treaty contemplated partition and in effect it began the partition by excluding considerable districts as unquestionably German from the plebiscite area. The result of this gerrymandering was to lessen the total German vote. Had the whole province of Upper Silesia voted the German vote would have been over 70 per cent and no case for partition would have arisen. As it was, the

German vote of 61 per cent though substantial, did not look decisive. We assented to the British official proposal to hand over the Pless and Rybnik counties to Poland since they showed a big Polish majority. This was an immense concession to Poland for these two counties contain 80 per cent of all the unworked coal deposits of the province. The 20 per cent found in the central industrial area will not last for ever and it has been busily exploited.

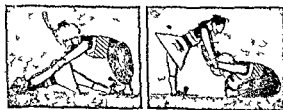
The result has been thus described in the *Literary Digest* —

Germany as a Berlin correspondent of the *New York Times* understands it loses 64 per cent of the Upper Silesian anthracite production that is 67 anthracite coal mines which last year produced about 32 000 000 tons. She loses all her Upper Silesian zinc or about 60 per cent of her former total zinc production. It is believed that Germany loses about 63 per cent of the Upper Silesian iron industries production about 1 500 000 tons of iron and steel products. In coal deposits German experts declare they are losing 86 per cent of Upper Silesian anthracite or 42 per cent of all the former German anthracite deposits.

No wonder 'Germany has been convulsed in a paroxysm of rage'. The division is explained in the annexed map.

### The Greco Turkish War

There was for a long time such conflicting news of the Greco Turkish war, that nobody could say who had won. What



THE GRECO TURKISH TUMBLERS  
Turkish War Report      Greek War Report  
—The *Passing Show* (London)

was published in the morning was contradicted in the evening or the next day. There is no certainty about the final result yet.

### The Case of Mr Manilal

In Fiji Mr Manilal, Barrister at Law, was a friend of the Indian labourers and settlers. But he was regarded as the prime mover in the Indian agitation in



MR. AND MRS. LAL AND CHILDREN

Fiji and was therefore accused of being dangerous to peace and order in that colony and summarily deported therefrom without trial. He went to New Zealand to practise there but was refused admission to the Bar though he wanted to practise only among people of his own race. The New Zealand judges believed implicitly in the verdict of the Fiji authorities and gave no opportunity to Mr Manlal to vindicate himself in a court of justice. The affidavits he produced made by persons of unimpeachable integrity were given no weight by the New Zealand judges.

If it had been an Englishman writes Mr C F Andrews there would have been a cry of indignation throughout the Empire. But because it is an Indian nobody cares and nothing matters.

### World Problems

It is not easy to say what is the greatest world problem to-day. From one point of view the conflicting interests of the Haves and the Have-nots present

one of the gravest of world problems. The conflict is not limited to that between Capital and Labour. It is wider. Even those middle class people who can by no stretch of meaning be called capitalists and some of whom may actually have smaller incomes than those who live by bodily labour seem to feel that their interests are different from those of manual workers. There is another serious problem which at some points cuts across the problem of the Haves and the Have-nots. It is the problem of colour prejudice. Akin to this problem is that presented by the aspirations of the subject and the exploited races because with the exception of the Japanese almost all coloured peoples belong either to the category of the subject races or to that of the exploited peoples.

In free and independent countries the Have-nots have compelled statesmen and capitalists to tackle the questions of insufficient wages, insufficient leisure and



heavy At the same time, they will not allow other free nations to gradually acquire a fighting strength equal to theirs. The other peoples of the world are for ever to lie at the mercy of the Big Five. Real equality and justice can result only either from the total disarmament of all nations, except what military equipment may be necessary for keeping internal peace and order, or from the equal arming of all nations, the best armed allowing the others to come up to their standard and remaining in the meanwhile content with mere renewals of old and out of date war vessels, aeroplanes, etc., not adding to their strength. But such an idea would appear quixotic to all 'practical' politicians, which means that the idea is too idealistic. The pity of it, however, is that whatever is idealistic cannot admit of the admixture of anything baser. So, let the Big Powers either pursue their ideal, if they have any, to its logical conclusion, or let them cease to keep up the pretence that they are guided by any moral or spiritual ideal, frankly avowing that it is self-interest—lightening the military burden and the burden of taxation, which is the impelling motive.

But India cannot expect even this kind of relief. Though a treaty has been concluded between Britain and Afghanistan, the decisions of the Disarmament Conference will not be considered binding on them by the Afghans. They will not be binding on Russia, too, which is not among the members of the Conference. But it is the Russian and the Afghan bogeys which have been trotted out for decades with the result of adding to the military and financial burdens of India. It should also be remembered that the Conference lays the greatest stress on the reduction of the naval programmes of nations. But Afghanistan has no navy, and Russia none at present worth consideration, it is their land forces which frighten Anglo-Indian statesmanship. If India had a navy and a naval programme and it had been proposed to cut down the latter, we might have expected some lightening of our burden of taxation.

The British Labour Party's motion in the House of Commons on the Washington Conference gives a glimpse of the reason why Britishers welcome it. It runs —

This House warmly approves the meeting of the Conference at Washington and trusts that a supreme effort will be made to arrive at such a measure of agreement as will secure substantial and progressive reduction of the crushing burden of armaments.

It is not expected in Britain that the Conference will lead immediately to any definite results—it will only create an atmosphere

London Nov 4

The debate on the Washington Conference in the House of Commons opened quietly. Mr Clynes moving the Labour motion and Sir Donald Maclean seconding it as Mr Asquith was unavoidably absent. Both dwelt on the world's need of disarmament which was only possible through the collective action of the great nations. They emphasised that the Conference for which the United States deserved the world's gratitude was in no way competitive with the League of Nations. Settlement of the great problems could not be expected after a few weeks' discussion but the Conference would be very valuable in creating an atmosphere in which greater things would subsequently be accomplished.

Mr O'Neil, Speaker of the Ulster Parliament said that the League of Nations was an ineffective peace instrument without the United States therefore humanity was anxiously expectant that the Conference would achieve the results which they had hoped at the outset would flow from the League.

Mr O'Neil expects peace to result from the Conference. As it leaves subject Peoples where they are, Mr O'Neil probably thinks that subject peoples should for ever live in death-like peace in a state of servility. If that be not his idea, if the subject races are to be free, will he tell us how the Disarmament Conference will enable them to be free and at the same time to live in peace?

Mr Lloyd George the British premier, said in the course of his Guildhall speech of 9th November, 'if the Conference did not lead to peace, we should have a very great burden to carry, for, in the first place, our forces would have to be doubled.' The refrain of the financial burden again! which means that if the British people could have borne any further taxation,

The American naval plan drawn up by Mr Hughes is bold and clear

Additional particulars of the extent of Mr Hughes naval plan were outlined at the Conference. One can assume from the statement that this provides for the immediate destruction of sixty six capital fighting ships aggregating 1 878 000 tons. Within three months after the agreement the naval establishment of Great Britain would consist of 22 ships United States 13 and Japan 10. The total tonnage of each power in cruisers flotilla leaders and destroyers would be Great Britain and the United States each 450 000 tons and Japan 270 000 tons British and United States submarine totals would each be 90 000 tons and Japan 40 000. The total number of aeroplane carriers allowed to Great Britain and the United States each would be 80 000 tons and Japan 45 000. No Government whose total tonnage exceeds the prescribed limit would be required to scrap excess until replacements were begun. Cruisers seventeen years old would be replaced by new constructions. Similarly destroyers flotilla leaders and submarines when twelve years old and aeroplane carriers when twenty. The limitation of aeroplane construction is not detailed but it is declared that regulations must be provided to govern the conversion of merchant craft for war purposes. The existing unarmoured surface craft under five thousand tonnage is excepted from the terms of the agreement and all auxiliary surface craft whose keels are already laid would be completed. Each party of the agreement would undertake to inform the others regarding all details of construction and replacement.

Reuter has given an interesting summary of a portion of Mr Hughes address

Washington Nov 13

In the course of his address Mr Hughes explained that the Conference was restricted to the principal Powers because they mainly control the armament of the world and were able to limit it. It was recognised however that the other Powers were interested in the Far East hence the invitation to Belgium Portugal the Netherlands and China. He declared that the inclusion of the proposal to discuss the Pacific and Far Eastern questions was not in order to embarrass agreement for the limitation of armaments but to support the undertaking by an endeavour to reach a common understanding as regards the principles and policies to be followed in the East. Thus they would greatly diminish and if possible wholly remove the discernible sources of controversy.

The fact that 'the principal Powers 'mainly control the armament of the world and were able to limit it' is true

in the main and they are to be left in that dominant position. Will not the other powers be jealous of that position and will not jealousy have a tendency to disturb the peace of the world? Will not the principal powers themselves become more of tyrants than they have hitherto been, finding their position undisputed? Their past conduct has not been angelic. What guarantee is there that they will behave better in the future than they have done in the past? In the history of mankind successful armed rebellion has been practically the only outward check on the tyranny of despots. If the possibility of an armed challenge or of armed resistance by a combination of the minor powers in the future be removed for ever what check will there be on the lust for power and pelf of the Big Powers? We are not prepared to give any idealistic name to the bestriding and terrorisation of the world by a combination of bullies. The possession of undisputed strength may make the Powers either Big Brothers or Big Bullies. Is there sufficient reason to think that they will be Big Brothers?

The following extracts from Reuter's telegrams show an unruffled exterior but give glimpses of a condition which cannot be called complete harmony —

FRANCE AND ITALY

Washington Nov 14

Mr Hughes in the course of his naval limitation statement said that in view of the extraordinary conditions due to the world war as affecting the strength of the navies of France and Italy it was not thought necessary to discuss their tonnage allowance at this stage and he proposed to reserve the matter for later consideration.

A DRAMATIC CHALLENGE

London Nov 14

The very boldness of conception of the disarmament proposals has staggered humanity. There is no question however of the cordiality of the reception accorded to the plans in principle.

Hope is expressed that the Japanese share the American and British appreciation of the courage of the statesman who submitted the proposition although it is recognised that some experts among the world's three naval powers will find it extremely hard to acquiesce in scrapping their programme.

It is pointed out that under the scheme by far the greatest loss will fall to America as her ships are near completion. On the other hand no battleship or cruiser is being constructed in Britain, though a contract has been signed laying down four at a cost £32 000,000. It is conceded that a very searching question is addressed to Japan if she is asked to content herself with a permanent naval strength of 300,000 tons compared with that of Britain and the United States, of 500,000 tons each, but it is pointed out that the alternative is competition in which she is sure to be worsted and reduced to an even more unfavourable position.

Among the few points already mentioned, and requiring investigation, are questions of relative French and Italian navies, if Mr Hughes' scheme is broadly adopted, Britain's necessity for an ample supply of light cruisers to protect her maritime communications, the construction of merchant ships readily armed and convertible into cruisers, and the effect of the proposed change upon the total relative strength by land and sea together of different Powers.

The plan concisely summed up is a dramatic challenge the refusal of which by one of the two nations to which it is addressed as certainly means war, as acceptance means initiating an era of hope.

Washington, Nov 14

It is understood that Great Britain's acceptance of the Disarmament proposals is based on 'certain definite modifications.'

Sir E. Denby has announced that American naval construction would not be stopped except by Congress or by a definite international agreement.

M. Briand and Signor Schanzer have agreed that France and Italy will act together in connexion with all the Conference questions.

The following extracts show that the acceptance of Mr Hughes' plan depends on certain reservations and modifications.

Mr Balfour pointed out that while the United States was impregnable in its communications no citizen of the British Empire could forget that his life depended upon the Empire's sea communications. He was not lamenting that the Empire contained this weakness, far from it. He added: 'We are strong in the hope and ardent patriotism binding us together, but this strategic weakness is obvious to everyone who reflects. It is known to our enemies and they do not let it be forgotten by our friends. With regard to submarines Mr Balfour said Britain never possessed nor did she desire the ninety-thousand tons which was her quota under Mr Hughes' scheme. Even if Britain did not suggest the abolition of submarines she would certainly urge rules for the limitation of size and armament.'

Moreover British circles feel that unless the means of building ships are curtailed, any scheme which controls the number of ships actually built will fall short of the ideal desired and sought, because any country would be in a position at any time to force up its navy to any strength desired. Mr Balfour believed as regards the battleship basis that the proportions between the various countries are acceptable and the limitation amounts are reasonable, but he suggested that the submarine tonnage might well be reduced and the construction of large submarines prohibited.

Admiral Kato declared that Japan was ready to proceed with the sweeping reductions of naval armaments. She did not desire a fleet equal to the United States or Britain but the proposals for replacement would be specially considered by the Japanese naval experts with a view to suggesting certain modifications which Admiral Kato hoped the American and other delegates would consider.

M. Briand and Signor Schanzer announced the general approval of the French and Italian Governments of the American Government's proposals.

Admiral Kato added afterwards:—

It would be universally admitted that a nation must be provided with such armaments as were essential to her national security. This requirement must be fully weighed in the examination of the plan and with this in view certain modifications would be proposed. Japan's existing plan would conclusively show that she never contemplated preparations for an offensive war.

The following passage makes Britain's position clearer:—

On maturer consideration of the disarmament scheme Britain, while not weakening in her desire to see the plan carried into execution, orders a few friendly criticisms which it is hoped will be met.

Thus it is urged that naval power is not a matter of battleships and cruisers only, but of many other elements, for example, fortifications and bases within easy striking distance for attack.

Moreover, it is emphasised that the British Empire is a confederation of states widely separated and each Dominion has a big coast line requiring separate flotilla defences for which due allowance should be made.

It is also pointed out that provision ought to be made against the possibility of a continental or even South American power making such a spurt as to necessitate scrapping the proposal for a three-cornered limitation arrangement.

The morning papers of the 21st November contained a few points of disagreement or for discussion.

## THE QUESTION OF SUBMARINES

Washington Nov 18

British suggestions for the limitation of the size and tonnage of submarines are apparently unacceptable to America in view of the fact that she would have to protect 65,000 kilometers of coast with a heavily reduced fleet.

The American authorities dispute the suggestion that submarines are more likely to be used contrary to the rules of civilized warfare. Also there is little hope of America's agreeing to the limitation of the size of submarines.

## American View

London Nov 18

It is indicated officially that the American delegation regards the relative strength of the navies in the American disarmament proposal as the fundamental principle any alteration of which might seriously affect the whole negotiations.

London Nov 18

Though the British decision to suspend construction of four battleships has been received with the greatest satisfaction in America there is little prospect the Congress stopping construction of American battleships. It is stated that if the Conference results in an agreement by the nine participating powers other nations will be invited to adhere.

We have the following particulars of China's just and self-respecting proposals.

Washington Nov 17

Detailed statements on China's attitude toward the far Eastern question were made to a committee of representatives of nine Powers on the Pacific and Far Eastern questions by the Chinese Minister Sze. He urged the maintenance of the open door, abolition of secret treaties affecting China, the preservation of China's territorial integrity, a political and administrative independence, China agreeing in return not to alienate or lease any portion of her territory to any foreign power.

A high British authority at the Conference emphasised the outstanding features of the British viewpoint respecting China's proposals. He says that Britain reiterates the principle of the open door and considers that the spheres of influence are antiquated and unsuited to modern conditions. He added that Britain will not advance a proposition regarding adjustment of foreign war indebtedness to the United States.

Japan cannot at once accept but will discuss (1) the Chinese proposals and also wants a navy somewhat stronger than that assigned to her.

London Nov 18

Admiral Kato has announced Japan's acceptance of Chinese proposals as a basis of discussion in the Committee.

He has also announced that Japan owing to her geographical position will request such modification of the naval limitation programme as will permit her to maintain a general tonnage slightly exceeding the proposed sixty per cent compared with Great Britain and America and the right to maintain a tonnage in the type of vessel of a strictly defensive character approximating that of Great Britain and America. This term does not include submarines.

Coming to the question of the reduction of land forces we are told

New York, Nov 17

It is expected that after M. Briand has spoken the question of armies will be referred to the Armaments Committee and it is added on good authority that America will not respond to any French suggestion for definite British American assurances for protection against German aggression and that Britain has given her assurance that she will support America in this matter.

Paris, Nov 17

It is noteworthy that in connection with present events at Washington the French Senate Naval Committee yesterday invited the Minister of Marine to increase the number of submarines in his provisional programme.

New York Nov 17

The Associated Press Washington reports that America will not offer a definite programme regarding the limitation of land forces her army having reached irreducibility consistent with national safety and Britain is in a similar position.

The conference proceeded to discuss land disarmament at its third plenary session.

Strassburg Nov 21

A hint regarding the nature of M. Briand's impending disarmament speech is contained in a speech by M. Barthou Minister of War, in which he said that France was ready to accept the limitation of armaments subject to the complete integral disarmament of Germany. He added that he learned daily that Germany was being unfaithful to her engagements — Reuter.

M. Briand's speech has been thus summarised —

M. Briand declared that France more than any other country was eager to turn her attention to the means of securing peace. Nevertheless he eloquently depicted the state of affairs which would ensue if France disarmed in face of a hostile Germany. He feared a return by Germany to a militaristic policy.

M. Briand paid a tribute to Herr Wirth's sincerity and declared that while the German working classes undoubtedly desired peace as long as the military party of General Ludendorff

dom were preaching war as the key stone of German policy every vigilance was necessary because Germany could raise six or seven million men within a few weeks.

M. Briand urged the creation of a peace atmosphere besides reducing armaments and he reminded the Conference that Germany had been disarmed before by Napoleon.

M. Briand declared that as an example of European instability Russia was waiting to attack Poland. He declared that the French Government would have a period of military service which was tantamount to having the army. This concluded the Premier impressively as France's offering to peace.

Mr. Balfour, Admiral Kato, Signor Schuster (Italian) and Mr. Hughes also spoke on the same subject. The morning papers of the 26th November contained Reuters' telegrams informing the public that

The question of land disarmament is regarded in many quarters as practically settled on the basis of M. Briand's speech which is interpreted as meaning that a readjustment of land forces is impossible in the existing conditions.

The Far Eastern Committee is appointing a sub-committee to study the fiscal affairs of China also to discuss the Chinese proposal for the restoration of tariff autonomy.

#### A GERMAN DENIAL

Berlin Nov. 22

With reference to M. Briand's recent speech in Washington it is semi-officially denied that the Reichswehr is composed mostly of ex-officers and ex-Non Coms. The great bulk of the Reichswehr is composed of youths who have joined up since the war. The protection Police also are not controlled by the Imperial Government but by the State Governments and their sole task is to maintain order in the interior. Its numbers, organisation and armament are regulated by the Patent Control Commissions. The Police only possess rifles and light guns. They are not allowed heavy guns which would make them suitable for fighting work. The Citizen's Guard have long been disbanded and their weapons surrendered or destroyed. All armaments factories in Germany have been closed and the machinery destroyed.

The next day we were treated to the following saddening telegram —

London Nov. 25

M. Briand's attitude at Washington Conference is causing grave pre-occupation to the delegates as if the French policy aims at securing paramount large army navy and air force. The French attitude must profoundly affect the whole question of disarmament. Although opinion is generally sympathetic to

the French desire to maintain strongest army owing to her special position, the Conference is unable to appreciate M. Briand's reason for demanding a powerful flotilla of submarines which taken in conjunction with the reported French desire to possess a fleet equal to Japan's has struck the only jarring note during the Conference. The French circles claim that M. Briand proved his point, but it is more likely that his success consists in side tracking the question of land armaments and persuading the world that demilitarisation of Europe is past praying for.

We are inclined to take a hopeful view of the resolution described below, but cannot feel completely reassured until it is fully explained what "the territorial and administrative integrity of China" means and does not mean.

Washington Nov. 22

The Far Eastern Committee has unanimously adopted a resolution declaring in favour of the territorial administrative integrity of China. The resolution which was drafted by Mr. Root was signed by eight Powers. China refrained from signing the document as unfitting one that concerned herself.

The following was distinctly good —

Washington Nov. 25

The Chinese Delegates have presented a detailed statement to the Executive Session of the Far Eastern Committee with regard to Extra Territorial Rights which were described by other delegates as quite reasonable. The Committee subsequently agreed in principle to the abolition of Extra Territorial Rights and appointed a Sub-committee under the Chairmanship of Senator Lodge to examine matters.

But disappointment came close at the heels of hope —

Washington Nov. 25th

A member of the Chinese delegation states today that China was ready to refuse to sit any longer at the Conference if the reported British interpretation of open door turned out to be the attitude of the powers. He expressed confidence however, that the suggestion regarding the acceptance of financial consortium by the Chinese, and pooling operations of railway concessions did not represent the policy of United States or other delegations.

There has been some discussion as to whether submarines or swift bombing aeroplanes are more effective in warfare. The question of humanity has also been *subsidiarily* raised. A New York Herald leading article urges —

Let submarines go. Let gas go. Let every form of unnatural warfare be swept from the

programme of honourable battle even though it includes aeroplanes as instrument of war

If the passage printed below telegraphed by Reuter, be true, the proverbial beating of swords into ploughshares may be expected to prove true some day

It is understood that the British desire even to strengthen the American scheme by scrapping the plants and materials necessary for making ships and guns except so far as is necessary for repairs for the reduced fleet or for the replacement of an accidentally destroyed unit. It is thought that this will provide a solid guarantee and guard against any power breaking away from the compact or springing a surprise on neighbours

In the meantime Soviet Russia has not been asleep. It is watchful and has been taking notes and telling the world what it thinks

London Nov 22

The Soviet Government has sent a wireless message refusing to recognise the validity of all the resolutions adopted by the Washington Conference because it was not invited to attend

The Soviet has therefore invited China, Korea and Japan and India to send representatives to Irkutsk where a new independent Far Eastern conference will be organised — Reuter

The Soviet Government has said in the first sentence what it was needless to say for nobody thinks the resolutions are binding on it. The second sentence many would be disposed to take as mere bluff or camouflage, nevertheless the invitation may lead to consequences which may not be quite insignificant and negligible

In conclusion we wish to observe that though the Disarmament Conference will, even if successful, still leave sufficient fighting strength at the disposal of the big powers for them to commit acts of aggression on the armless and on those who are not well armed, and though it may not be of any direct advantage to mankind at large, it will benefit the nations whose continuous increase in armaments it may succeed in putting a stop to. Their burden of taxation will be lightened and a greater proportion of their revenues will be spent for productive purposes than at present

"The Times" on Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee's Lament

The Times Educational Supplement of the 29th October contains an article on

"Boycotting the Universities," from which we make a few extracts, without comment

Referring to the figures of the decrease of students in schools and colleges, due according to Sir Ashutosh to the non-cooperation movement, *The Times* observes

The situation requires investigation, the more since there has been no such wide spread defection in other parts of India. In many of the large centres Madras for instance, the exhortation to students to boycott schools and colleges was followed by comparatively few and almost all of them repented immediately afterwards. In Bombay also very little headway was made. Mr Gandhi and the Ali Brothers distinctly failed in their attacks upon the Aligarh and Benares Universities. Even if, as Sir Ashutosh takes for granted, the decrease is entirely due to non-co-operation, the palpable inefficiency of the university to cope with the many duties it is supposed to discharge gave the agitators very favourable ground for their activities

Again —

The growing dissatisfaction of enlightened opinion with the administration of the university while the reconstitution declared by the Sadler Commission to be vitally necessary is blocked has been expressed by a distinguished historian Professor Jadunath Sarkar, now a member of the Indian Educational Service, in the *Calcutta Modern Review* for July. His complaint that the university is being commercialized by the lowering of standards in order to secure more clients whether fit or unfit, for the enrichment of university funds gives added significance to the stress laid upon the financial aspect of the falling off in candidates by the Vice-Chancellor. On the most cautious calculation, Sir Ashutosh states that the probable loss of examination fees will be Rs. 2,63,000 including Rs. 45,000 in respect to the matriculation test in the current financial year. He asks the public in view of this financial loss, to decide whether they wish to maintain the university or not.

The responsibility will be theirs if the university is compelled to close the doors for obviously a university cannot be maintained without funds.

The true moral of the defection the Vice-Chancellor deplors is that of the necessity for reconstruction so that the university may be in a position to carry out the functions which properly appertain to it.

On the subject of post graduate work, *The Times* writes —

At the other end of the scale post graduate work, commendable in itself, has become an

it were supported by a Russian precedent or even compared with a Russian incident.

The Times of India states that the luggage van measured 26 feet by 8 feet, which gives a floor space of 208 square feet. So the 106 prisoners thrust into it had less than two square feet of floor space per head to remain standing on. We wonder how much force is required to pack men so close in a freight-car. Was any kind of hydraulic press used?

The Black Hole of Calcutta has been immortalised by British historians of India, and Lord Curzon has erected a monument in the busiest quarter of European Calcutta to keep alive its memory, though doubts have been thrown on its historicity. But let us take it for granted that the tragic and horrible incident was an actual fact. It is thus narrated in the Encyclopædia Britannica 11th edition, Vol IV, page 983 —

The chief event in the history of Calcutta is the sack of the town and the capture of Fort William in 1756 by Suraj-ud Dowlah the nawab of Bengal. The prisoners numbering 146 persons were forced into the guard room a chamber measuring only 18 ft by 14 ft 10 in with but two small windows where they were left for the night. Next morning only 23 were taken out alive. The site of the Black Hole is now covered with a black marble slab and the incident is commemorated by a monument erected by Lord Curzon in 1902.

There is nothing to show that Suraj-ud Dowlah deliberately and with foreknowledge of the consequence thrust the European prisoners into the Black Hole just as it is quite certain that Mr Montagu or Lord Reading or Lord Willingdon did not order the Moplah prisoners to be packed in a freight-car. Both the events are, therefore, comparable as regards their enormity. Let us give the other details of the comparison. The persons thrust into the Black Hole were prisoners of war. The Moplahs too were prisoners of war. The victims of the Black Hole were Europeans and Christians. The victims of the Tirur luggage van were Indians and Mussalmans. There were no windows in the luggage van, there were two small windows in the Fort William guardroom. The Black Hole incident

took place in June the Tirur Bellary incident in November. The Black Hole incident occurred in the unenlightened eighteenth century under a 'native' despot. The Tirur Bellary incident took place in the enlightened twentieth century under the democratic British Government. The Black Hole prisoners had each  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or  $1\frac{1}{4}$  square feet of floor space with two small windows. The Moplah prisoners had  $1\frac{1}{2}$  square feet each with no windows. Thus the floor space per head in the two cases was nearly equal. Therefore, there ought to be a monument somewhere between Tirur and Bellary to commemorate the fate of the Moplah prisoners. The size of the Moplah monument should bear the same ratio to the Black Hole monument in Calcutta as  $1\frac{1}{2}$  does to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  (let us neglect the two small windows). As there is a black marble slab in Calcutta, there may be a nearly black or dark grey slab somewhere between Tirur and Bellary for the Black Hole victims were larger in number than the Moplah victims.

### Assault on Mr C F Andrews

We were sorely grieved to read in the papers the shocking news of a brutal assault on Mr C F Andrews at a railway station in East Africa in consequence of which he was obliged to seek medical help in a hospital and remain there for many days. We hope he has now completely recovered. He has gone to Africa on a mission of peace and good will. The gentlest of men, a faithful follower of his Master, he would not even hurt a fly. It is certain the assault on him was entirely unprovoked and cowardly. [Since the above was in type we have learned with relief that he has returned and is now in Delhi.]

### To Our Subscribers

Our subscribers are requested to be good enough to read the notices on the front cover and to mention their serial numbers when making remittances and in all business letters to our office.

### Art Exhibitions

Lovers of Art will be pleased to learn that in the course of the next few weeks

For three months' guerilla warfare some arms and other equipments are needed. Official information shows that the Moplahs have got Martini Henry rifles and other modern weapons. These arms did not suddenly drop from the skies. The question then is how and whence were these arms procured? For how long have the Moplahs been collecting arms? Had the police and the preventive officers been asleep all this while? If so should not they be dismissed? If they got information did they inform Government? If they did not should they not be tried for aiding and abetting rebels? If they did, why did not or could not Government adopt effective measures to prevent the outbreak?

Even after the outbreak had lasted for more than two months fresh official news of beheading of innocent villagers, forcible conversions etc. continued to be published in the papers. It is a truism that every government ought to protect its loyal subjects. The British Government in India sent more than a million men abroad to fight for it, and even now possesses many lakhs of soldiers. We cannot believe that it was beyond the power of such a government to place companies of soldiers in every Malabar village in the course of two or three months for the protection of its inhabitants. The regions may be hilly, jungly, inaccessible and difficult. But tax gatherers go to the villages and soldiers also can therefore reach them. Government has been guilty of criminal neglect in not taking adequate steps for the protection of every village even after the rebellion had lasted some time.

The hilly, jungly and inaccessible character of parts of Malabar has been thought to be a sufficient explanation of the time being taken to crush the rebellion. But during the great war have not even more difficult regions defended by well equipped veterans been subdued in less time? Are the W. Frontier regions beyond India inhabited by the Pathans not difficult and mountainous tracts? Are not the Pathans brave and trained fighters? Have they not got better opportunities than the Moplahs to procure up to date weapons

and to train themselves? And yet does it always take more than three months to quell a Mahsud or a Bunerwal or other trans-frontier outbreak? It is as difficult to believe that the British Government has not the power to quickly quell a rebellion like that of the Moplahs as to believe that having the power it has for some reason or other made any avoidable delay in crushing it.

Hindus and Moplahs live close to each other in Malabar and the former have been the principal sufferers. Were the Hindus aware before the outbreak of the Moplah offensive preparations? If they were not what blindness it was! If they were against whom did they think were the preparations being made? In any case such helplessness as that of the Hindus cannot but rouse contempt for them in the hearts of heroic peoples at the same time that pity is felt for them. It is a truism that the followers of all religions in India and people of all races should live together in amity like good neighbors. But it does not follow that any class of people should be helplessly at the mercy of any other class. Self defence and defence of women and children is a primary duty of all.

It is said forcible conversion is prohibited in the Quran. If so Moslem religious teachers should make this holy injunction known to even illiterate Moslems. Every one even at the risk of death, should resist forcible conversion.

The rebellion was at first sought to be quelled by employing only white soldiers. Subsequently Gurkhas, Garhwals and Chin Kachins have been sent to Malabar. What is the reason? Were white soldiers found incapable of coping with the situation? If so why are they considered superior to all sorts of sepoys for all descriptions of war and paid accordingly? If white soldiers are capable why have the sepoys been employed? Are there not enough British soldiers in India? Or is there any reason of state?

It is greatly to be desired that the rebellion should be now speedily quelled and further sufferings and loss of life stopped.



closed and traffic of all sorts being generally at a standstill. A theory has been started that all this was due entirely or chiefly to intimidation. This is sheer nonsense. Some people may have closed their shops or stayed at home for fear of molestation, but it is not true that the more than a million inhabitants of Calcutta were intimidated by the non-co operators. But if the theory of intimidation be true, the non-co operators must be admitted to be a greater terror than the police, the army, the guns and the air-fleet of Government. It is true non-co-operating volunteers regulated and stopped traffic according to their will in the streets—by intimidation if you like—but why could not the police re-start traffic by counter-intimidation of the volunteers?

We speak of counter-intimidation because after the hartal non-official volunteering has been declared unlawful and parties of policemen etc. have been making a display of strength by parading the streets. But this has been in the nature of closing the stable door after the horse has been stolen, or let us say intimidated away. By the way, though Bombay beat the record on the 17th November in hooliganism it was immediately after a quiet and bloodless hartal in Calcutta that the Bengal Government, the first among all Provincial Governments, declared non-official volunteering unlawful. The implied challenge was met by hundreds of men registering themselves as Congress volunteers and publishing their names.

We have no personal knowledge of non-co operators intimidating or causing bodily injury or annoyance to others. But from reports received, we believe that some non-co operators, a small fraction of the total number, have been guilty of violence, real or technical. But on the whole, true non-co-operators (as distinguished from the hooligan element always ready to take advantage of any abnormal situation) have been non-violent. We are of opinion, therefore, that it has not been statesman-like to declare non-official volunteering unlawful. It is right and necessary to protect people in the exercise of their personal liberty. But for that purpose, it would

have been sufficient to deal with individual cases of interference with personal liberty, as they occurred, on the complaint of the aggrieved parties. It is not right to drive "sedition" underground, as Sir Edward Baker declared he was not afraid of doing but did not tarry to witness the consequences.

Meanwhile, there is greater and greater repression, and the air is thick with rumours of still greater repression—of declaring the Congress an unlawful body, of the arrest of all Congress officers and workers, of the grant of arms licenses by the dozen to Anglo-Indians, etc. Dame Rumour is not generally given to measured and accurate speech, but she has not been found an absolutely lying jade on all occasions.

It is up to all non-co operators to show that they can carry out the full programme of non-co operation without "intimidation" or even without such organisation as may be misconstrued as intimidation.

#### Tata Institute Enquiry Committee.

Complaints had been heard for years that the Tata Research Institute at Bangalore had not been successfully and adequately doing the work for which it was founded. Government have at length appointed an enquiry committee. But it was unnecessary to bring out Sir William Pope from Cambridge to act as its chairman. His chemical qualifications are not called in question. But there are men among us competent to do the work—men who know the condition of the country, which Sir William does not.

We do not understand why Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee has been nominated a member of the committee, and why, he having been nominated, Mr C V Raman, a protégé of his, though neither a chemist nor an industrialist, should also have been nominated. Sir Ashutosh is not a chemistry graduate, knows nothing of chemical research, is not connected with any chemical or other industry, and his administration of the Calcutta University (which ought, according to a Bengal Council resolution, to have been already

by a

so dissatisfied with present day service conditions due to the changes introduced and the atmosphere created by the 'Reforms' that a large proportion of the officers are eager to resign at the earliest opportunity. But what are the facts? Not even one per cent. of the civilians have tendered their resignation, and such is the number of officers on leave who have been returning to India before its expiry that members of the provincial judicial service officiating as additional or assistant district judges have to revert to their substantive posts in quick succession. Yet the camouflage of a dissatisfied and alarmed service is kept up to add to the emoluments and regular incomes of the most lavishly paid service in the world. What a revelation of the superior character of the ruling members of a superior race! In spite of the increased cost of living and the partial awakening of the masses in India the Anglo-Indian really finds this land of regrets to be a cheaper and more convenient place to live in than his costlier homeland infested with a pestiferous proletariat 'spoilt' by Bolshevik notions. But that is a fact the admission of which does not pay. So let the camouflage go on as long as there are men at the top who seeing through it make as if they did not.

### The Anglo-Afghan Treaty

We were getting ready to write a note—a long one it would be we thought—on the Anglo-Afghan treaty when our eyes fell on the news of its violation by a large body of Wazirs and other raiders crossing the Baluchistan border on the 24th November and making depredations in British territory. Let us then wait and see how the affair ends.

### A Study in the Hindu Situation in America.

For the first time in the study of labour problems the Department of Labour of the United States Government has deputed a special investigator through its Bureau of Labor Statistics to make a comprehensive study of the social and economic conditions of the 'Hindu' workers (meaning labourers from India) in the United States. Hitherto there it was the sensational journalist and the partisan politician who had delved into the status of the Hindu immigrants with a view to paint a picture of the Hindus in such a way

that the mind of the people might be prejudiced and poisoned.

Our emigrants are not large in numbers. They constitute not more than 2500 on the Pacific coast at present, and in no period of the Indian emigration did the number exceed 6000. Since 1917, the immigration of laborers from India into America has been totally stopped. Yet this insignificant number of Hindus has played a very important part in building up some undeveloped sections of the United States.

In appointing a special agent, the United States Department of Labor has selected—it could not have selected a better man than—Mr. Rajani Kanta Das M. Sc. Ph. D., who is familiar with the labor conditions both in India and the European countries.

Dr. Das is a graduate of the Universities of Ohio, Missouri and Wisconsin and had fellowships for five years in the Universities of Missouri, Chicago and Wisconsin. He took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Economics at the University of Wisconsin in 1917. After a year's service as a lecturer on Foreign Trade in the Northwestern University and on Labor Problems in De Paul University, Chicago, Ill., Dr. Das has become since 1920 a lecturer on Foreign Trade in New York University and on Labor and Population in the College of City of New York. In all his academic years Dr. Das has made brilliant records and as a teacher he has won the love, respect and admiration of his colleagues and pupils. For sometime he has also been doing special research work on labor questions for the Department of Labor of the United States Government, which has accepted for publication two of his treatises on 'Factory Labor in India' and 'Factory Legislation in India'. This is the first time a Hindu scholar has been given such recognition.

Last summer as a special agent of the Bureau of Labor Statistics the U. S. Department of Labor Dr. Das travelled extensively on the Pacific Coast. He visited almost all important centres in California, Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia where most of the Hindu workers are located. Some of them even own farms and lumber mills. He also interviewed persons from every walk of life with whom our workers come in contact either directly or indirectly. He has gathered valuable materials which speak unanimously of the honesty, integrity and efficiency of the workers from India. That the farmers and